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by

Kent Russell Lohse

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AFRICANS AND THEIR DESCENDANTS IN COLONIAL COSTA RICA, 1600-1750

Committee:

Susan Deans-Smith, Supervisor

Sandra Lauderdale Graham, Co-Supervisor

Aline Helg

James Sidbury

Toyin Falola

Edmund T. Gordon

AFRICANS AND THEIR DESCENDANTS IN COLONIAL COSTA RICA, 1600-1750

by

Kent Russell Lohse, B.A.; M.A.

Dissertation

Presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School of

The University of Texas at Austin

in Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements

for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

The University of Texas at Austin

August 2005

To Shaunda,
Lantz,
Baby Lohse,
and
All descendants of
Africans brought to Costa Rica

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

In my years in Austin I have been fortunate to work with some of the best scholars in Latin American history. In my first semester at UT, I was lucky enough to find what many grad students never do. Sandra Lauderdale Graham has been better than the best advisor I could have hoped for. By always pushing me to ask hard questions and seldom allowing me to take the easy way out, she has helped me more than anyone else to think and write about the past. I am honored to be her student. With his merciless red pen and caustic wit, Richard Graham has sent me back to the drawing board many times. I am sure that this dissertation would be much better if I had followed more of their advice. It was also my privilege to take a seminar with Susan Deans-Smith during that first semester. I have valued her subtle analyses and suggestions ever since, and they have profited me enormously when I have been astute enough to recognize them. Aline Helg provided often trenchant and always valuable criticism as well as her unfailing encouragement. Jim Sidbury has always taken an interest in my work and been eager to help, although he agrees with my conclusions much less frequently. Toyin Falola has shown me the same generosity as he does his own students, offering me the kind of advice and opportunities few graduate students have.

I mean to compliment both by saying that my fellow graduate students at UT have improved my work at least as much as my professors. Since our baptism of fire together in Sandra's Gender and Social History seminar, Matt "Brisket" Childs has taken the time to read and criticize most of what I have written. Matt's energy and generosity as a fellow student and now as a professor are as legendary as his barbecues. We've ended

many of them arguing long into the night. No matter how loudly I shout down his ideas, he never gives up and always waits patiently for me to come around to reason. On a lot of things, he's still waiting. Robert Smale is a fine fellow intellectual worker and comrade and I am proud to be his friend. Conversations with the amazing Greg Cushman, who knows more about subjects totally unrelated to his own research interests than a lot of specialists, have always helped me sharpen my thinking. He and Mirna Cabrera took me out to see some corners of Costa Rica I never would have without them. Frances Lourdes Ramos listened to me puzzle over the fates of the survivors of the *Christianus Quintus* and *Fredericus Quartus* for years. I thank her for that, and for all her support.

In Costa Rica, Dr. Rina Cáceres has supported my research from the beginning. Without her help, I might never have been able to research this dissertation. As any visitor to the Archivo Nacional or the Curia knows, Mauricio Meléndez Obando is as generous with his time and expertise as he is knowledgeable about the archives, which he knows as well as anyone alive. I hope he knows how much I have benefited from our dozens of hours of sometimes heated discussions of colonial Afro-Costa Ricans in San José, Guatemala, Mexico City, and Austin. Since we met at one of Falola's conferences, Paul E. Lovejoy has taken a lively interest in my work and graciously shared his sharp insights. David Eltis, Ugo Nwokeji, Philip Morgan, Robin Law, and William B. Taylor took the time to read and comment on portions of this work. I have also benefited immensely from too-brief discussions with João Reis, Lowell Gudmundson, Mariza

Carvalho de Soares, Paul Lokken, Robert W. Slenes, Robinson Herrera, and many other scholars of slavery.

I could not have begun graduate studies in Austin at all without the support of Joel Barker and Susan Whitney Barker. Larry Sharp has counseled me at every stage of my academic career. And Linda Whitney has supported me in anything I have ever tried to do. I am grateful to all of them for their essential help.

AFRICANS AND THEIR DESCENDANTS IN COLONIAL COSTA RICA, 1600-1750

Publication No. _____

Kent Russell Lohse, Ph.D.
The University of Texas at Austin, 2005

Supervisor: Susan Deans-Smith
Co-Supervisor: Sandra Lauderdale Graham

The societies from which they came, patterns of the Atlantic slave trade, and local conditions in the societies in which they arrived all decisively influenced the varied experiences of enslaved Africans in the Americas. Unlike plantation societies with large slave populations, Costa Rica was a small, isolated, and economically disadvantaged colony on the edges of the Spanish Empire, with only intermittent access to the Atlantic slave trade. Enslaved Africans in Costa Rica came from hundreds of diverse African societies and arrived in small numbers, forming a small minority in the colony's population. Their opportunities to associate with women and men of similar background in Costa Rica were sharply limited; at the same time, they lived and worked in intimate contact with members of other racial and ethnic groups. The impact of African ethnic origins consequently diminished in importance as slaves rapidly began to adapt to local institutions and adopt new identities. African-born men and women known by such names as *angolas*, *congos*, *minas*, and *ararás* soon came to associate and identify with an ever-expanding circle of enslaved and free people of different origins as shipmates,

countrymen, blacks, slaves of the same masters, fellow servants, family and friends.

Gender also made a crucial difference in the experiences of slaves in Costa Rica. Due to the nature of their work, slave men often enjoyed exceptional physical and sometimes social mobility within the confines imposed by slavery, while women usually lived out their lives in their masters' homes. As enslaved men pursued and exploited relationships with free people, seeking the sponsorship of free patrons and sometimes marrying free women to form free families, slave women's opportunities to forge such relationships remained limited and their children were overwhelmingly born in slavery. Patterns of ethnicity, gender roles, and labor conditions thus all contributed to the assimilation of African slaves and their descendants to a creole culture broadly shared by all members of Costa Rican society, rather than encouraging the formation of a distinct African, black, or slave identity.

Russell Lohse

“Africans and Their Descendants in Colonial Costa Rica, 1600-1750”

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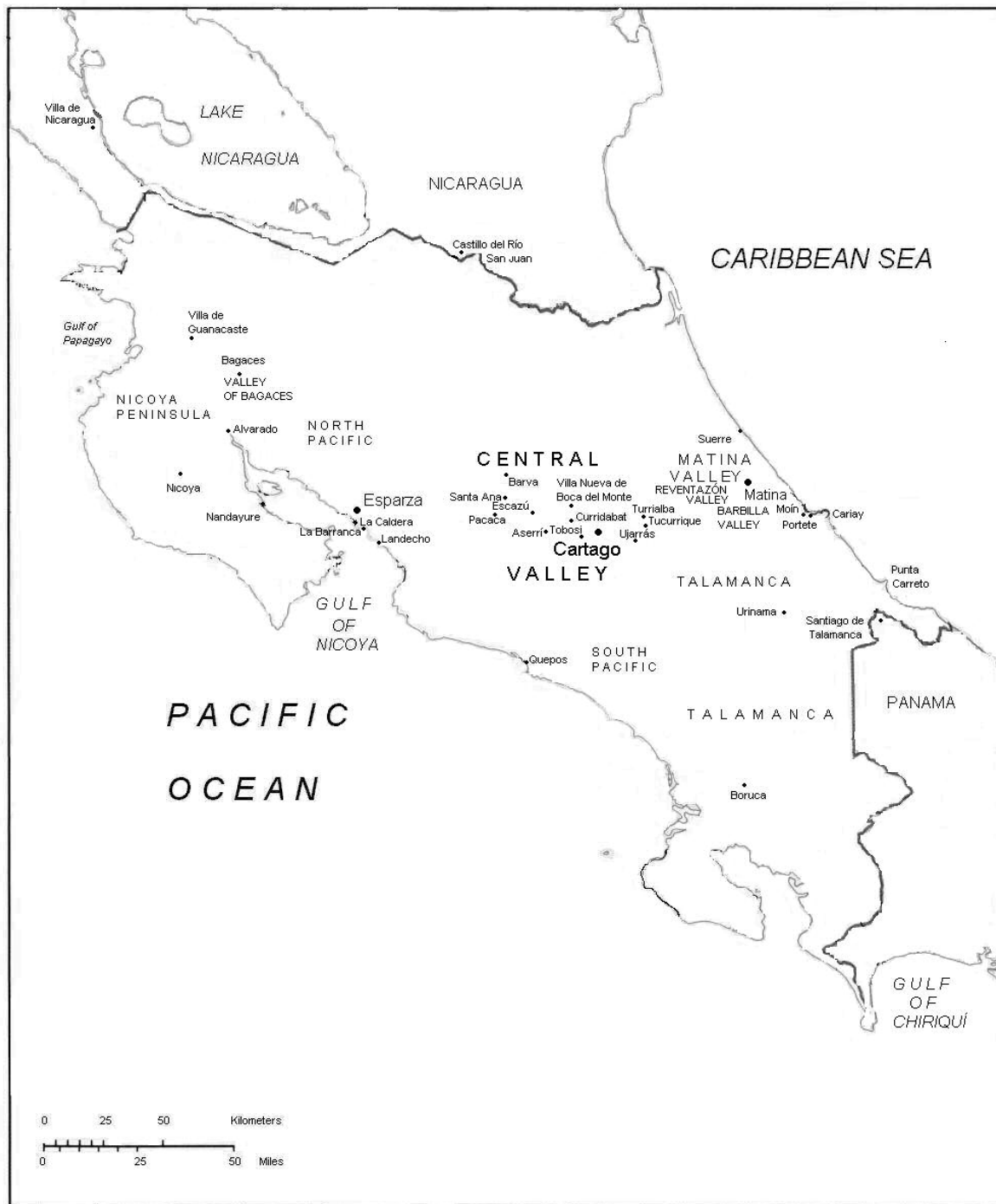
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ABBREVIATIONS

ACMSJ	Archivo de la Curia Metropolitana de San José, Costa Rica
AGCA	Archivo General de Centro América, Guatemala City
AGI	Archivo General de Indias, Seville, Spain
AGN	Archivo General de la Nación, Mexico City
Alf.	Alférez
Ayu.	Ayudante
C.	Sección Colonial Cartago
Cap.	Capitán
C.C.	Sección Complementario Colonial
Esc.	Escribanía
Exp.	Expediente
Fol.	Folio
G.	Sección Colonial Guatemala; Audiencia de Guatemala
LBC	Libros de Bautizos de Cartago
LMC	Libros de Matrimonios de Cartago
Leg.	Legajo
Lic.	Licenciado
M.C.C.	Mortuales Coloniales de Cartago
M.R.P.	Muy Reverendo Padre
Nic.	Nicaragua

Pbo.	Presbítero
P.C.	Protocolos Coloniales de Cartago
P.H.	Protocolos Coloniales de Heredia
P.S.J.	Protocolos Coloniales de San José
Sarg.	Sargento
Sarg. Mr.	Sargento Mayor
SFASDE	Sección Fondos Antiguos, Sección Documentación Encuadernada
Vol.	Volúmen



Map 1
Costa Rica

INTRODUCTION

“Africans and Their Descendants in Colonial Costa Rica, 1600-1750” explores the social world of enslaved people of African descent in a peripheral colony of the Spanish Empire. In it I seek to engage and contribute to the scholarship of comparative slavery, the African Diaspora, and Latin America. Although early Costa Rica faced problems familiar to other regions of Latin America and the Caribbean such as the decimation of the native population, the search for export crops, and the need for an adequate labor force, it never developed into a plantation society, and remained on the margins of Atlantic markets. Slavery and race relations in Costa Rica developed in patterns strikingly different from those recorded in better-known plantation areas such as Brazil, the Caribbean, and the United States South. My study explores how the economic, social, and political circumstances in a multi-ethnic frontier colony that was linked only intermittently to Atlantic export markets uniquely conditioned the experiences of Africans and their descendants in Costa Rica. By focusing on the early to mid-colonial period in an area on the edges of Spanish settlement, I document the origins and development of slavery in a colony where Indians, Africans, and Europeans, on unequal terms to be sure, together created a new society. Although slaves comprised a small part of the population, I show that their importance in the economy, society, and even politics of Costa Rica far exceeded their numbers, challenging historians to reconsider the impact of slavery in areas of Latin America where it has received little attention. In these ways I contribute a needed perspective to comparative studies of slavery, which have

overwhelmingly focused on late eighteenth- and nineteenth-century plantation societies to the exclusion of other places and periods.

By carefully documenting the ethnic origins of individual enslaved Africans and uncovering their experiences of the local conditions in which they adapted to colonial slavery, I also advance a debate in the historiography of the African Diaspora concerning the role of African ethnicity in the development of slave cultures. I break new ground in my dissertation by documenting the experiences of specific groups of Africans from their enslavement in such places as Angola, the Gold Coast, and Yorubaland through the Middle Passage to the forced adaptation to new cultures and labor regimes in colonial slavery. My dissertation moves beyond a theoretical stalemate about the salience of African ethnicities versus creolization among the enslaved by bringing a trans-Atlantic methodological focus to demonstrate and analyze the concrete historical conditions in which enslaved African individuals adjusted to American slavery.

I want to extend and deepen the literature on slave identities not only by contributing a new case study, but by identifying the specific ships that carried an identifiable group of Africans from specific West African ports to specific destinations in the Americas. By tracing the experiences of Africans who arrived on two Danish slave ships that arrived in Costa Rica in 1710, I investigate conditions “on the ground” in a particular context and reveal pivotal moments when individuals who were forced to adapt to the institution of slavery began to act and think of themselves in new ways. Beginning with the example of the *Christianus Quintus* and *Fredericus Quartus*, I examine slavery in Costa Rica as a whole from 1600 to 1750, based on the archival research I conducted in Costa Rica,

Spain, Guatemala, and Mexico. The survivors of the *Christianus Quintus* and *Fredericus Quartus* underwent experiences common to all enslaved Africans, but to be made a slave in Costa Rica implied a dramatically different experience from those of slaves in Brazil or the Caribbean or South Carolina, Mexico City or Lima or New Orleans. Following the lives of the women and men who arrived on the *Christianus Quintus* and *Fredericus Quartus* shows how the conditions of slavery in a unique local setting determined the constraints that slaves faced and how they responded to their condition, sometimes according to the cultural ways they brought from Africa, sometimes with the cultural “tools” they found at hand in the New World, and always by creating something new in Costa Rica.

The extensive documentation surrounding the voyages of the *Christianus Quintus* and the *Fredericus Quartus* from Africa to Costa Rica and the fates of their survivors offers exceptional opportunities to investigate, from a variety of perspectives, the processes by which one group of enslaved Africans became American slaves. Records kept at the Danish slave trading fort of Christiansborg near Accra, now in the State Archives of Denmark, describe the conditions on the Gold and Slave Coasts at the time the ships arrived there, allowing the embarkation of the captives to be placed in the concrete perspective of African history.¹ Later, in Portobello and eventually back in Denmark, captains and crew members of the ships gave testimony on the events of the Middle Passage.² Within a few weeks of their arrival, 105 of the African men, women, and children who had been discharged on the beach were captured by Costa Rican colonists.

Dozens of participants and witnesses, including Africans, Spaniards, and Miskito Indians, recounted the circumstances of their disembarkation and recapture. The human cargoes of the *Christianus Quintus* and *Fredericus Quartus* immediately became the subjects of jurisdictional disputes between Spanish officials in Costa Rica, Panama, and Guatemala, all of whom asserted a right to the Africans and argued their cases in documents now found in archives in Costa Rica, Guatemala, and Spain. By October 1710, fifty-eight Africans had embarked for Panama to be resold; a few went north to Nicaragua or Guatemala; but nearly half were sold at auction in Costa Rica.³ From that point, many of the captives surface periodically in Costa Rican notarial, sacramental, and criminal records at pivotal moments in their lives – when they were bought and sold, listed in a master’s property inventory, when they were baptized or baptized a child, when they married, gave evidence in a criminal trial, or even gained their freedom. In 1718, after charges of smuggling surfaced against Costa Rican settlers, the Royal Audiencia of Guatemala initiated another lengthy investigation of the origins of these and other African-born slaves in the province, generating thousands of pages of proceedings.⁴ In this second inquiry, more than one hundred African slaves were interrogated about their ethnic origins, the circumstances of their arrival in Costa Rica, their previous masters, and the other Africans who had arrived with them.⁵ These unusual inquiries recorded the slaves’ own words – or as close to their own words as we are ever likely to get – and help inform the fragmentary glimpses provided by the serial documents.

Taken together, these bodies of sources allow us to follow identifiable groups of men, women, and children from their home societies in Africa through the probable

circumstances that resulted in their enslavement to their forced marches to the coast, their purchase by Europeans and the horrors of the Middle Passage, to their arrival, escape, and recapture in Costa Rica, where they were reduced to slavery and decades later, a few became free men and women again. In many ways, the experiences of the survivors of the *Christianus Quintus* and *Fredericus Quartus* were exceptional, but in just as many, their experiences were typical of those of thousands of Africans who came to be enslaved in Costa Rica in the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries. And through the exceptionality of their story, we gain insight into the experiences common to all.

The period from 1600 to 1750 encompasses the development of slavery in the province from the earliest available records through the origins, rise, and decline of the cacao cycle, the economic enterprise in Costa Rica that depended most heavily on slavery. In some respects, documentation of slavery in colonial Costa Rica is remarkably strong, but it also presents serious difficulties. With the exception of Guatemala, Costa Rica is the best-documented of Spain's Central American colonies, yet there are sizeable gaps in the historical record. Except for a handful of baptismal records beginning in the 1590s, surviving documentation for the sixteenth century consists almost entirely of letters to the king and Council of the Indies written by high-ranking civil and ecclesiastical officials, now in the Archivo de Indias in Seville. Many of these were published by León Fernández in his monumental *Colección de documentos para la historia de Costa Rica* and in the *Revista de los Archivos Nacionales* over the years.⁶ Rich in detail on the indigenous population, they rarely (but occasionally do) make mention of slaves.

Much invaluable information on the slave trade to Costa Rica has also been lost. Throughout the colonial period, Nicaragua – of which Nicoya, the earliest-settled area now in Costa Rica, formed a part – and the Isthmus of Panama supplied a majority of enslaved Africans to Costa Rica. Many if not most local archives in both countries have been totally destroyed by wars, earthquakes, and fires over the centuries, with the result that only similar, mostly high-level communications, also preserved in the Archivo de Indias, have survived for these areas. Many of the Nicaraguan documents were published in the *Colección de documentos para la historia de Nicaragua*, better known as the *Colección Somoza* after its commissioner.⁷ Likewise, with the partial exception of sacramental records, few documents from Pacific Costa Rica exist from before the late eighteenth century (thanks in part to the buccaneers who put Esparza to the torch in the late seventeenth century). Probably most slaves who came to Costa Rica from Panama, and the overwhelming majority if not all of those who arrived from Nicaragua, disembarked at Costa Rica's Pacific coast ports. Even more importantly to the study of slavery itself in Costa Rica, the dearth of documentation from the Pacific region severely limits the picture of slavery that can be reconstructed for that important region.

Comparatively, the documentation for slavery in Cartago, Costa Rica's capital throughout the colonial period, is abundant after the turn of the seventeenth century, as are records from the rest of the Central Valley from the early eighteenth. Notarial records such as bills of sale, testaments, dowry inventories, certifications of donations, promissory notes, and letters of manumission begin for Cartago in 1603, and for Heredia and San José in 1721. I have consulted all available volumes from those dates through

1750. Although spotty for the early decades, they are nearly complete from the 1660s on, and formed the main sources for Rina Cáceres's important work on Costa Rica's population of African descent in the seventeenth century.⁸ A detailed and usually reliable index greatly facilitates their consultation. In a few instances in which documents were being repaired during my research trip, it had to substitute for the originals. The notarial records are invaluable for tracing the lives of individual men and women over time, a task more manageable for Costa Rica than it would be for large slave societies. The databases I compiled from these sources provide the basis for many of my quantitative as well as qualitative assertions about slavery in Costa Rica. In the absence of narrative accounts, documents such as testaments, dowry inventories, and postmortem property inventories often constitute the only available sources that can shed light on where and with whom slaves lived and the activities at which they worked.

Surviving records of baptisms in the main parish church of Cartago begin in the 1590s. The very first certificate records the administration of the sacrament to the son of an enslaved woman. Slave children appear in them with some regularity, but not nearly as often as they do in notarial documents, strongly suggesting that slaves were baptized much less frequently than other children. The baptisms of adult Africans were seldom recorded; compared to at least 292 Africans mentioned in Central Valley notarial documents, only thirty-eight baptisms of women and men who can conclusively be identified as African-born are to be found in Cartago baptismal registers.⁹ Baptismal certificates from Esparza on the Pacific coast exist from 1708 on. Of about 605 total baptisms, just fifteen persons were identified as slaves. Marriage records from Cartago

begin in the 1660s, and from Esparza in 1710. With their notations of godparents, sponsors, and witnesses, both sets of records are useful in suggesting slaves' relationships with other Costa Ricans. I compiled two databases from parish records of baptisms and marriages in which I included slaves, free blacks and mulatos, mestizos, and Indians. Sacramental records were equally as indispensable as notarial records in tracking individuals and making quantitative assessments. These, too, however, show serious gaps. Especially important, the baptismal registers from 1710 and 1711, immediately after the survivors of the *Christianus Quintus* and *Fredericus Quartus* arrived in the colony, have been lost; most of the baptisms of the Africans who arrived on those ships must have been in them. The records from Cartago's Convent of San Francisco, to all appearances as important a ceremonial center as the parish, have apparently not been preserved (although it is possible that they still exist in the Franciscan archive in Rome). And no documents appear to have survived from the ramshackle church established at Matina around 1720, most of whose parishioners would have been slaves.¹⁰

Unlike civil and ecclesiastical serial records, other types of documents which have proved invaluable in other studies of slavery are extraordinarily few in Costa Rica. Most glaringly absent are detailed narratives describing the living or working conditions of slaves at any time during the period of study. Travel accounts, for example, constitute a major source for studies of slavery in Brazil, the Caribbean, and the United States. Few were ever written about colonial Costa Rica; in fact, such accounts are far more abundant for precolonial Africa than for most parts of colonial Central America. Only a handful of senior civil and ecclesiastical officials such as *oidores* and *visitadores* toured Costa Rica

during the colonial period, and they almost never commented on slaves. If they remarked on them at all, they did so only in passing. Similarly, slaves hardly ever appear in the official reports of governors or other functionaries. Detail on slave life must be gleaned from other documents, above all from legal testimony. Criminal charges against slaves were relatively rare, suggesting that most incidents -- for example, of slave flight or thefts committed by slaves, which probably occurred frequently -- were handled “extra-judicially” (a term often used in the documents). On the other hand, slaves more often gave evidence as witnesses when their masters became involved in legal wrangling, or when they themselves figured in property disputes or sued for their freedom. In notarial documents, officials also occasionally recorded unusual circumstances affecting transactions involving human property.

Generalizations from such statements are inevitable and inevitably speculative, but help bring to life the often dry information found in serial documents. Reliance on such cases, however, potentially presents an additional methodological problem. As Michael Tadman argued in the much different context of the United States South, the sources are skewed in favor of the “key slaves” who interacted most with whites, such as overseers or the lucky few who attained manumission. “Rank-and-file slaves,” as Tadman writes, “are almost invisible.”¹¹ Unfortunately, women were even less likely than “ordinary” male Costa Rican slaves to leave documentary records beyond their names in notarial or sacramental registers. However, the biographies of men such as the *congo* Diego Angulo, the *cabo verde* Diego García, or the mulato José Cubero -- all of whom won their freedom -- although exceptional in themselves, usually describe their work and lives

over a period of many years. Their stories often provide detail on the lives of other slaves and servants, free mulatos, whites, and of course their masters. In addition, the problem Tadman identifies is reduced by what I argue was a crucial aspect of slavery in the colony: Unlike enslaved women and men in large plantation societies, the vast majority if not all slaves in Costa Rica knew their masters personally, and most interacted with them frequently. The close contacts with masters that were limited to a small minority of “key slaves” in slave societies, therefore, were commonly experienced by most slaves in Costa Rica.

The richest documentation for any era of Costa Rican slavery derives from the first three decades of the eighteenth century. Several hundred African captives came to Costa Rica during those years, probably a majority of them illegally. The unanticipated arrival of the *Nuestra Señora de la Soledad* at La Caldera in 1700 led to several investigations. The Archivo Nacional de Costa Rica and the Archivo de Indias each contain extensive material on the incident and its consequences that are not found in the other. In an odd scheme to finance a mission to the Indians of Talamanca, the Most Reverend Father Fray Francisco de San José imported a dozen or so Africans in 1702. When Governor don Francisco de Serrano y Reyna learned of the shipment, the friar’s failure to cut him in on the action moved him to file charges and consequently to leave record of the incident. In 1703, *Oidor* don Francisco de Carmona went from Guatemala City to Cartago to investigate rumors of contraband commerce in the province; he ended up compiling thick files of testimony on the illegal slave trade. As already mentioned, the arrival of the *Christianus Quintus* and *Fredericus Quartus* generated reams of paperwork in multiple

jurisdictions around 1710. Among many duplicated documents, the Archivo Nacional de Costa Rica and Archivo de Indias both conserve unique materials on the survivors of the Danish ships. Various investigations of illegal commerce – including in slaves -- led to criminal charges against Governors don Francisco de Serrano y Reyna (1695-1704), don Lorenzo Antonio de la Granda y Balvín (1703-1712), and don José Antonio Lacayo de Briones (1712-1717). These investigations also contain much information on African slaves. Governor don Pedro Ruiz de Bustamante (1716-1718) began a series of inquiries on the illegal importations of African slaves that was pursued to its conclusion by his successor, don Diego de la Haya Fernández (1718-1727). The records of de la Haya's investigation (almost all written in his own hand "for lack of a scribe") form perhaps the richest material of all documentation on Costa Rican slavery. The governor questioned dozens of slaves about their ethnic origins, circumstances of arrival in Costa Rica, shipmates, family members, and previous and current masters. Their answers come closest to directly addressing the questions about the ethnicities, social relations, and identities of enslaved people that I pursue in this dissertation.

The African men and women transported to Costa Rica on the *Christianus Quintus* and *Fredericus Quartus*, like all Africans forced into the Atlantic slave trade, underwent a series of wrenching changes that necessarily affected the ways in which they conceived of the world and their places within it. At home, their individual identities were necessary tied to highly localized communities defined by such elements as kinship, a belief in descent from common ancestors, and veneration of spirits tied to the lands on

which they lived.¹² Most, however, did not understand these complexes of cultural traits as comprising *ethnicities* – they came to understand their differences from other peoples through war, enslavement, and Diaspora.

Although conditions in Africa changed radically from 1600 to 1750, wars always produced the overwhelming majority of the captives exported to the Americas. These conflicts resulted from highly specific, local circumstances, but they occurred within the context of the violent changes provoked by the increasing orientation of West and West Central African rulers toward the Atlantic trade with Europeans. The African *captives* who were captured and deported to the Americas understood their fates in terms of the specific conflicts that resulted in their enslavement, but also grew to understand the larger forces that affected all other captives with them.

They also became increasingly aware that they shared cultural similarities with men and women from the same broad regions, and that outsiders grouped them with other peoples on the basis of (these and/or other) perceived similarities. *Diasporic ethnicities*, often corresponding to the names attributed to them by slave traders and masters, began to emerge from close contact with people of similar languages and cultures.¹³ These were new identities organized around new bases, shared with peoples with whom most would never have come in contact in their home societies, sometimes even with peoples who had been their enemies at home.

The abstraction of the Atlantic slave trade became real to African women and men through the brutal experience of the Middle Passage. The Atlantic crossing represented an irreparable rupture with the past, but not a “social death” nor the reduction of African

human beings to “things.”¹⁴ It marked the blending – under violent and dehumanizing conditions -- of “old” identities based in the home societies of Africa with new ones born in the Diaspora, manifested in the birth of relationships between *shipmates*. The relative importance of “new African-derived ethnic identities outside the continent,” the Middle Passage, and experiences of New World slavery differed according to the infinite variations of the local circumstances in which they unfolded.¹⁵

When African women and men arrived in Costa Rica, they entered, against their will, into a determined set of social relations. “The Negro,” as Karl Marx wrote, “is a Negro. Only under certain conditions does he become a slave.”¹⁶ What Marx neglected to note was that neither were Africans “Negroes” (or *blacks*) before they became slaves. Dark skin was a phenotypical trait so universally shared that it in Africa, it was worthless in identifying individuals or groups. It assumed ideological significance only when it became a marker of degradation in slavery.¹⁷ In Costa Rica, the newly enslaved experienced their new status as *slaves* through individual relationships with their Spanish masters, who tried to control their lives as they did those of all subordinated groups in the province. Through a series of actions designed to assimilate Africans to their new status as slaves during the process British planters called “seasoning,” masters tried to convert Africans into mere extensions of their own wills. These same processes, however, allowed Africans to form new relationships among themselves and with other slaves and servants that went beyond their masters’ control and even their understanding. Like the men and women they tried to dominate, masters confronted limitations on what they could accomplish.

The most remote province of the Kingdom of Guatemala, Costa Rica was a hierarchical colonial society, but bore little resemblance to those founded on mining or plantation agriculture. Endemic internal and external conditions, especially a chronic labor shortage and weak trade relations, severely constrained the aspirations of the self-styled Spanish elite in Costa Rica throughout the colonial period. Their straitened financial resources sharply limited the ability of Spanish colonists to purchase African slaves, which decisively conditioned the extent and nature of the slave trade to the province. Without a large indigenous population or the resources to purchase large numbers of African slaves, Spaniards relied on a mixed labor force of Indians, free mulatos, mestizos, and slaves from the beginning. Despite slaves' legal status, the limited demographic impact of the slave trade on the province and the diminished importance of slavery as a relation of production made them just another component of a larger servant class. The absence of large groups of ethnic Africans and slaves' constant, intimate contact with members of other racial and ethnic groups encouraged the assimilation of Africans and their enslaved descendants to a broadly shared popular culture common to all members of society.

The nature of the work to which masters put their slaves sustained this contact and required that slaves be allowed varying degrees of physical mobility and responsibility that sometimes offered them opportunities to pursue their own interests. Despite their apparently organic relationship to the nature of labor itself, however, such opportunities ultimately derived from the masters who delegated authority according to their own perceived needs and cultural dictates. The importance masters attributed to slaves'

gender, and to a lesser extent color and place of birth, conditioned their ideas about what labor was appropriate for each group, and thus decisively influenced the choices available to enslaved women and men.¹⁸ Slaves did not choose the work they did, nor did they establish relationships or form communities just as they pleased. But although they always lived within the limits imposed by the master-slave relationship, their status as slaves formed only one of several overlapping identities.¹⁹

Enslaved Africans came from specific homelands; they became shipmates and veterans of “seasoning” on particular vessels and properties; they came to answer to individual masters and mistresses and to identify with their other slaves and servants; they recognized similar cultural characteristics, and came to associate on the basis of those characteristics, with Africans of other origins although these might live on other properties. They learned new ways of work. African men and women learned new rules of behavior particular to each gender. The vast majority learned to speak a foreign language and to pay their respects, sincerely or otherwise, to a foreign god. They lived among Spaniards, Indians, free mulatos, mestizos, and other slaves, and observed where each group fit into the local hierarchy, noting that there were always individual exceptions, people who temporarily stepped or permanently lived out of their “place.” They found that although they did the same work as people of these other groups, they were treated differently. They came to understand that they occupied a legally sanctioned class position at the lowest level of a society that cared nothing for their African past and allowed them few opportunities to remember it with those who shared it. To affirm their humanity, they assumed and remade roles as friends and family members in new

communities that transcended ethnicity, race, and even slavery. Aided by unique conditions in Costa Rica, a highly visible minority of enslaved Africans proved able to exploit their new roles and relationships for social and material advantage in pursuit of the ultimate goal: freedom. Their conspicuous success encouraged other slaves to imitate the strategies and cultivate the relationships that seemed to lead to it. An inescapable lesson seemed to be that the path to success and freedom lay outside the slave community, extended by free relatives and sympathetic masters and patrons.

The prologue places the “Guinea voyage” of the *Christianus Quintus* and *Fredericus Quartus* in the context of the Atlantic slave trade and West African history. Chapter One examines the origins of the Africans who came to Costa Rica in chains between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries. Chapter Two looks at the slave trade to Costa Rica and its implications for slave identity. Chapter Three discusses the introduction of Africans to their status as slaves in Costa Rica. Chapter Four examines the diverse types of work slaves did and how these affected their social lives. Chapter Five looks at slave flight and resistance. Chapter Six discusses the families that slaves created and how they associated these with freedom. The epilogue documents the eighteenth-century beginnings of an English-speaking black community in Costa Rica and the culture of resistance that they brought with them.

¹ I am especially grateful to Professor Ole Justesen of the University of Copenhagen for allowing me to cite from his forthcoming volume of translations, *Danish Documents concerning the History of Ghana, 1654-1754*.

² Georg Nørregård, "Forliset ved Nicaragua 1710," *Årbog 1948* (Handels- og Søfartsmuseet på Kronborg, Helsingør, Denmark), 67-98.

³ Archivo Nacional de Costa Rica, San José (hereafter ANCR), Sección Colonial Cartago (hereafter C) 182 (1710), C 187 (1710); Archivo General de Centroamérica, Guatemala City, A1 (5), exp. 632, leg. 77 (1710); Archivo General de Indias, Seville (hereafter AGI), Indiferente 2799 (1711-1714).

⁴ ANCR, C 211 (1716-1719), C 224 (1719), C 229-246 (1719), C 248-254 (1719), C 256 (1719), C 258-268 (1719), C 273-278 (1720), C 280 (1719), C 283-284 (1721), C 288-289 (1719-1720), C 292 (1722); ANCR, Sección Colonial Guatemala (hereafter G) 173 (1719), G 185-188 (1719).

⁵ The six questions asked of each slave are listed in ANCR, Sección Complementario Colonial 5837 (1719), fol. 43.

⁶ León Fernández, ed., *Colección de documentos para la historia de Costa Rica*, 10 vols. (Vols. 1-3, San José: Imprenta Nacional, 1881-1883; Vols. 4-5, Paris: Impr. P. Dupont, 1886; Vols. 6-10, Barcelona: Impr. Viuda de L. Tasso, 1907).

⁷ Andrés Vega Bolaños, ed., *Colección Somoza: Documentos para la historia de Nicaragua* (Madrid, 1945-1957).

⁸ Rina Cáceres, *Negros, mulatos, esclavos y libertos en la Costa Rica del siglo XVII* (Mexico: Instituto Panamericano de Geografía e Historia, 2000).

⁹ ANCR, Protocolos Coloniales de Cartago 801 (1607)-934 (1746); *Índice de los protocolos de Cartago*, 6 vols. San José: Imprenta Nacional, 1909-1930), vols. 1-3 check *Chicago Manual of Style*; Protocolos Coloniales de Heredia 573 (1721)-589 (1744); Protocolos Coloniales de San José 411 (1721)-415 (1738); Archivo de la Curia Metropolitana de San José, Libros de Bautizos de Cartago, nos. 1-6 (1595-1738)/ Family History Library, Salt Lake City, Utah, VAULT INTL film 1219701, items 1-5, VAULT INTL film 1219702, item 1.

¹⁰ Ricardo Blanco Segura, *Historia eclesiástica de Costa Rica, del descubrimiento a la erección de la diócesis (1502-1850)* (San José: Editorial Universidad Estatal a Distancia (EUNED), 1967), 239.

¹¹ Michael Tadman, *Speculators and Slaves: Masters, Traders, and Slaves in the Old South* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1996), xx, xxi (quoted).

¹² Wyatt MacGaffey, "Kongo Identity, 1483-1993," *South Atlantic Quarterly* 94, no. 4 (1995), 1028-1029.

¹³ Douglas B. Chambers, "Ethnicity in the Diaspora: The Slave-Trade and the Creation of African 'Nations' in the Americas," *Slavery & Abolition* 22, no. 3 (2001): 25-39; John Thornton, "The Coromantees: An African Cultural Group in Colonial North America and the Caribbean," *Journal of Caribbean History* 32, nos. 1-2 (1998): 161-178.

¹⁴ Orlando Patterson, *Slavery and Social Death* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1982); Fernando Henrique Cardoso, *Capitalismo e escravidão no Brasil meridional: O negro na sociedade escravocrata do Rio Grande do Sul*, 2nd ed. (Rio de Janeiro: Paz e Terra, 1977; first published 1962 check CMS for format in citing first eds.).

¹⁵ Douglas B. Chambers, "Tracing Igbo into the African Diaspora," in *Identity in the Shadow of Slavery*, ed. Paul E. Lovejoy (London: Continuum, 2000), 55. See also Frank "Trey" Proctor, "African Diasporic Ethnicity and Slave Community Formation in Mexico City to 1650," paper presented at the 2003 meeting of the American Society for Ethnohistory, Riverside, California, 5-9 Nov., 2003.

¹⁶ Karl Marx, *Wage Labour and Capital*, in *Wage Labour and Capital and Value, Price and Profit* (1849; rpt., New York: International Publishers, 1985check CMS for citing first eds.), 27.

¹⁷ Barbara J. Fields, "Ideology and Race in American History," in *Region, Race, and Reconstruction: Essays in Honor of C Vann Woodward*, ed. J. Morgan Kousser and James M. McPherson (New York: Oxford University Press, 1982), 151.

¹⁸ Fields, "Ideology and Race," 161.

¹⁹ Cf. Herman Lee Bennett, "Lovers, Family and Friends: The Formation of Afro-Mexico, 1580-1810" (Ph.D. diss., Duke University, 1993); idem, "A Research Note: Race, Slavery, and the Ambiguity of Corporate Consciousness." *Colonial Latin American Historical Review* 3, no. 2 (spring 1994): 207-213; idem, *Africans in Colonial Mexico: Absolutism, Christianity, and Afro-Creole Consciousness, 1570-1640* (Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press, 2003).

CHAPTER 1

A GUINEA VOYAGE: THE *CHRISTIANUS QUINTUS* AND *FREDERICUS QUARTUS* SAIL FOR WEST AFRICA, 1709

On 10 March 1710, sentinel Alfonso Ramírez scanned the horizon from his post in the Spanish watchtower overlooking the Atlantic near Matina, Costa Rica. Suddenly he made out “two shapes” running on the beach below, which just as suddenly disappeared from view. Afraid they might be enemy Miskito Zambos, Ramírez immediately sent soldier Miguel Gómez to notify Captain Gaspar de Acosta Arévalo, the lieutenant in charge of the Matina Valley. The next day Ramírez sent several soldiers to search the beach for the “shapes.” Juan Bautista Retana, José Ortega, Isidro de Acosta, and several others returned with two excited black women, from whom “not a word could be understood.”¹

The first of those young women came to be called Nicolasa Mina. Years later, she recalled that “she came in a ship that was accompanied by another, and that it was of the English, and that it went to pieces on the beaches of Matina.” Nicolasa had “gone out swimming, and went to a watchtower, and from there they took her to the Lieutenant of the Valley, Gaspar de Acosta.” She was about fifteen years old when Acosta brought her with twenty-one other African men and women to Costa Rica’s capital, Cartago.²

The ship that brought Nicolasa and hundreds of others to Matina was called the *Christianus Quintus*. It was not English, as she believed, but Danish, and as she noted, sailed in convoy with another ship, the *Fredericus Quartus*. Both ships had already made

slaving voyages to the Americas beginning in 1698. The Danes were relative newcomers and junior partners in the “Guinea trade”; although Danish slave ships began sailing occasionally to West Africa in the 1670s, only after the reorganization of the Danish West India and Guinea Company in 1697 and the expansion of Denmark’s Caribbean colonies did the Danish share of the African commerce rise in importance.³ During the War of Spanish Succession (1700-1713), when hostilities between major European nations caused disruptions in the supply of captives to the Americas, neutral Denmark expanded its involvement in the human traffic, selling captives at greater profits as planter demand outstripped the supply of Africans.⁴ Even then, Danish involvement remained small. The Danish West India and Guinea Company rarely if ever sailed more than two ships at a time between Copenhagen, Africa, and the Caribbean, and never filled the demand for captives even in its own sugar colonies. Without large-scale manufacturing in their country, the Danes had to purchase the overwhelming majority of the goods they sold in West Africa from other European nations who were their direct competitors, such as Holland; as a result, they had to sell their merchandise at higher prices than their Dutch, English, French, and even Portuguese rivals.⁵ Nevertheless, in the long term, even the Danes made handsome profits from trade in West Africa: between 1709 and 1746, the Danish West India and Guinea Company sent goods to Africa worth approximately 600,000 rixdollars (about £60,000 in the currency of the time), and sold the return cargoes for more than two million rixdollars (about £200,000).⁶

In October 1708, two ships of the Danish West India and Guinea Company began preparing for a voyage to West Africa.⁷ The *Fredericus Quartus* and *Christianus Quintus*

were both veterans of the trans-Atlantic slave trade. They left Copenhagen in December 1708 with an assortment of goods for sale. Like other European nations, the Danes tried to keep up with changing African tastes in an attempt to profit from the latest trends, but they often arrived with goods of poor or outdated quality that were difficult to unload. For example, the *Fredericus Quartus* carried thirty crates of old bedsheets, eight crates of firearms, 522 iron bars made in Norway and 648 from Sweden, and nineteen barrels of cowries, among other sundry articles.⁸ These odd goods served a variety of uses in West Africa: old bedsheets were cut into strips and used as raw material by weavers, as well as used for a variety of disposable ends; iron bars were refashioned into tools and weapons by smiths, and sometimes used as currency, but had decreased sharply in value since the late seventeenth century.⁹ As the main form of currency on the Slave Coast and in the kingdom of Oyo, cowry shells formed the single most important article imported to those areas for re-export to the interior; yet cowries comprised a relatively small portion of the goods brought by the Danes, who favored cheap textiles, as reflected in the cargo of the *Fredericus Quartus*.¹⁰ The voyage out passed without incident for both ships, which rounded the Canary Islands in late January 1709. On 22 March 1709, the ships stopped at Cape Three Points (Cabo Três Pontas) on the western Gold Coast, where Captain Diedrich Pfeiff of the *Christianus Quintus* exchanged nine barrels of brass bangles (known as “manillas,” another form of African currency) for 650 lbs. (295 kg.) of ivory, a small quantity of gold, some firewood, and eleven slaves.¹¹

Captives arrived at hinterland markets after days, weeks, sometimes months of crossing forests, grasslands, rivers, or deserts littered with the bones of those who had

gone before. At these ancient trade centers African merchants exchanged a dazzling variety of goods such as food, textiles, salt, precious metals, beads, animals, and iron for the human commodities.¹² Typically, a number of routes converged at each large market, bringing captives from an ever-widening radius of the interior. At these hinterland markets, captives were again separated from their companions and thrown together with others. Although most had been captured in war, others were political dissidents, debtors and unredeemed pawns, common criminals, or simply unlucky peasants snared in the slavers' nets.¹³ Local masters bought and sold men, women, and children according to their particular preferences in accordance with the social value attached to people of different ages and genders.¹⁴ Most African slaveholders preferred female captives, who usually commanded higher prices than men. In most African societies (with the notable exception of those in the Bight of Biafra), women performed the bulk of agricultural labor. Equally as important, women served their masters sexually and bore them children. In much of Africa, control of people rather than of land formed the basis of political power.¹⁵ Torn from their homelands, enslaved women had no recognized lineages and thus no maternal kin who could claim rights over their labor or their children. Masters therefore theoretically held unquestioned authority over their enslaved concubines and their children and through them, increased their retinue of dependents and thus their political power.¹⁶ Although enslaved women and their children became absorbed into the lineages of their new masters, they were often accepted only as inferior junior members and condemned to the status of permanent outsiders.¹⁷ But just as important, being uprooted, forcibly incorporated into new societies as slaves, and losing

control of their children to a master were familiar if heart-wrenching experiences to many African women by the time they were sold into the Atlantic slave trade.¹⁸ The officials of powerful African states took some women to work on royal plantations, to fight in slave armies, or to serve in a king's harems; others had much further to go.¹⁹

The captives reached the end of their trek at the disease- and vermin-ridden dungeons and barracoons of trading forts near the coast, where pale-skinned foreigners stood over them with guns and slopped them with gruel once or twice a day. Some were sure these ghostly beings came from the land of the dead, and most assumed that they were witches; everywhere in Africa, terrifying rumors circulated among the captives that the Europeans intended to eat them. Here, captives encountered enslavers of a strikingly different skin color, most for the first time. They soon learned that the pale-skinned enslavers attributed great significance to this difference in appearance, and made little distinction in their treatment of African men and women, regardless of their different ethnic and linguistic backgrounds. Haunted by disease, dehydration, malnutrition, one in ten – sometimes as many as 40 percent -- of the captives never left Africa alive.²⁰ The length of their stay depended on the number of captives held at the forts and could last from days to months. Although the captives could not control the sickness, pain, and death that surrounded them, depending on the time they were imprisoned on the coast, they could begin to form new associations there as they shared their sufferings.²¹ When several hundred captives had been assembled, they were put into canoes and ferried by local Africans to the towering vessels waiting offshore.²²



Map 2

Detail of a map of West Africa by H. Moll, ca. 1730

Source: Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, Williamsburg, Va.
 From *The Atlantic Slave Trade and Slave Life in the Americas: A Visual Record*,
 A website by Jerome S. Handler and Michael L. Tuite, Jr.
<http://hitchcock.etc.virginia.edu/Slavery/details.php?filename=CWF-2>

Among others, several ports on the Gold and Slave Coasts where the *Christianus Quintus* and *Fredericus Quartus* stopped are indicated by numerals (from west to east):

- 1) Cape Three Points
- 2) Dixcove
- 3) São Jorge da Mina or Elmina ("St. George del Mine")
- 4) Kormantyn ("Fort Amsterdam")
- 5) Christiansborg
- 6) Keta (not shown)
- 7) Popo or Little Popo ("L. Popo")
- 8) Ouidah ("Whiddah or Fida")

Ships bound for the Gold and Slave Coasts rarely succeeded in obtaining many captives on the western part of the voyage, but the men purchased at Cape Three Points likely served a special purpose for the Danish crew. In the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, many male slaves purchased on the Gold Coast, especially those west of Cape Coast Castle, were designated as “guardians” to help European crews maintain control of the greater numbers of slaves later obtained on the Slave Coast. “. . . Before 1700 it is likely that nearly all male slaves that Slave Coast-bound ships obtained from the Ivory and Gold Coasts west of Cape Coast Castle . . . were given roles in supervising other slaves,” writes David Eltis, who has extensively researched not only the trans-Atlantic slave trade but shipboard slave rebellions, and they likely received better treatment from their European captors.²³ Slave traders consciously exploited ethnic differences among Africans to maintain control, as British slaver Thomas Phillips, captain of the *Hannibal*, wrote of a 1693-1694 voyage:

. . . We have some 30 or 40 Gold Coast negroes, which we buy, and are procur’d to us there by our factors, to make guardians and overseers of the *Whidaw* negroes, and sleep among them to keep them from quarrelling; and in order, as well as to give us notice, if they can discover any caballing or plotting among them, which trust they will discharge with great diligence . . . when we constitute a guardian, we give him a cat of nine tails as a badge of his office, which he is not a little proud of, and will exercise with great authority.²⁴

This policy of divide-and-rule proved overwhelmingly successful in preventing and suppressing slave revolts at sea. In his analysis of more than 380 rebellions on slave ships bound from Africa, Eltis found not a single one which originated among the “guardians.”²⁵ Subsequent events suggest that some of the male slaves purchased at Cape

Three Points served as guardians and/or pages to the Danes aboard the *Christianus Quintus*.²⁶

Continuing their purchase of provisions along the way, the two ships bought some grain at the English trading station at Dixcove, arriving at the Danish fort of Christiansborg in mid-April 1709.²⁷ Slavers of the various European countries disagreed on what they considered the best diet for captives during the Middle Passage, often adjusting their recommendations according to the origins of the Africans they purchased. The Danes favored pork, beans, and barley gruel flavored with palm oil, varied with weekly rations of millet and perhaps a shot of brandy. This menu represented the ideal, rarely the reality; Ludewig Rømer, stationed on the Gold Coast in the 1740s, admitted that the Danes often provisioned the captives mostly with yellow peas, which constituted “an unhealthy diet at sea.”²⁸

The Gold Coast in 1709

The Atlantic trade brought momentous changes to the societies of the Gold Coast, and the most far-reaching transformations yet had been occurring over the past half-century. During the seventeenth century, control of commerce replaced control of production as the decisive factor in politics; the “lords of firepower” rose to supplant the “nobles” as the regional ruling class; and loosely tied confederations of independent polities fell before more powerful, centralized territorial states backed by improved military organization and technology.²⁹ Especially because of the importation of European

firearms, the coastal trade presented immediate military and political implications. The technological advantage of superior weaponry combined with mass conscript armies enabled states that controlled the trade to conquer new territories, securing greater access to the commodities that became the new foundations of wealth and power.³⁰

As a coastal people, the Ga-speakers of the polity of Accra in the area around Christiansborg had both benefited and suffered from the changes of the past fifty years. At its peak in the mid-1670s, Great Accra thrived as a center of regional trade, boasting a population of between 40,000 and 50,000.³¹ Long a center of salt production, during the seventeenth century the small coastal state expanded its power by imposing stricter control over the eastern trade routes to the coast. Rather than allowing the neighboring northern states free access to the coast, the kings of Accra established a market at Abonse on the northern frontier where they required African foreigners to trade. Merchants from Akan-speaking inland states such as Akwamu, Akyem, Asante, and Kwawu brought large quantities of gold, ivory, and slaves to trade for the prized Accra salt as well as European goods including arms and gunpowder. “Bag of salt” became a derisive term for slaves, emphasizing a person’s reduction to a commodity.³² To help confine the inland traders to the northern market, the Accra employed warriors from the neighboring state of Akwamu to the northwest.³³

Although their operations remained limited in comparison to those of other European nations trading on the Gold Coast, the Danes acquired an important trading station there when they purchased land from King Okai Koi of Accra and built Christiansborg Castle in the 1660s. Christiansborg was one of three European trading stations in the immediate

area, the others being the Dutch Fort Crevecoeur and the English James Fort.³⁴ “Here there is such plenty of Gold and Slaves, the path being free and safe for the Merchants, that no one is in danger of wanting its share,” gushed Dutch slave trader Willem Bosman around 1701.³⁵ Advantageously positioned as the easternmost port of call on the Gold Coast, the Danes at Christiansborg often procured European goods at bargain prices from ships in need of fresh water and supplies as they continued on to the Slave Coast.³⁶

With the growth of their plantation colonies in the New World, European traders increasingly sought slaves over other commodities, which surpassed gold exports in value by the first decades of the eighteenth century.³⁷ According to Carl Christian Reindorf, author of the Gold Coast’s first history based on local oral traditions, it was by “that nefarious traffic” that the rulers of Accra grew rich. Their increased wealth ignited the jealousy of the kings of Akwamu, who gradually tired of their auxiliary role in the commerce and decided to “crush” the Accra and seize control of the lucrative Atlantic trade for themselves.³⁸ Revealingly, Akwamu oral traditions traced the origins of the state’s main military company to a gang of bandits operating around Great Accra.³⁹ From the late 1660s, under King Ansa Sasraku, Akwamu began a series of expansionist wars, intent on monopolizing the gold and slave resources of the hinterland.⁴⁰ Akwamu eventually extended its overlordship over the neighboring states of Kwawu and Krepi, routinely raiding their residents for slaves to sell to the Europeans on the coast.⁴¹

In 1679, the Akwamu conquered Accra and reduced it to tributary status, forcing a large number of Ga- and Adangme-speaking people into exile in Anlo on the Upper Slave Coast, just east of the Volta River. These refugees profoundly altered the demographic,

cultural, and economic environment of the western Slave Coast societies where they settled.⁴² By 1710, Akwamu controlled crucial trading areas of the Gold Coast from Winneba to the Volta River and beyond, regulating the trade routes into the interior as far north as the frontier with Asante.⁴³

The European trade not only transformed relations between the states of the Gold Coast, but radically changed social relations within them. As war and slave raiding ravaged their villages, dispossessed peasants flocked to densely populated towns such as Accra. There, gangs of young men known to the Danes as *siccadinger*, typically unemployed and unmarried, began to organize. Lacking kinship ties or rights to land or subsistence, these destitute youths readily hired their services to wealthy political leaders and merchants, who deployed them to seize slaves from their rivals in nearby areas. Gangs of *siccadinger* commonly roved the neighboring countryside, where they abducted peasants and transported them, bound and gagged, to the coast for sale to the European factors. The activities of the *siccadinger* created widespread disorder among the small states near the coast, and by the late seventeenth century, the old social structure proved clearly incapable of controlling them.⁴⁴

The predatory activities of the *siccadinger* fatally undermined a system of independent polities, but when centrally coordinated, became a powerful weapon in the rise of a new empire. The rising state of Akwamu shrewdly incorporated the *siccadinger* into its military forces, institutionalizing their pillage and kidnapping as a mainstay of its wealth accumulation. Prisoners captured in war belonged to the king and elders, who redistributed slaves and booty among the *siccadinger* to secure their continued loyalty.

Peaceful citizens of Akwamu as well as of neighboring states became vulnerable to arbitrary enslavement simply to finance the lavish lifestyle of the king and his retainers. As Akwamu's kings enriched themselves, their political advisors, and their armies of *siccadinger*, their subjects came to regard them as tyrannical and abusive. The king of Akwamu's "Arbitrary Despotick Power," wrote Willem Bosman around 1701, "occasions the Proverbial saying, That there are only two sorts of Men in *Aquamboe*, of which the King and his Friends are one, and their Slaves the other."⁴⁵ In addition to his regular army, for example, King Akwonno (1705-1725) was reputed to have 1,000 "crafty young men" in his service. He was said to spend the value of 1,000 slaves each year on rum to entertain his troops alone.⁴⁶

In 1707, Akwonno launched a full-scale war of conquest against the state of Kwawu, another Akan state and a major supplier of gold, ivory, and slaves to the north. In April of that year, European traders on the coast complained that the war had disrupted the flow of commodities to their stations. The Kwawu withdrew across the northern hinterland to the Asante frontier, where they turned unexpectedly (perhaps afraid of provoking Asante by entering its territory) and routed the Akwamu in February 1708. This "crushing defeat" forced the Akwamu to retreat to their capital to re-equip and reinforce their troops. The Danes at Christiansborg replenished Akwonno's supplies of arms and gunpowder. In late summer 1708, the Akwamu attempted another invasion of Kwawu, but were again repulsed.⁴⁷

Temporarily thwarted in his northern campaign, Akwonno turned his attention to the kingdom of Accra to the southeast. Akwonno suspected that Accra's rulers, technically

his tributary dependents, had been conspiring against him, and attacked in late November 1708. The Accra king Ni Ayi, his household, and most of his warriors escaped to safety in the Dutch Fort Crevecoeur, but chief Ama Kuna and his personal guard were shut out and slaughtered by the Akwamu as they attempted to flee by canoe to the English James Fort. Emboldened by his success, Akwonno and his army set up camp in the area and during the following months repeatedly assaulted the coastal towns of Osu, Labadi, Teshi, and perhaps Ningo (also called Nungo, or Nungowa), further east. The Akwamu destroyed Labadi in a single night, killing or enslaving some one thousand people.⁴⁸

Like the British, Erick Lygaard, commander of the fort at Christiansborg, hoped an Akwamu victory would improve trade conditions, and continued to supply Akwonno with arms during his attacks on the Accra.⁴⁹ “The war is no concern of ours,” claimed Lygaard, who despite protesting neutrality, effectively aided an Akwamu victory.⁵⁰ When the Accra sought Danish assistance in defending themselves against a second Akwamu attack, Lygaard refused to provide them with gunpowder or extend them the protection of the castle. Instead, the Danes barricaded themselves inside their fort and watched as Akwonno and his army slaughtered and enslaved the Accra on the beaches below.⁵¹ Some of the Danes at the fort, horrified by Lygaard’s treachery toward their Accra allies, attempted to have him removed from command, but in the end he maintained his position.⁵² In the aftermath of the Akwamu victory, Lygaard lavished gifts on Akwonno, who withdrew to his capital in victory on 1 April 1709.⁵³

The Akwamu wars against Kwawu and Accra and the blockade of the castle itself formed the immediate background to the arrival the ships *Christianus Quintus* and

Fredericus Quartus at Christiansborg on 16 and 25 April 1709, respectively. The Akwamu had brought trade from the interior to a virtual standstill. When the Dutch refused to pay him tribute, Akwonno had blockaded the roads to Accra. The renewal of the war with Kwawu, “from where the slaves come” as Lygaard wrote, threatened to halt supplies and inflate the prices of the few slaves that did arrive at the coast. At the time of the ships’ arrival, the Danes at the fort had barely enough captives on hand to fill one of the ship’s cargoes.⁵⁴ Almost certainly, these included Kwawu and some of the Accra captured in the towns of Osu, Teshi, Labadi, and Ningo in the preceding months.

Due to the unstable political climate on the Gold Coast that frequently disrupted trade to the coast, European slavers often failed to obtain a full slave cargo at Accra, and continued sailing east to fill out their shipments at the ports along the Slave Coast. In these circumstances, the *Christianus Quintus* proceeded to Ouidah on the Slave Coast for its cargo, while the *Fredericus Quartus* stayed behind. Commander Lygaard complained that the poor quality of the goods brought by the ships could not be sold quickly. If they fetched enough to fill the hold of the *Fredericus Quartus* with slaves, virtually nothing would be left for the fort itself. The *Christianus Quartus* was prepared for its voyage east by fitting it with slave benches, unloading part of its cargo, and completing its stores with goods transferred from the *Fredericus Quartus*.⁵⁵

Beyond doubt, this work was accomplished by Africans living in the towns near the fort and the Company’s “castle slaves.” Like other Europeans trading on the Gold Coast, the Danes continued the indigenous custom of importing slaves from other areas to work at their trading stations. By the 1660s, “many” Gold Coast nobles owned slaves from the

kingdom of Allada in the Bight of Benin, exchanged for gold by local merchants trading on the Slave Coast.⁵⁶ Throughout the Gold Coast, Europeans followed the local preference for Allada slaves. Linguistically and culturally alien to the Akan-, Ga- and Adangme-speakers native to the region, the Allada slaves often formed their own neighborhoods in the coastal towns and to a great extent, maintained a separate ethnic identity in Diaspora. In cases of unrest threatening the Europeans, Allada slaves on the Gold Coast united with neither the natives of the area nor the captives awaiting deportation, although they had extensive contact with both groups.⁵⁷ Europeans including the Danes readily extended their policy of divide and rule onto the high seas, exploiting the developing animosities between natives of the Gold Coast and the Slave Coast during the Middle Passage.

Like the other ports on the Gold Coast, and indeed much of West Africa, Christiansborg had no natural harbor and was pounded by extremely powerful surf. Ships could anchor safely only at some distance east of the fort.⁵⁸ At the arrival of a ship, African “beachboys” swarmed the strand, carrying merchandise to and from the castle on their heads, while canoemen relayed goods between ships and shore.⁵⁹ Especially renowned for their skill, the canoemen of Elmina on the western Gold Coast worked at ports throughout the Gold and Slave Coasts. The crucial process of loading and unloading cargo depended entirely on these workers, as Europeans realized: “Those canoes laden with goods and men, are conveyed by the Mina Blacks over the worst and most dreadful beating seas, all along the coast . . . where no manner of trade could be carried on between the shore and the road, without that help.”⁶⁰

Mina canoemen, many of whom were of Fante origin, played a crucial role not only as auxiliaries of the European trade, but as coastal merchants in their own right. The canoemen shuttled large quantities of goods, mainly between the ports of the Gold and Slave Coasts, but reportedly sometimes venturing as far as Angola.⁶¹ Although the Portuguese and Dutch probably initiated the maritime commerce between coastal African states, by the 1660s, Gold Coast canoemen secured a monopoly on the trade in certain luxury goods such as *akori* beads, made from a type of gemstone and said to sell for their weight in gold. The widespread use of *akori* beads for personal adornment throughout the Gold Coast -- especially by women of the upper classes, who commonly braided them in their hair -- testified to the expansive trade networks connections maintained by the canoemen. Although small amounts of *akori* may have been produced in the Gold Coast itself, the major sites of production were undoubtedly located far outside it, probably at Ife in Yorubaland. The Gold Coast canoemen obtained their supplies at Little Popo on the Upper Slave Coast and further east, in the kingdom of Allada, where they also traded in other goods such as cotton cloth.⁶² Although most of the canoemen retained their residence on the Gold Coast, some settled and formed permanent communities on the Upper Slave Coast, especially near Little Popo.⁶³

In May 1709, the *Christianus Quintus* left the Danish fort for the Slave Coast to fill the remainder of its hold with captives. Around the second week of June 1709, the *Christianus Quintus* stopped at Little Popo seeking slaves.⁶⁴ The *Fredericus Quartus* remained in port at Christiansborg during most of this time, attempting to make up a cargo from the slaves who arrived at the castle. Traders from the interior Akan-speaking

state of Akyem arrived at the Danish station frequently, but brought few captives. By 19 August 1709, the *Fredericus Quartus* had purchased 357 slaves. About 34 percent were adult females and another 5 percent were described as “girls”; with about 61 percent males, the cargo of captives obtained at Christiansborg came close to the Europeans’ ideal cargo composed of two-thirds males. Twenty-two captives had already died on board when Captain Diedrich Pfeiff decided to sail to Keta on the Upper Slave Coast to fill the rest of the cargo.⁶⁵

The Upper Slave Coast in 1709

The Upper Slave Coast, just east of the Volta River, had long been the scene of intense commercial and cultural exchange between the Gold Coast and Slave Coasts. Several groups of Gold Coast immigrants contributed to the rich ethnic diversity of the region. In 1679, the Akwamu conquest drove large numbers of Ga- and Adangme-speaking refugees just across the Volta to Anlo, where they introduced new techniques in fishing and salt production along with new religious and kinship practices to the area.⁶⁶ Willem Bosman reported that the language at “Coto” (perhaps Keta) in the 1690s was “mostly that of *Acra*, with a very small alteration.” At that time, the Anlo already traded in slaves, “of which they are able sometimes to deliver a good number, but yet not so many as to lade a Ship.”⁶⁷ By the early eighteenth century, increasing productivity in fishing and salt production at Keta meant larger surpluses to exchange in the interior for slaves and ivory, which attracted greater numbers of European ships to stop there.⁶⁸

The *Fredericus Quartus* arrived there on 1 September 1709, and by the 12th of that month, had purchased thirty-five slaves. Captain Diedrich Pfeiff felt optimistic that he would acquire the rest of the cargo he sought there.⁶⁹

A little further east, a group of Gold Coast canoemen known locally as *minas*, probably of Fante origin, established a commercial outpost at Aneho in Little Popo among the Gbe-speaking Hula y the mid-seventeenth century. Little Popo became a critical point in the transport of goods for the indigenous coasting trade: there, canoes arriving by sea were hauled overland to one of a network of lagoons that linked Little Popo with the larger ports of Great Popo, Ouidah, and Allada.⁷⁰ The Gold Coast canoemen played an essential role in this trade because, as many European observers remarked, the native peoples of the Slave Coast resolutely refused to navigate the open sea, although they had no such aversion to travelling on the lagoons.⁷¹ The cultural exchange passed in both directions, as Gold Coast merchants transported significant numbers of “Allada” slaves from Little Popo, Allada, and Ouidah back to Accra, where they were resold throughout the region.⁷²

Another group of Gold Coast immigrants, this one speakers of Ga and Adangme, became established at Gliji, across the lagoon from Aneho, when the Akwamu drove Ofori, an Accra prince, and his partisans from their country in 1679.⁷³ Ofori subsequently embroiled the area in military conflicts by using Little Popo as a base of operations from which he attempted to regain control of his homeland. The distinction between guerrilla warfare and banditry in the area was not (and could not be) always clearly drawn; from the 1680s, traders passing through the area constantly risked attack by bandits, who

commonly doubled as mercenaries in local political conflicts. The bandits' disruptive activities provoked reprisals from the Akwamu, who conquered the area in 1702 but proved able neither to stop the raids nor to monopolize the European trade. The activities of the bandit gangs generated a rising number of slaves offered for sale in the area, which enticed European slavers to stop more frequently despite the area's notoriety as one of the most dangerous landing-spots on the whole of the West African coast.⁷⁴ There, on 14 June 1709, Captains Hans Hansen Maas and Jost von den Vogel, Factor Peder Pedersen Tøjberg, and the chaplain Anders Winther of the *Christianus Quintus* drowned in the breakers when their canoe capsized. Having purchased sixty slaves to date, the surviving crew members, now commanded by Anders Pedersen Wærøe, sailed about thirty miles east to the port of Ouidah, where they arrived on 21 June 1709.⁷⁵

Ouidah in 1709

Ouidah (also known as Whydah, Juda, Fida, Ajuda, or Glehue) served as the port of the powerful kingdom of the same name. Between 1700 and 1710, more slaves were exported from Africa than in any previous decade. The Bight of Benin exported more slaves than any other region in Africa, and Ouidah exported more slaves than any other port on that part of the gulf known as the "Slave Coast." In the ten years before the arrival of the *Christianus Quintus* (1699-1708), more than 22,000 Africans left the continent through the port of Ouidah.⁷⁶

In large part, Ouidah exported more slaves than the Gold Coast because its centralized political structure was more effectively mobilized for the traffic. Ouidah's powerful king maintained strict control over the slave trade, designating a corps of administrators for its specialized functions. The *Yevogan* or "Captain of the Whites" oversaw commercial relations with Europeans at the port. From the 1690s, official interpreters translated each of the major European languages spoken by traders at Ouidah. A "Captain of the Sand" supervised the unloading of goods from European ships; a "Captain of the Slaves" organized the embarkation of the captives, while a "Captain of the Prison" held responsibility for the slaves awaiting shipment.⁷⁷ For permission to trade at the port, European ships paid a portion of their cargo as "customs," which the king might accept in cowries, slaves, or other commodities, at his discretion.⁷⁸ The king set the price for all slaves, and invariably offered his own for sale first. Europeans routinely complained that the king sold the sickliest and most expensive slaves in the port. Once the king's slaves had all been purchased, his officials sold their slaves in order of precedence. Some idea of the volume of slaves sold at Ouidah can be gained by considering that despite the potential for royal monopoly, more than 90 percent of the slaves embarked at the port were sold not by royal officials, but by private traders.⁷⁹

Writing of Ouidah in the 1690s, Dutch slave trader Willem Bosman asserted that "most of the Slaves that are offered to us are Prisoners of War, which are sold by the Victors as their Booty."⁸⁰ Although subjects of Ouidah were also enslaved as punishment for crimes or non-payment of debts, these cases reportedly formed a small minority. A French observer around 1715 estimated that less than 5 percent of the slaves sold at the

port of Ouidah originated within the kingdom.⁸¹ The neighboring kingdom of Allada supplied the majority of the captives sold there, but to a great extent, Allada itself functioned as a re-exporter of slaves from states further in the interior, especially Dahomey and Oyo. According to leading specialist Robin Law, a majority of the slaves sold at Allada probably came “from or at least through Dahomey.”⁸² This powerful expansionist state geared its military organization toward a “slave-raiding mode of production” that formed the basis of the domination of the ruling elite. The Dahomeans raided neighboring interior peoples for slaves, whom they then traded to the less warlike, “middleman” trading coastal states such as Allada and Ouidah.⁸³ Large numbers of slaves originating in the Yoruba empire of Oyo also arrived at the ports of Jaquin, Offra, and Ouidah by way of Allada. Prisoners taken in Oyo’s wars constituted the main source, but these captives included people purchased in the slave markets of the neighboring states of Nupe and Borgu as well.⁸⁴

When the *Christianus Quintus* arrived in June 1709, trade at Ouidah was still recovering from the political instability occasioned by the death of King Amar the previous year. “This country is always in great disorder and confusion when Kings die, which brings great disadvantages to the trade,” a Dutch trader at Ouidah complained in February 1709.⁸⁵ Although Ouidah’s monarchy was ideally transferred by primogeniture, in practice, rival claimants usually resorted to violence to contest succession. At the time of Amar’s death, the oldest of his sons, Huffon, was just twelve years old, and had not been formally designated as his father’s successor; as a result, Amar’s senior chief, the Gogan, attempted to claim the throne.⁸⁶ According to custom, the new king received a

sword from Lukumi, the legendary home of the royal dynasty in Yorubaland, to legitimate his accession by symbolizing his authority to impose capital punishment. After Amar's death, "for some reason," the sword never arrived; consequently, many of Ouidah's chiefs refused to recognize Hufon's authority.⁸⁷

In the political culture of the Slave Coast, the administration of justice formed the most important duty of the king; and in the absence of a recognized monarch, the rule of law could not be imposed. Far more than mere rhetoric, until a new king was proclaimed, no judicial authority existed and crimes were committed with impunity, as Robin Law explains: "accounts, based on observation of the accession of King Hufon in 1708, claim in fact that on these occasions murders as well as thefts were committed, so that 'it seems that justice has died with the king'; wise people stayed at home, or went around in armed bands for self-protection, until the interregnum was over."⁸⁸ The suspension of royal justice meant that people ordinarily protected from enslavement became vulnerable to kidnap and sale; as a result, a greater proportion than usual of the slaves exported from Ouidah at this time probably originated within the kingdom itself, a circumstance made more likely by a further disruption of the supply of slaves.

While Hufon's authority remained sharply contested, the kingdom's provincial chiefs struggled openly against each other and the central monarchy; some looking to Allada in their challenge to the young king.⁸⁹ Just as the kings of Ouidah received the ceremonial sword from Lukumi, they customarily rendered tribute to the neighboring kingdom of Allada to solemnize the transfer of power. When Hufon withheld tribute from the king of Allada upon assuming the throne, the latter in turn refused to perform necessary

funeral rites for the late king Amar.⁹⁰ This ritual dispute occurred in the long-term context of economic warfare between the two largest slave exporters on the Slave Coast: Allada had repeatedly interdicted trade to the port of Ouidah for several prolonged periods since at least the 1690s. In 1709, the Allada king reimposed the blockade on Ouidah, slowing the supply of slaves to a trickle. “The passages through this country are being kept closed by the King of Ardra [Allada] to such an extent, that hardly a single slave comes through,” Dutch trader Jan De Paauw complained from Ouidah in September 1709.⁹¹

On 11 August 1709, Anders Pedersen Wærøe, captain of the *Christianus Quintus*, wrote from Ouidah that he had managed so far to purchase 211 slaves there. He complained of his inability to secure a full cargo because many ships of different nations were trading at the port, and the Scandinavian iron bars he carried were “far too small and short” to compete with those offered by other Europeans.⁹² In a letter to the directors of the Danish West India and Guinea Company in Copenhagen, Commander Erick Lygaard protested that the small size of the cargo owed nothing “to my imprudence or negligence; but it is due to the shortage of goods that are marketable at *Fida* [Ouidah], of which there were none here.”⁹³ Before leaving Ouidah on 28 September 1709, the *Christianus Quintus* had purchased 323 slaves -- 159 men, 151 women, eleven boys, and two girls. The near gender parity among the captives reflected conditions in Africa rather than the desires of the Danes; throughout the period of the slave trade, Europeans strove for ideal cargoes composed of two-thirds males and one-third females. At the ports in the Bight of Benin, they very nearly achieved their goal; females made up an average 35

percent of slave cargoes exported between 1663 and 1713. Possibly, the higher percentage of females among the captives purchased by the *Christianus Quintus* reflected political conditions within Ouidah at the time of the ship's arrival. Added to the captives already on board, purchased along the Upper Slave Coast, that brought the total to 373 slaves. Prolonged coasting and waiting at various ports meant an increasingly unhealthy atmosphere for the captives on the ship as illness circulated while food and water supplies became contaminated and ran short. Ten had already died.⁹⁴

An Uprising

Just two nights after the *Fredericus Quartus* arrived at Keta, a slave rebellion broke out on board while the ship anchored off the coast. On the night of 14-15 September 1709, some of the slaves in the hold succeeded in breaking free of the shackles around their wrists and ankles. When they tumbled out onto the deck, they awakened some of the crew members. The rebels succeeded in badly injuring two of the whites, but the crew subdued them after a fierce struggle. The following morning, a meeting of the ship's council determined the fate of the rebels. As an example to the other captives, the right hand of the man identified as the rebel leader was severed and passed before the face of "every single slave" on board. According to slave trader Thomas Phillips, this grisly warning held special significance for natives of the Slave Coast, "for they believe that if they lose a member, they cannot return home again." The Danes then cut off the leader's left hand, and finally his head. To terrorize the captives further, they hoisted the

headless corpse onto the mainyard sail, where it hung suspended for two days. The crew tortured the other captives implicated in the rebellion by whipping them and rubbing them down with a painful mixture of malaguetta pepper, salt, and ashes.⁹⁵

Late in the eighteenth century, Danish traveller Paul Erdmann Isert described the outbreak of a shipboard slave rebellion in which he was injured. Because sounds of the captives' suffering constantly filled the air, Isert immediately sensed trouble when the ship fell silent. Moments later the male slaves raised "a shriek of the most horrifying tone that one can imagine," which he recognized as a battle cry. The cry signalled all the male captives to rise and rush to burst open the hold. The Danes tried to keep the captives below deck by stabbing at them with bayonets, but the captives overcame them and rushed onto the deck, where they began clubbing the crew with their chains and seizing their weapons. Other crew members fired on the rebels with muskets and cannon. When the rebels saw that their cause was lost, many jumped overboard, refusing the rope the Danes threw to rescue them and diving under the surface to drown rather than be returned to captivity. Several of the captives, reluctant to jump ship, were dragged under by their fellow rebels.⁹⁶

Isert stressed that the rebels in the uprising he witnessed were of "the same nation," in that case the Krepi. In the 1740s, Ludewig Rømer claimed that "nearly all the slaves come from" Krepi "in times of peace," and it is possible that some might have boarded the *Fredericus Quartus* at Keta in 1709.⁹⁷ The available evidence provides no direct indications of the ethnic origins of the slave rebels on that ship. The great majority of the slaves on board had embarked at Christiansborg: a total of 373, including 173 adult

males, 109 adult females, twenty-four boys, and seventeen girls. They probably included large numbers of Akan-speaking soldiers captured by Akwamu in the war against Kwawu, as well as Ga-speakers seized in the raids of the towns surrounding Accra. Some may have been loaded on the ship in mid-April, as long as seven months before. Along the Upper Slave Coast, factor Peder Pedersen had purchased thirty-two men, seventeen women, and five boys. At Keta, Captain Pfeiff bought another fifty men, forty-five women, nine boys, and a single girl. Of this total of 482 slaves, forty-nine had already died. Even before setting sail, the ship's supplies were severely depleted. Perhaps fearing another slave uprising, Pfeiff decided not to return to Christiansborg for another twenty slaves who had arrived there, and left Keta bound for St. Thomas in the Danish West Indies on 2 October 1709, carrying a cargo of 433 slaves.⁹⁸ Perhaps its captives shared the sense of West Central Africans, who saw in the open sea a fulfillment of the traditions that told of an immense expanse of water separating the land of the living from the land of the dead – an impression that was only confirmed in the months ahead.⁹⁹

¹ Declaración de Alfonso Ramírez, 19 April 1710, Archivo Nacional de Costa Rica, San José (hereafter ANCR), Sección Colonial Cartago (hereafter C.) 187, fols. 38v-42v; Carta de Gaspar de Acosta Arévalo, Matina, 13 March 1710, ANCR, C. 187, fol. 3; Carta de Francisco Martínez, Matina, 13 March 1710, ANCR, C. 187, fol. 5.

² Declaración de Nicolasa, negra de casta mina, 19 Sept. 1719, ANCR, C. 244, fol. 2; Declaración del Alf. Bernardo Pacheco, 18 June 1720, ANCR, C. 244, fol. 17v.

³ Per O. Hernæs, *Slaves, Danes, and African Coast Society: The Danish Slave Trade from West Africa and Afro-Danish Relations on the Eighteenth-Century Gold Coast* (Trondheim, Norway: Department of History, University of Trondheim, 1995), 173-303; E. Gøbel, "Danish Trade to the West Indies and Guinea, 1671-1754," *Scandinavian Economic History Review* 33, nos. 1-3 (1985), 21; Georg Nørregård, "Forliset ved Nicaragua 1710," *Årbog 1948* (Handels- og Søfartsmuseet på Kronborg, Helsingør, Denmark), 69.

⁴ Gøbel, "Danish Trade," 24; Waldemar Westergaard, *The Danish West Indies under Company Rule (1671-1754), with a Supplementary Chapter, 1755-1917* (New York, 1917), 149, 150.

⁵ Westergaard, *Danish West Indies*, 151; Jean Barbot, *Barbot on Guinea: The Writings of Jean Barbot on West Africa, 1678-1712*, ed. P. E. H. Hair, Adam Jones, and Robin Law (2 vols. London: Hakluyt Society, 1992), 2:560; Christopher DeCorse, "The Danes on the Gold Coast: Culture Change and the European Presence," *African Archaeological Review* 11 (1993), 153, 155; see also Extract from the Minutes of the Meeting of the Directors of the Chamber, Zeeland, 7 Feb. 1730, Document 276 in A. Van Dantzig, ed., *The Dutch and the Guinea Coast, 1674-1742: A Collection of Documents from the General State Archive at The Hague* (Accra: Ghana Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1978), 239.

⁶ Gøbel, "Danish Trade," 37.

⁷ Nørregård, "Forliset ved Nicaragua," 70.

⁸ Ludewig Ferdinand Rømer, *A Reliable Account of the Coast of Guinea (1760)*, trans. and ed. Selena Axelrod Winsnes (Oxford: Oxford University Press for the British Academy, 2000), /253-255/ [bracketed page numbers indicate the pagination of the original Danish edition]; Nørregård, *Danish Settlements in West Africa, 1658-1850*, trans. Sigurd Mammen (Boston: Boston University Press, 1966), 64-67; Nørregård, "Forliset ved Nicaragua," 70.

⁹ Rømer, *Reliable Account*, /254-255/; Gøbel, "Danish Trade," 29; Robin Law, *The Slave Coast of West Africa, 1550-1759* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), 43, 49-51, 181-182, 200-201.

¹⁰ Robin Law, *The Oyo Empire, c. 1600- c. 1836: A West African Imperialism in the Era of the Atlantic Slave Trade* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1977), 209; idem, *Slave Coast*, 199, 205; Gøbel, "Danish Trade," 30. Danish trader Ludewig Ferdinand Rømer, stationed on the Gold Coast in the 1740s, described the re-exported *slaplagerne* as "nothing but old, worn linen pieces . . . I had seen people in Europe use better cloth to burn as tinder." Rømer, *Reliable Account*, /254/.

¹¹ Nørregård, "Forliset ved Nicaragua," 71.

¹² Lars Sundström, *The Trade of Guinea* (Lund, Sweden: Hakan Ohlsson, 1965); reprinted as *The Exchange Economy of Pre-Colonial Africa* (New York: St. Martin's, 1974).

¹³ See the essays in *Slavery in Africa: Historical and Anthropological Perspectives*, ed. Suzanne Miers and Igor Kopytoff (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1977); *Pawnship in Africa: Debt Bondage in Historical Perspective*, ed. Toyin Falola and Paul E. Lovejoy (Boulder, Colo., 1994); G. Ugo Nwokeji, "African Conceptions of Gender and the Slave Traffic," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser., 58, no. 1 (Jan. 2001), 61.

¹⁴ Nwokeji, "African Conceptions"; Herbert S. Klein, "African Women in the Atlantic Slave Trade," in *Women and Slavery in Africa*, ed. Claire C Robertson and Martin A. Klein, (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1983), 28-38; Paul E. Lovejoy and David Richardson, "Competing Markets for Male and Female Slaves: Prices in the Interior of West Africa, 1780-1850," *International Journal of African Historical Studies* 28, no. 2 (spring 1995): 261-294.

¹⁵ Joseph C Miller, *Way of Death: Merchant Capitalism and the Angolan Slave Trade, 1730-1830* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1988), chapter 2; John K. Thornton, *Africa and Africans in the Making of the Atlantic World, 1400-1680*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), chapter 3.

¹⁶ Thornton, *Africa and Africans*, 89-91; Law, *Slave Coast*, 167; Sandra E. Greene, *Gender, Ethnicity and Social Change on the Upper Slave Coast* (Portsmouth, N.H.: Heinemann, 1996), 23-24; Susan Herlin

Broadhead, "Slave Wives, Free Sisters: Bakongo Women and Slavery c. 1700-1850," in *Women and Slavery in Africa*, ed. Robertson and Klein, 179; Edna G. Bay, "Servitude and Worldly Success in the Palace of Dahomey," in *ibid.*, 354; Hilton, *Kingdom of Kongo*, 188.

¹⁷ Claire C Robertson, "Post-Proclamation Slavery in Accra: A Female Affair?" in *Women and Slavery in Africa*, ed. Robertson and Klein, 225; Thornton, *Kingdom of Kongo*, 22.

¹⁸ Rosalyn Terborg-Penn, "Women and Slavery in the African Diaspora: A Cross-Cultural Approach to Historical Analysis," *Sage* 3, no. 2 (fall 1986): 11-14.

¹⁹ James F. Searing, *West African Slavery and Atlantic Commerce: The Senegal River Valley, 1700-1860* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 40; Bay, "Servitude and Worldly Success," 244; Ray A. Kea, *Settlements, Trade, and Politics on the Seventeenth-Century Gold Coast* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1982), 104-105.

²⁰ John K. Thornton, "Cannibals, Witches, and Slave Traders in the Atlantic World," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser., 60, no. 2 (2003); Michael A. Gomez, *Exchanging Our Country Marks: The Transformation of African Identities in the Colonial and Antebellum South* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998), 154; Miller, *Way of Death*, 400-401; Clarence J. Munford, *The Black Ordeal of Slavery and Slave Trading in the French West Indies, 1625-1715* (3 vols. Lewiston, N.Y.: Edwin Mellen Press, 1991), 2:296.

²¹ Joseph C. Miller, "Retention, Reinvention, and Remembering: Restoring Identities through Enslavement in Africa and under Slavery in Brazil," in *Enslaving Connections: Changing Cultures of Africa and Brazil during the Era of Slavery*, ed. José Curto and Paul E. Lovejoy (New York: Humanity Books, 2004), 83.

²² Law, *Slave Coast*, 224-228; Peter C. W. Gutkind, "The Canoemen of the Gold Coast (Ghana): A Survey and an Explanation in Precolonial African Labour History," *Cahiers d'Études Africaines* 29, nos. 3-4 (1989): 339-376; Patrick Manning, "Merchants, Porters and Canoemen in the Bight of Benin: Links in the West African Trade Network," in *The Workers of African Trade*, ed. Catherine Coquery-Vidrovitch and Paul E. Lovejoy (Beverly Hills, Calif.: Sage, 1985), 51-74.

²³ K. G. Davies, *The Royal African Company* (London: Longman, Grion & Co., 1957), 229; David Eltis, *The Rise of African Slavery in the Americas* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 228 (quoted), 229.

²⁴ Thomas Phillips, "A Journal of a Voyage Made in the *Hannibal* of London, 1693-1694," in *A Collection of Voyages and Travels*, ed. Awnsham Churchill and John Churchill (London: By Assignment for Messrs. Churchill, 1732), 6:229-230.

²⁵ Eltis, *Rise of African Slavery*, 229.

²⁶ Nørregård, "Forliset ved Nicaragua," 83.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 71.

²⁸ Munford, *Black Ordeal*, 2:301-303; Westergaard, *Danish West Indies*, 143; Rømer, *Reliable Account*, /268/ (quoted), 199 n. 30.

²⁹ Ray A. Kea, " 'I Am Here to Plunder on the General Road': Bandits and Banditry in the Pre-Nineteenth Century Gold Coast," in *Banditry, Rebellion, and Social Protest in Africa*, ed. Donald Crummey (Portsmouth, N.H.: Heinemann, 1986), 121.

³⁰ Kwame Yeboa Daaku, *Trade and Politics on the Gold Coast, 1600-1720: A Study of African Reaction to the European Trade* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970), 5; but see also Hernæs's argument against the "gun-slave circle theory" in *Slaves, Danes, and African Coast Society*, 369-389.

³¹ Kea, "'I Am Here to Plunder,'" 119; idem, *Settlements, Trade, and Politics*, 36.

³² Barbot, *Barbot on Guinea*, 2:482-483; Inez B. Sutton, "The Volta River Salt Trade: The Survival of an Indigenous Industry," *Journal of African History* 22, no. 1 (1981): 43-61; J. K. Fynn, *Asante and Its Neighbors, 1700-1807* (Evanston, Ill.: Northwestern University Press, 1971), 7, 13, 21; Daaku, *Trade and Politics*, 25, 27; Kea, *Settlements, Trade, and Politics*, 49, 50; John Parker, *Making the Town: Ga State and Society in Early Colonial Accra* (Portsmouth, N.H.: Heinemann, 2000), 6 (quoted).

³³ Greene, *Gender, Ethnicity and Social Change*, 24.

³⁴ Erick Tilleman, *A Short and Simple Account of the Country Guinea and Its Nature* (1697), trans. and ed. Selena Axelrod Winsnes (Madison, Wis.: African Studies Program, University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1994), 25; Nørregård, *Danish Settlements*, 43-44; Ivor Wilks, "The Rise of the Akwamu Empire, 1650-1710," *Transactions of the Historical Society of Ghana* 3, no. 2 (1957), 104.

³⁵ William Bosman, *A New and Accurate Description of the Coast of Guinea, Divided into the Gold, the Slave, and the Ivory Coasts* (London, 1709; rpt., London: Frank Cass, 1967), 69, as corrected in Albert Van Dantzig, "English Bosman and Dutch Bosman: A Comparison of Texts, II," *History in Africa* 3 (1976), 95; cf. Barbot, *Barbot on Guinea*, 2:431.

³⁶ Barbot, *Barbot on Guinea*, 2:434; Rømer, *Reliable Account*, /215/.

³⁷ Johannes M. Postma, *The Dutch in the Atlantic Slave Trade, 1600-1815* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 114-115.

³⁸ C. C. Reindorf, *The History of the Gold Coast and Asante*, 1st ed. (Basel, Switzerland: The Author, 1895), 64/ C. C. Reindorf, *The History of the Gold Coast and Asante*, 2nd ed. (Accra: Ghana Universities Press, 1966), 62.

³⁹ Kea, "'I Am Here to Plunder,'" 119.

⁴⁰ Tilleman, *Short and Simple Account*, 28; Fynn, *Asante and Its Neighbours*, 21.

⁴¹ Daaku, *Trade and Politics*, 31.

⁴² Barbot, *Barbot on Guinea*, 2:436; Greene, *Gender, Ethnicity, and Social Change*, 20; Robin Law, "Between the Sea and the Lagoons: The Interaction of Maritime and Inland Navigation on the Pre-Colonial Slave Coast," *Cahiers d'Études Africaines* 29, no. 2 (no. 114) (1989), 213.

⁴³ Nørregård, *Danish Settlements*, 67; Fynn, *Asante and Its Neighbours*, 22.

⁴⁴ Rømer, *Reliable Account*, /122, 125-126/; Reindorf, *History of the Gold Coast*, 1st ed., 64; Kea, "'I Am Here to Plunder,'" 122.

⁴⁵ Bosman, *New and Accurate Description*, 64; Kea, "'I Am Here to Plunder,'" 126-127; Daaku, *Trade and Politics*, 31.

⁴⁶ Rømer, *Reliable Account*, /122/ (quoted), /131-132/; Reindorf, *History of the Gold Coast*, 1st ed., 73/2nd ed., 62, 71; Fynn, *Asante and Its Neighbours*, 67.

⁴⁷ Bosman, *New and Accurate Description*, 326; Fynn, *Asante and Its Neighbours*, 67-68, quoting 68; Nørregård, *Danish Settlements*, 67.

⁴⁸ Commander Erich Lygaard to the Directors of the Danish West India and Guinea Company, Christiansborg, 3 May 1709, in Ole Justesen, ed. and trans., *Danish Documents concerning the History of Ghana* (forthcoming), Document V.18; Reindorf, *History of the Gold Coast*, 1st ed., 71/2nd ed., 68-69; Nørregård, *Danish Settlements*, 67-68. See also Rømer, *Reliable Account*, /129-130/. In addition to these punitive strikes, Ray Kea notes that in 1709, Akwamu “imposed fines amounting to more than 15,000 rigsdalers (over 1,000 *benda*) on the towns from Great Ningo to Soko (English Accra) for offenses *contra pacem regis*.” Kea, “Administration and Trade in the Akwamu Empire, 1680-1730,” in *West African Culture Dynamics: Archaeological and Historical Perspectives*, ed. B. K. Swartz, Jr., and Raymond E. Dumett (The Hague: Mouton, 1980), 379.

⁴⁹ Daaku, *Trade and Politics*, 155. Nørregård argued the opposite, claiming that “the Europeans on the coast began to secretly hope that the Akwamu would be so weakened” by Akwonno’s continuing campaigns “that direct trade relations with the rich gold-producing peoples of the interior would be possible.” Nørregård, *Danish Settlements*, 67.

⁵⁰ Lygaard to the Directors, Christiansborg, 3 May 1709, in Justesen, ed., *Danish Documents*, Document V.18.

⁵¹ Nørregård, *Danish Settlements*, 67; idem, “Forliset ved Nicaragua,” 72; Reindorf, *History of the Gold Coast*, 1st ed., 71/2nd ed., 69.

⁵² Nørregård, *Danish Settlements*, 67-68.

⁵³ Reindorf, *History of the Gold Coast*, 2nd ed., 69; Nørregård, *Danish Settlements*, 67.

⁵⁴ Lygaard to the Directors, Christiansborg, 3 May 1709, in Justesen, ed., *Danish Documents*, Document V.18.

⁵⁵ Ibid.; Tilleman, *Short and Simple Account*, 34.

⁵⁶ Kea, *Settlements, Trade, and Politics*, 199.

⁵⁷ Robin Law, *The Kingdom of Allada* (Leiden, Netherlands: Research School CNWS, School of Asian, African, and Amerindian Studies, 1997), 90-91; idem, *Slave Coast*, 120, 124; Eltis, *Rise of African Slavery*, 226, 226 n. 7; Postma, *Dutch in the Atlantic Slave Trade*, 71; Reindorf, *History of the Gold Coast*, 1st ed., 29/2nd ed., 40; Parker, *Making the Town*, 12-14.

⁵⁸ Nørregård, *Danish Settlements*, 42.

⁵⁹ Gutkind, “Canoemen of the Gold Coast,” 345.

⁶⁰ John Barbot, *A Description of the Coasts of North and South Guinea* (1732), as quoted in Gutkind, “Canoemen of the Gold Coast,” 350.

⁶¹ Barbot, *Barbot on Guinea*, 2:529.

⁶² Law, "Between the Sea and the Lagoons," 231; idem, *Slave Coast*, 46-47, 116, 119, 120, 192, 194; Daaku, *Trade and Politics*, 24-25; Fynn, *Asante and Its Neighbours*, 10.

⁶³ Law, "Between the Sea and the Lagoons," 229, 232; idem, *Slave Coast*, 29, 150; S. Wilson, "Aperçu historique sur les peuples et cultures dans le golfe du Bénin: Le cas des 'mina' d'Anécho," in *Peuples du golfe du Bénin: Aja-éwé (colloque de Cotonou)*, ed. François de Medeiros (Paris: Karthala, 1984), 137-138, 145.

⁶⁴ Lygaard to the Directors, Christiansborg, 3 May 1709, in Justesen, ed., *Danish Documents*, Document V.18. The Danes called Little Popo simply "Popo," as Danish traveller Paul Erdmann Isert noted late in the eighteenth century. Isert, *Letters on West Africa and the Slave Trade*, trans. Selena Axelrod Winsnes (Oxford: Oxford University Press for the British Academy, 1992), 89.

⁶⁵ Erich Lygaard to the Directors, Christiansborg, 19 Aug. 1709, in Justesen, ed., *Danish Documents*, Document V.20; Eltis, *Rise of African Slavery*, 105.

⁶⁶ Sandra E. Greene, "Cultural Zones in the Era of the Slave Trade: Exploring the Yoruba Connection with Anlo-Ewe," in *Identity in the Shadow of Slavery*, ed. Paul E. Lovejoy (London: Continuum, 2000), 92; idem, *Gender, Ethnicity, and Social Change*, 37; Law, "Between the Sea and the Lagoons," 217-218; idem, *Slave Coast*, 42.

⁶⁷ Bosman, *New and Accurate Description*, 331, 330; see also Greene, "Cultural Zones," 92, 97; Law, *Slave Coast*, 143.

⁶⁸ Greene, *Gender, Ethnicity, and Social Change*, 35-37.

⁶⁹ Erich Lygaard to the Directors, Christiansborg, 5 Oct. 1709, in Justesen, ed., *Danish Documents*, Document V.23.

⁷⁰ Law, *Slave Coast*, 21, 219-220; Greene, "Cultural Zones," 88, 98; Wilson, "Aperçu historique," 133, 141.

⁷¹ Law, "Between the Sea and the Lagoons," 209-213, 218-219; idem, *Slave Coast*, 42, 117-118.

⁷² Kea, *Settlements, Trade, and Politics*, 199.

⁷³ Rømer, *Reliable Account*, /118/; Reindorf, *History of the Gold Coast*, 1st ed., 22; Bosman, *New and Accurate Description*, 69; Daaku, *Trade and Politics*, 154; Law, "Between the Sea and the Lagoons," 219; idem, *Slave Coast*, 244.

⁷⁴ Reindorf, *History of the Gold Coast*, 1st ed., 26-27; Greene, "Cultural Zones," 92; idem, *Gender, Ethnicity, and Social Change*, 20, 32; Law, *Slave Coast*, 249, 251.

⁷⁵ Commander Erick Lygaard to Directors of the Danish West India and Guinea Company, Christiansborg, 19 Aug. 1709, in Justesen, ed., *Danish Documents*, Document V.20; Nørregård, "Forliset ved Nicaragua," 74; Law, *Slave Coast*, 223 n. 23.

⁷⁶ David Eltis, David Richardson, Stephen D. Behrendt, and Herbert S. Klein, eds., *The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade: A Database on CD-ROM*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999).

⁷⁷ Law, *Slave Coast*, 207-208.

⁷⁸ Delbée (d'Elbée), "Journal du voyage du Sieur Delbée," in *Relation de ce qui s'est passé dans les isles et Terre-ferme de l'Amerique pendant la dernière guerre avec l'Angleterre . . .*, ed. J. de Clodré (Paris: G. Clouzier, 1671), 2:439-440; Phillips, "Journal of a Voyage," 6:226-227; Law, *Slave Coast*, 208-209.

⁷⁹ Phillips, "Journal of a Voyage," 6:218; Bosman, *New and Accurate Description*, 360; Law, *Slave Coast*, 206-213.

⁸⁰ Bosman, *New and Accurate Description*, 364.

⁸¹ Delbée (d'Elbée), "Journal du voyage," 2:436; Law, *Slave Coast*, 184.

⁸² Bosman, *New and Accurate Description*, 343; Law, *Slave Coast*, 185 (quoted), 186; idem, *Kingdom of Allada*, 90, 101, 105.

⁸³ Law, *Slave Coast*, 348.

⁸⁴ Law, *Oyo Empire*, 219, 226; see also Robin Law and Paul E. Lovejoy, "Borgu in the Atlantic Slave Trade," *African Economic History* 27 (1999), 74-75.

⁸⁵ Jan De Paauw to Assembly of Ten, Ouidah, 11 Feb. 1709, Document 158 in Van Dantzig, ed., *Dutch and the Guinea Coast*, 141.

⁸⁶ Law, *Slave Coast*, 76.

⁸⁷ Ibid., 90.

⁸⁸ Robin Law, "Ideologies of Royal Power: The Dissolution and Reconstruction of Political Authority on the 'Slave Coast,' 1680-1750," *Africa* 57, no. 3 (1987), 337.

⁸⁹ Law, *Slave Coast*, 91, 103, 255.

⁹⁰ Law, *Kingdom of Allada*, 56; idem, *Slave Coast*, 254-255.

⁹¹ Law, *Slave Coast*, 252; Jan De Paauw to Assembly of Ten, Ouidah, 6 Sept. 1709, Document 159 in Van Dantzig, *Dutch and the Guinea Coast*, 143.

⁹² Erich Lygaard to the Directors of the Danish West India and Guinea Company, Christiansborg, 5 Oct. 1709, in Justesen, ed., *Danish Documents*, Document V.23.

⁹³ Erich Lygaard to the Directors, Christiansborg, 14 Jan. 1710, in Justesen, ed., *Danish Documents*, Document V.25.

⁹⁴ Eltis, *Rise of African Slavery*, 105; Erich Lygaard to the Directors, Christiansborg, 14 Jan. 1710, in Justesen, ed., *Danish Documents*, Document V.25.

⁹⁵ Phillips, "Journal of a Voyage," 6:219; Nørregård, "Forliset ved Nicaragua," 75; idem, *Danish Settlements*, 89. The Dutch crew of the *Guineese Vriendschap* meted out a strikingly similar fate to slave rebels in 1770: Postma, *Dutch in the Atlantic Slave Trade*, 168.

⁹⁶ Isert, *Letters from the West Indies*, 177-179.

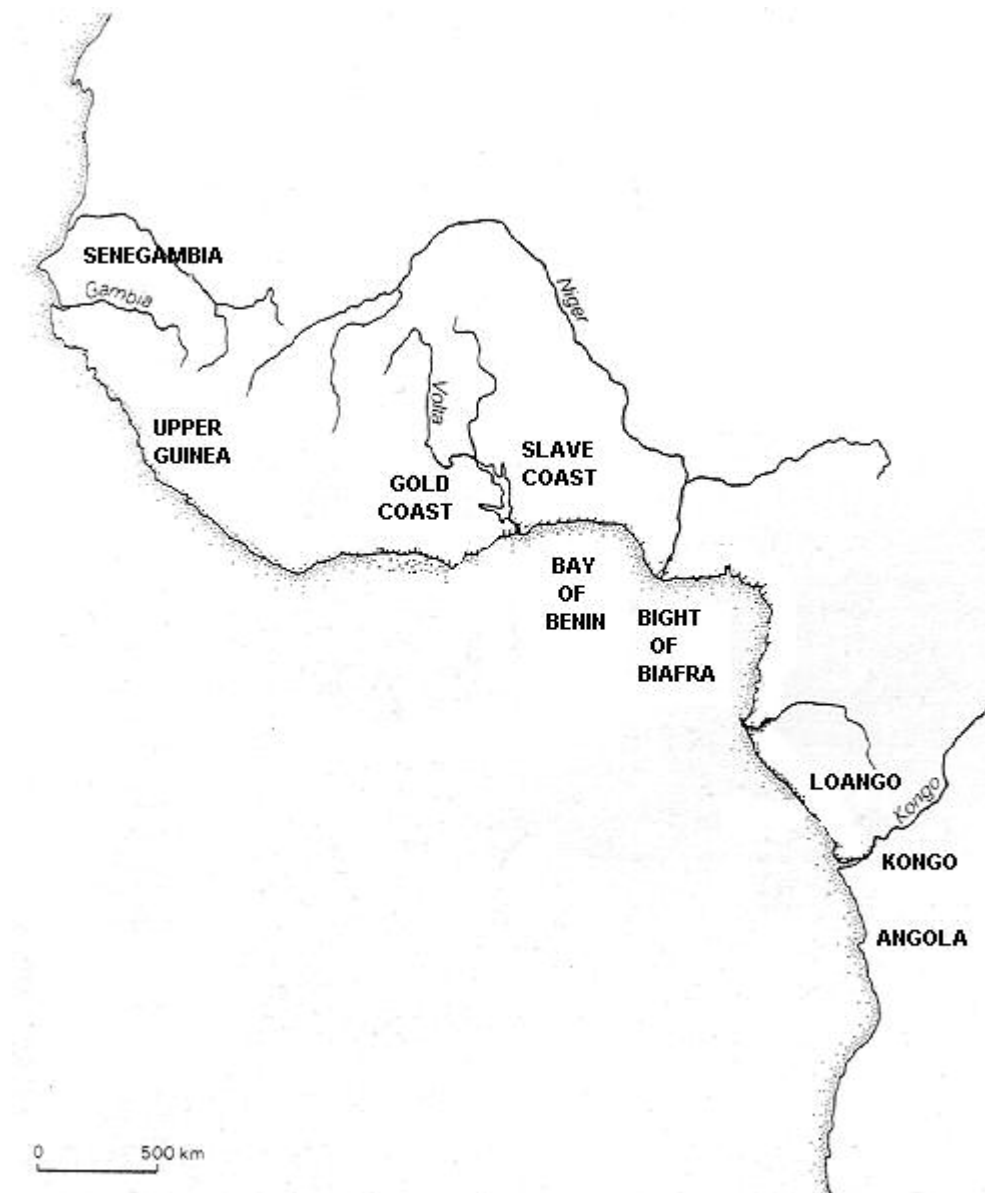
⁹⁷ Isert, *Letters from the West Indies*, 177, 178; Rømer, *Reliable Account*, 332.

⁹⁸ Erich Lygaard to the Directors, Christiansborg, 14 Jan. 1710, in Justesen, ed., *Danish Documents*, Document V.25; Rask, *Ferd til og frå Guinea*, 52; Nørregård, “Forliset ved Nicaragua,” 75.

⁹⁹ John M. Janzen and Wyatt MacGaffey, *An Anthology of Kongo Religion: Primary Texts from Lower Zaïre* (Lawrence, Kan.: University of Kansas Press, 1974), 34; Hilton, *Kingdom of Kongo*, 9.

CHAPTER 2

STOLEN FROM THEIR COUNTRIES: THE ORIGINS OF AFRICANS IN COSTA RICA



Map 3. Major Regions of West and West Central Africa

On 7 September 1719, don Diego de la Haya Fernández, Governor and Captain General of the Province of Costa Rica, summoned an enslaved African man to his presence for interrogation. The governor soon became frustrated, because although the man had come to Costa Rica nine years before on one of the Danish slave ships *Christianus Quintus* or *Fredericus Quartus*, he “does not know the Castilian language.” De la Haya found the man called Miguel Largo of the *mina* nation to be “unacculturated and very set in his ways” (*bozal y muy cerrado*^[R1]). De la Haya decided to postpone the interview until such time as an interpreter could be found.¹ Eight months later, an official reported back that after questioning several slaves in the vicinity, he found that even “those of [Miguel’s] own nation do not understand him.”² Unlike many slaves in the Americas, Miguel apparently had no countrymen nearby – perhaps anywhere in the province -- with whom he could share memories in the language he spoke with the confidence of a free man.³ At the end of June 1720, the governor tried again to question Miguel. “Having questioned and re-questioned him,” de la Haya wrote, “as far as could be understood, everything boiled down to that they had stolen him when he was little from the *mina* country.”⁴

Miguel, probably born on the Upper Slave Coast around 1690, appears never to have adapted to his condition as a slave in Costa Rica – he remained what Brazilian historian Katia Mattoso called, apparently without irony, a “maladjusted slave.”⁵ Miguel might have had many reasons for his taciturnity in answering the governor’s queries in 1719, but in one sense his answer recalled and resonated with the experience of all of his fellow captives who came to Costa Rica over the centuries. West and West Central Africans of

the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries could not conceive of personal identity without community identity. Membership in a family and lineage, descent from common ancestors, veneration of local spirits, living in ancient homelands – each formed an inseparable component of community life and of an individual's identity in community. Such elements, commemorated and reinforced in innumerable ways in daily life, defined the individual and established his or her place in the visible and unseen worlds.⁶

Miguel and others from what he called the “*mina* country” shared a complex of objective and subjective characteristics such as similar language, customs, traditions, social values, belief in a common origin, and territory. All of these traits form components of what social scientists call *ethnicity*.⁷ Outsiders attributed an “external ethnicity” to peoples from a huge geographical area, calling them *minas* or other names according to perceived fundamental similarities.⁸ But in their home societies in Africa, most men and women like Miguel did not call or consider themselves members of a particular “ethnic group,” but people tied to specific lineages, religious practices, customs, and homelands.⁹ For millions of African women and men, self-identification and self-naming – the adoption of “internal ethnicities” -- emerged from the specific historical processes that brought diverse African peoples together in the era of the slave trade.¹⁰

The ethnic origins of enslaved Africans matter because they reveal a largely hidden, long-ignored dimension of the history of slavery in the Americas.¹¹ Enslaved Africans came to the Americas under almost unimaginable conditions, but even so they had much in common with other immigrants. As they passed through unfamiliar country on the

way to the coast, endured the ordeal of the Middle Passage, and arrived in another alien world across the ocean, they interpreted their surroundings according to their own individual pasts and cultural backgrounds, as did all immigrants. Whether a man had been a peasant, a soldier, an artisan, a religious scholar, or a slave in Africa made a difference in how he responded to slavery in the New World.¹² The social, economic, and political roles women had played in Africa equally affected how they responded to the lives forced upon them in slave societies. Senegambians used their ancient knowledge of rice cultivation to transform the economy of South Carolina; Akan military traditions played a part in marronage and rebellion from New York to Colombia, most notably in the Caribbean; Hausas and Yoruba in Brazil drew on their Muslim faith to organize a rebellion that shook the slave system.¹³ It mattered whether Africans had lived in large centralized kingdoms or “stateless” societies, in rural or urban areas, far in the interior or in the creole enclaves of the coast. The class structure in the societies from which they came – and especially practices of slavery -- also made a critical difference.¹⁴ All of these factors intersected with African ethnicity, and influenced aspects of slave life from gender roles to religious practices, from occupational patterns to the organization of rebellions.

Enslavement marked the beginning of Diaspora. In many societies, separation from home and family formed the very act that defined one as a slave.¹⁵ A moment of irrecoverable loss, it was also one of new beginnings. From dozens of diverse polities and ethnicities in all the major regions of West and West Central Africa, enslaved men and women began to overcome their vast differences in language and culture from the

moment they were torn from their ancestral homelands. When Africans forcibly entered the Diaspora through the slave trade, they came to perceive commonalities with men and women they would never have encountered but for their enslavement. Those elements of their identities most closely tied to lineage and locality could not survive being uprooted by enslavement, but captives soon found and forged new links that became just as important. The traumas of capture and transport to the coast began the processes by which most African men and women came to see themselves as belonging to new groups that expanded literally almost with every step. Separations and recombinations also occurred at every step along the way. Identities and identifications constantly emerged, shifted, dissolved, and became reconstituted. Disruptions, continuities, and reconfigurations of identity began for enslaved African men and women long before they arrived in Costa Rica.¹⁶

The captives' new perceptions of common languages, beliefs, and practices marked the beginning of what Douglas B. Chambers has called *diasporic ethnicities*: "new African-derived ethnic identities outside the continent."¹⁷ Chambers's formulation acknowledges broad cultural and linguistic commonalities among African peoples from the same regions, but emphasizes that most Africans understood, experienced, and strengthened such commonalities through the processes of enslavement.¹⁸ In the context of slavery, ethnicity must be regarded as an ever-changing rather than fixed identity that underwent important shifts in response to turning-points in the captives' experience of enslavement, the slave trade and later, American slavery.¹⁹ The concept of *diasporic ethnicity*, an identity drawing both on the African pasts and the American presents of the

captives, provides a useful point of entry to the consciousness of enslaved Africans in the New World.

Questions of identity and identification are paramount to understanding slavery through the “ethnic lens,” but establishing how Africans defined themselves as opposed to how others defined them – distinguishing between internal and external ethnicity -- is an unavoidably difficult, sometimes impossible, task.²⁰ The sheer lack of ethnic designations attributed to “black” women and men in Costa Rican documents presents a grave problem to the researcher of African ethnicity. In 842 notarial documents such as testaments, dowry inventories, donation certificates, and bills of sale pertaining to “blacks,” 55 percent contain no reference to place of birth, let alone ethnicity, whatsoever. To some extent, conclusions about the relevance of ethnicity among the enslaved in Costa Rica must therefore remain tentative. To state the problem in extreme terms, it is theoretically possible that all “blacks” unidentified by origin were born in the Americas, thus raising the percentage of creoles among enslaved Costa Ricans to 72 percent; if they were all Africans, *bozales* would comprise 83 percent of the slave population. Although Costa Rican historian Rina Cáceres has posited that most blacks unidentified by origin were probably creoles, there are too many exceptions to this generalization to place much confidence in it.²¹ A close reading establishes that women and men identified only as “blacks” in one document are often described as belonging to a specific African ethnic group in another. For example, although don Francisco de Ocampo Golfín listed twelve *negros* in his 1714 testament, other documents show that at least seven of those men and women had been born in Africa, including four *congos*, an

arará, a *popo*, and a *carabalí*.²² After discounting the blacks unidentified by origin, 61 percent of blacks listed in the notarial documents were born in Africa.

The names used by slave traders and masters to refer to regional and ethnic origins provide clues to captives' self-ascribed identities, but also pose special problems.²³ Known as "national" or *casta* names in Spanish America, they cannot be assumed uncritically to refer to specific African origins, but need to be interpreted in the context of the slave trade that produced them.²⁴ Because the name *mina* (also *mine*, *amina*), for example, was used differently over the centuries in and between Spanish, Portuguese, French, and Danish America, it provides a particularly poor guide to ethnic origins. Its use in a document cannot independently establish whether a woman or man came from the Gold Coast or the Slave Coast, let alone whether she or he came from an Akan, Ga-Adangme, or Ewe-Fon culture.²⁵ Other evidence is needed to provide the context to establish when and how Africans of specific origins came to the Americas. Wherever possible, *casta* names should be compared with other evidence – including specific information on contemporary political events in Africa, knowledge of patterns in the Atlantic slave trade of the time, and in the best case, with the ethnic identities claimed by the Africans themselves.²⁶

Table 2.1

Origins of Blacks as Recorded in Costa Rican Notarial Documents, 1607-1750

<i>Casta</i> as Recorded in Costa Rican Documents	Number of References/Percentage of Total			
	Testaments, Dowries, and Other Documents	Percent of Testaments and Other Documents	Sales	Percentage of Total Sales
Black, Unidentified by Birthplace	299	54	84	28
Black Creole	96	18	73	25
African, Unidentified by <i>Casta</i>	27	5	24	8
African, Identified by <i>Casta</i>	124	23	115	39
Total	546	100	296	100

Sources: ANCR, P.C. 801 (1607) through 803 (1629), 815 (1654-1655, 1664-1667) through 850 (1698), 853 (1697, 1699, 1700, 1701) through 865 (1708), 867 (1709) through 871 (1712), 873 (1714) through 917 (1737), 919 (1738) through 924 (1740), 926 (1741) through 934 (1746); ANCR, P.H. 573 (1721) through 581 (1730), 583 (1733) through 586 (1739), 588 (1742) through 594 (1749); ANCR, P.S.J. 411 (1721) through 415 (1738); ACMSJ, SFASDE, Caja 20 (1692, 1696, 1719); *Indices de los protocolos de Cartago*, vols. 1-3; *Indice de los protocolos de Heredia*.

The impact of African ethnicities varied widely according to specific local conditions. As leading Africanist historian Joseph Miller writes, these determined whether “enough people of the right sort, at the right moment, and in the right circumstances could make effective use of experiences in their former lives.” Whether slaves in the Americas could draw meaningfully on their past experiences of Africa depended on events within that

continent, patterns in the Atlantic slave trade, and local conditions in the receiving societies.²⁷ Many of the transformations in identity that Africans in Costa Rica underwent were common to enslaved Africans everywhere in the Diaspora. The nature of the slave trade to Costa Rica and slavery within Costa Rica, however, arguably held even more profound consequences for African women and men, who quickly came to identify with others of different origins, rapidly transforming their own identities in the process.

Reflecting general patterns in the Atlantic slave trade, the ethnic composition of the African population of Costa Rica varied widely over time, as did the terms employed to describe the Africans. The first enslaved black people to enter Costa Rica came with the conquistadores. Most were not Africans at all, but creoles from the Iberian peninsula and elsewhere in Spanish America. In addition, free black men joined most, if not all, of the sixteenth-century expeditions to Costa Rica. A few came as personal attendants to the Spanish conquerors, and remained strongly identified with their powerful masters, reproducing a pattern of patron-client relations prevalent in most African societies.²⁸ As elsewhere in Spanish America, black expeditionaries became embroiled in conflicts among conquistadores, sometimes influencing the outcome of political events and collecting rewards from grateful patrons – again, the continuation of a characteristic feature of slavery in Africa. At least one black conquistador received an *encomienda*, a distinction rare, if not unheard-of, for men of color in other Spanish colonies. This “charter generation” of enslaved and free blacks and mulatos formed an integral part of Costa Rica’s rapidly developing creole culture.²⁹

Other slaves, more likely to be African, were brought to provide the backbreaking labor necessary to establish settlements. Virtually all of these earliest forced immigrants arrived by way of Panama or Nicaragua, imported in small groups under special licenses issued to Spanish emigrants to the New World. The scant documentation surviving from the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries suggests that, as in the rest of Spanish America, men and women from Upper Guinea predominated among the earliest Africans in Costa Rica. Along with natives of the Bight of Biafra, they maintained a small but constant presence in early colonial Costa Rica. Like the early attempts to settle the region, several sixteenth-century plans to import large numbers of African slaves to Costa Rica came to nothing. Although present almost everywhere, enslaved black immigrants came to sixteenth-century Costa Rica individually or in small groups as forced companions of Spanish conquistadores and officials.

When the Portuguese shifted their slaving operations to West Central Africa in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, men and women called *angolas*, many Kimbundu-speakers from a relatively small area along the Kwanza river, came to emerge as the clear majority among Africans imported to Costa Rica, as in other parts of the Americas.³⁰ As other European nations entered the slave trade in the mid-seventeenth century, the supply of African captives increased dramatically. West Central Africans continued to predominate, but came from an ever-expanding area and reflected an increasing ethnic heterogeneity. As slave traders acquired captives from other areas of the continent, men and women from the Gold Coast and Slave Coast began to arrive in significant numbers.³¹ By the early eighteenth century, Costa Rica's capital of Cartago

and the Atlantic Matina Valley showed sizeable concentrations of Africans. However, no single ethnic group or even region of origin predominated among them. Arriving in small numbers and coming from diverse ethnic backgrounds, in Costa Rica, Africans could not maintain or recreate their home cultures and communities. Instead, they quickly began to form new kinds of relationships and identities based in the shared experience of enslavement.

*Origins of the Captives of the Christianus Quintus and Fredericus Quartus:
The Gold Coast*

Like other *casta* or “national” names, the significance of the designation *mina* cannot be taken for granted, but requires careful contextual and temporal analysis.³² The name initially referred to the Portuguese trading fort established at São Jorge da Mina in 1482, through which captives from many parts of Africa passed.³³ After their fort fell to the Dutch in 1637 and they began to purchase most of their captives further east, Portuguese and Brazilian slave traders used the term *mina* to include natives of the Slave Coast throughout the colonial period, because slavers obtaining captives from ports east such as Allada and Ouidah first paid a tax at Mina (Elmina). In Brazil, *mina* came to refer primarily not to slaves of Gold Coast origin, but to Africans embarked at Great Popo, Ouidah, Jaquin, and Apa on the leeward side of the Slave Coast. As a result, scholars such as Gwendolyn Midlo Hall have concluded that “the vast majority of slaves designated as Mina were brought to the Americas from the Slave Coast, not from the Gold Coast.”³⁴

This might have held true in many areas, but not all. Hall bases her assertion “that the Mina *casta* is to be identified with Gbe-speaking Africans of the Bight of Benin” on a line in the 1627 treatise of Father Alonso de Sandoval: “The *castas* that are ordinarily brought from those places are Minas, Popos, Fulaos, Ardas or Araráes, which are all the same, Offons, also *casta* Arda; Lucumis or Terra Novos . . .” (*Las castas que de ordinario traen de aquellas partes son Minas, Popoos, Fulaos, Ardas o Araraes, que todo es uno, Offoons, tambien casta Arda; Lucumies o Terranovos . . .*).³⁵ While Hall interprets the sentence to include the first five *castas* as “all the same,” as I read it Sandoval equates only the *ardas* and *araráes*, distinguishing them from *minas*, *popos*, and *fulaos*. Although that interpretation is open to debate, in another passage, the Cartagena priest makes clear that “the nation that we call Mina” is fifty leagues from the Volta River, which marked the beginning of the “powerful kingdom of the Popos”; “Arda” began another twelve leagues to the east.³⁶ No Gbe-speaking people lives or lived in the Gold Coast fifty leagues (275 km/171 miles) west of the Volta River. Akan-speakers occupy these areas, as they did in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Increasing demand for African slaves in the Americas led to a fierce competition among European powers for a lucrative share of the growing Gold Coast slave trade, provoking momentous social, political, and economic changes. In the mid-seventeenth century, militaristic states such as Akwamu, Denkyira, Fante, and Asante, gained strength and derived much of their wealth from the Atlantic trade. As a result of the complex cycle of local warfare and slave “production,” captives of Gold Coast origin, exported mainly by the Dutch and British, comprised an increasing proportion of African slaves to

the Americas after the mid-seventeenth century.³⁷ As the Dutch, British, and Danes dramatically expanded slave exports from the region, by the mid-seventeenth century, many slaves known in Spanish America as *minas*, such as those brought by the *Christianus Quintus* and *Fredericus Quartus*, indeed came from the Gold Coast.

Notwithstanding a reputation for ferocity and rebelliousness, Gold Coast slaves came to be preferred by British planters in the Caribbean by the 1690s, commanding substantially higher prices than captives of Slave Coast origin.³⁸ A few *minas* arrived in Costa Rica from Panama as early as the 1670s.³⁹ There, too, they seemed already to enjoy a reputation that translated into high prices. In 1680, *Alférez* Alonso Mateo Hurtado of Esparza paid 400 pesos each for the young *mina* men Antonio and Andrés, despite the fact that their Panamanian seller acknowledged them to be “drunkards, thieves, and runaways.”⁴⁰ Despite the outcry of Spanish American masters, by 1700 the Spanish Crown had concluded that *minas* and *cabo verdes* were “inappropriate for [the] realms” of the Indies.⁴¹ After years of protests by American slaveholders and the French Royal Guinea Company, then holder of the legal monopoly on the slave trade to Spanish America (the *Asiento*), the Crown relented and repealed the prohibition on the introduction of Gold Coast and Upper Guinea slaves in 1708. Even then, however, only small numbers of these two *castas* were to be allowed in urban areas, particularly port cities, or in islands or coastal areas. Especially in Mexico and Peru, the West Africans should be sold further inland for work in agriculture.⁴² But these stipulations, presumably instituted to prevent uprisings and *cimarronaje*, proved ineffective, including in Costa Rica, where many *mina* slaves worked the remote cacao haciendas of the

Atlantic coast. Slaves of Gold Coast origin, known in Spanish America as *minas*, in the Danish West Indies as *aminas*, and in British America as *coromantees*, became implicated in urban and rural conspiracies and rebellions throughout the Americas, from New York City to the plantations of Jamaica and the placer mines of lowland Colombia.⁴³

By the turn of the eighteenth century, a small but growing *mina* presence among enslaved Africans in Costa Rica reflected the increased proportion of Gold Coast natives sold into the trans-Atlantic slave trade.⁴⁴ Other *minas* came from the Upper Slave Coast, including women and men from a group that called themselves by the name at home.⁴⁵ Several arrived during those years as part of an illegal shipment brought by a smuggler known as “the Greek,” which also included many West Central Africans.⁴⁶ Some *minas* soon established strong local roots. In 1708, Gregorio, the son of Juan Mina, slave of María Méndez, was baptized in Cartago. Captain Esteban de Zúñiga, a widely respected free mulato blacksmith and militia officer, stood as his godfather.⁴⁷ Like women and men of partial Biafara ancestry, some of the free descendants of enslaved Gold Coast and Upper Slave Coast immigrants commemorated their West African heritage by continuing to use the *casta* name *mina* as a surname. Domingo Mina, a free mulato, baptized his son Juan in 1708; Gertrudis Mina brought her son Manuel Antonio to the baptismal font forty years later.⁴⁸

Table 2.2

Minas in Costa Rican Documents

<i>Casta</i>	Number of References	Years of First and Last Reference
Mina	75*	1687, 1748

*Includes an undetermined number of people of Slave Coast origin.

Sources: ANCR, P.C. 801 (1607) through 803 (1629), 815 (1654-1655, 1664-1667) through 850 (1698), 853 (1697, 1699, 1700, 1701) through 865 (1708), 867 (1709) through 871 (1712), 873 (1714) through 917 (1737), 919 (1738) through 924 (1740), 926 (1741) through 934 (1746); ANCR, P.H. 573 (1721) through 581 (1730), 583 (1733) through 586 (1739), 588 (1742) through 594 (1749); ANCR, P.S.J. 411 (1721) through 415 (1738); ACMSJ, SFASDE, Caja 20 (1692, 1696, 1719); *Indice de los protocolos de Cartago*, vols. 1-3; *Indice de los protocolos de Heredia*; ANCR, C. 109 (1700), C. 113 (1702), C. 187 (1710), C. 211 (1713), C. 231 (1710), C. 233 (1710), C. 234 (1710), C.C. 243 (1711), 250 (1710); ANCR, C.C. 3919 (1686), C.C. 4111 (1718); C.C. 4121 (1720); ANCR, G. 34 (1613), G. 55 (1624), G. 185 (1710), G. 187 (1716), G. 188 (1700, 1710); M.C.C. 774 (1711); ACMSJ, LBC, no. 3/FHL, VAULT INTL film 1219701, item 3; ACMSJ, LBC, no. 7/FHL, VAULT INTL film 1219702, item 2; ACMSJ, LBC, no. 8/FHL, VAULT INTL film 1219702, item 3.

A small number of *minas* were already established in Costa Rica when the *Fredericus Quartus* brought several hundred more Africans of Gold Coast origin in 1710. Most, if not all, of the captives loaded onto the *Fredericus Quartus* at Christiansborg between April and August 1709, would have been called *mina*. The bulk of the “*minas*” on these two ships were almost certainly Akan-speaking prisoners taken in the Akwamu war against Kwawu as well as Ga- and Adangme-speaking people from the coastal area around Accra, all sold by the Akwamu to the Danes at Christiansborg. Akyem traders, also Akan-speakers, also brought a “very few” captives to the Danish fort while the *Fredericus Quartus* was anchored there.⁴⁹ The few slaves purchased at Cape Three Points and Kormantin, probably Fante- and Akan-speakers, would also have been included in the *mina* group. Other captives loaded at Christiansborg may have included Ewe-speaking Krepi, and perhaps some more Akan-speakers from Akwamu itself. A

number of the captives loaded on the Upper Slave Coast were probably identified as *mina* as well, possibly including Fante-speakers from Aneho and Ga-Adangme- speakers from Gliji.⁵⁰

The Akan-speaking peoples -- including Akwamu, Kwawu, Akyem, and others -- recognized their common origins and ancient, if often hostile, historic ties. They spoke different dialects of the same language (Twi), shared deeply ingrained notions of how the world worked at physical, spiritual, and abstract levels, and organized their societies on similar religious, kinship, political, and military lines.⁵¹ Over time, the Ga-Adangme peoples adopted many Akan practices and beliefs. Both groups emigrated in substantial numbers to the Upper Slave Coast, where they made a profound cultural impact on this area of complex, overlapping ethnic identities. Arriving in relatively large numbers in Costa Rica, men and women from the Gold Coast and Upper Slave Coast drew on different but related ethnic, cultural, and linguistic legacies to create a “diasporic ethnicity” in the colony.

*Origins of the Captives of the Christianus Quintus and Fredericus Quartus:
The Slave Coast*

By the mid-seventeenth century, the Bight of Benin became a major supplier of slaves to the Americas, earning the name “Slave Coast” and eventually leading all African regions in the export of captives between 1700 and 1730.⁵² Derived from the name of the kingdom of Allada, the name *arará* came to be used throughout Spanish America as a generic term for peoples originating on the Slave Coast.⁵³ A few captives called *arará*

arrived in Costa Rica from at least the 1670s. By the first decade of the eighteenth century, *ararás* formed a visible part of Costa Rica's African population.⁵⁴ Members of other Slave Coast ethnic groups left the continent through the ports of Little Popo (Aneho) and Great Popo. The *Nuestra Señora de la Soledad y Santa Isabel*, confiscated at La Caldera in 1700, carried Africans of Slave Coast origin known as *popos* as well as *ararás*.⁵⁵ A few other individuals came from other peoples of the Upper Slave Coast, an ethnically and culturally complex region home to people of both indigenous Ewe and Gold Coast origins. For example, Antonia de Campos identified her *casta* as *ije* or *ejé*, (probably Ewe) but was also identified with the *mina*.⁵⁶ Miguel Largo, who testified that he had been "stolen [when he was] little from the Mina country," identified himself as a *mina*, but was also associated, perhaps incorrectly, as a *popo*, although others of that "nation" could not understand his language.⁵⁷

Although most captives exported from the Slave Coast in the early eighteenth century were natives of the region (broadly defined), Africans of other ethnic origins further inland were entering the trade in growing numbers. A French observer around 1715 estimated that less than five percent of the slaves sold at the port of Ouidah originated within the kingdom.⁵⁸ The neighboring kingdom of Allada supplied the majority of the slaves sold at Ouidah, and captives exported from Allada and Ouidah were of identical origins.⁵⁹ But Allada itself functioned as a re-exporter of slaves from states further in the interior, especially Dahomey and Oyo. A majority of the slaves sold at Allada around this time probably came "from or at least through Dahomey."⁶⁰ This powerful expansionist state geared its military organization toward a "slave-raiding mode of

production” which formed the basis of the domination of the ruling elite. The Dahomeans raided neighboring interior peoples for slaves, whom they then traded to “middleman” trading coastal states such as Allada and Ouidah.⁶¹ Large numbers of slaves originating in the Yoruba empire of Oyo also arrived at the ports of Jaquin, Offra, and Ouidah by way of Allada. Prisoners taken in Oyo’s wars constituted the main source, but these slaves likely included people purchased from the neighboring states of Nupe and Borgu as well.⁶²

At least one Yoruba woman, known as “María of the *lucumí* country,” arrived in Costa Rica by way of Panama as early as 1613.⁶³ Several Yoruba and at least one Borgu woman arrived in Costa Rica on the *Christianus Quintus* and *Fredericus Quartus* in 1710, almost certainly embarked at Ouidah the previous year. At least sixteen persons, initially identified as of *casta nangu*, were captured on the Matina coast in April 1710.⁶⁴ *Nangu* is an early variant of *nago*, the name applied by speakers of Aja, Ewe, and Fon to western Yoruba-speaking groups.⁶⁵ Some of these individuals identified themselves as being of *casta aná*, a name that can be identified with the Ana, a western group of Yoruba-speakers in modern Togo and Benin.⁶⁶ In 1716, Antonia, another survivor of this voyage, identified herself as being of *casta barbá*.⁶⁷ *Bariba* was the Yoruba-language name given by the Oyo to their neighbors in the kingdoms of Borgu, including a western group in the north of modern Benin and Togo.⁶⁸ While the name first appears in American documents as *barba* in 1627, further documentation of enslaved Borgu in the Diaspora has proved elusive for the period before 1750. Yoruba-speaking people had begun raiding the Borgu kingdoms for slaves by the seventeenth century, and historians

Robin Law and Paul Lovejoy have suggested that small numbers of Borgu slaves, some or many of whom may have been bilingual, may have been linguistically assimilated to the more numerous Yoruba-speakers known as *lucumí*.⁶⁹ Antonia's presence in Costa Rica provides additional direct evidence of the early involvement of the Borgu in the Atlantic slave trade.

People exported from most major ports of the Slave Coast, especially Ouidah, had arrived in Costa Rica by the 1710s. Most were known as *arará*, a name applied to captives who came by way of the Kingdom of Allada, many of whom had been sold south by the Dahomeans. Others known by such names as *popo* and *ejé*, as well as some *minas*, shared a common language (now called Gbe) and religious sensibilities forged over centuries of extensive contact. A few women and men of other ethnic origins, including Yoruba and Borgu, came from areas far in the interior that supplied the Atlantic trade with large numbers of captives only in the nineteenth century. The name *mina*, found in Costa Rican documents mainly between the 1670s and 1730s, masked the exceedingly complex history and ethnic composition of the Upper Slave Coast.

The ethnic diversity of the Upper Slave Coast confounded Costa Rican officials and masters, who commonly recorded different *casta* names for the same individuals over time, or even at the same time. For decades, they consistently called most natives of the region *popos*. For example, Captain Juan de Escobar purchased an adolescent girl at auction in the Pacific coast town of Esparza in 1700. In two records of the same transaction, she was described as a *mina* in one document and a *popo* in another.⁷⁰

Although Miguel Largo described himself as a *mina*, his *popo* shipmates claimed he was

one of them.⁷¹ Antonia, described as a *popo* in a bill of sale, gave her own *casta* as *barbá*.⁷² Masters and officials repeatedly cited one woman as *aná*, although she was known to all as María Popo and claimed that *casta* as her own.⁷³

Table 2.3

***Casta* Names of Slave Coast Origin in Costa Rican Documents**

<i>Casta</i> Reference	Number of References	Years of First and Last
Aná, Saná	13	1711, 1720
Arará	33	1675, 1731
Barbá	1	1719
Ejé	1	1719
Mina	75*	1674, 1747
Nangu	16	1710
Popo	12	1700, 1733
Total	76 (151*)	

**Minas* include an undetermined number of natives of the Gold Coast; all should therefore be excluded from a conservative estimate of people of Slave Coast origin.

Sources: ANCR, P.C. 801 (1607) through 803 (1629), 815 (1654-1655, 1664-1667) through 850 (1698), 853 (1697, 1699, 1700, 1701) through 865 (1708), 867 (1709) through 871 (1712), 873 (1714) through 917 (1737), 919 (1738) through 924 (1740), 926 (1741) through 934 (1746); ANCR, P.H. 573 (1721) through 581 (1730), 583 (1733) through 586 (1739), 588 (1742) through 594 (1749); ANCR, P.S.J. 411 (1721) through 415 (1738); ACMSJ, SFASDE, Caja 20 (1692, 1696, 1719); *Indice de los protocolos de Cartago*, vols. 1-3; *Indice de los protocolos de Heredia*; ANCR, C. 109 (1700), C 113 (1702), C 187 (1710), C 211 (1713), C 231 (1710), C 233 (1710), C 234 (1710), CC 243 (1711), 250 (1710); ANCR, C.C. 3919 (1686), CC 4111 (1718); CC 4121 (1720); ANCR, G. 34 (1613), G 55 (1624), G 185 (1710), G 187 (1716), G 188 (1700, 1710); M.C.C. 774 (1711); ACMSJ, LBC, no. 3/FHL, VAULT INTL film 1219701, item 3; ACMSJ, LBC, no. 7/FHL, VAULT INTL film 1219702, item 2; ACMSJ, LBC, no. 8/FHL, VAULT INTL film 1219702, item 3.

These ethnic names, however, were far from meaningless.⁷⁴ In fact, the different names recorded by Costa Rican officials over time seem to have reflected a recognition of the ethnic diversity on the Slave Coast, and perhaps even a determination to get the origins of the slaves right.⁷⁵ There is some evidence to suggest that the persistent classification of these men and women as *popo* reflected the social reality of diasporic

ethnicity at work in Costa Rica. Although she had been born in Costa Rica, María Popo's daughter Juana adopted her mother's ethnicity, choosing to describe herself as a *popo*.⁷⁶ The masters' and officials' inclusion of Yoruba (*aná*), Borgu (*barbá*), and *minas* among the *popos* – as well as a creole girl identifying herself as *popo* -- suggests that men of various Upper Slave Coast origins used the term not to refer to a specific African ethnic group, but to a larger and more culturally viable association that they forged in Costa Rica. Their chosen *popo* identity also had a basis in their African pasts. People from all over the Upper Slave Coast and its hinterland – of Aja, Borgu, Ewe, Hula, Mina, and Yoruba origins -- shared a heritage of centuries of cultural exchange. Strengthened in the crucible of enslavement, it could provide a strong basis for a shared identity in the Diaspora.

Creoles: Slaves and Conquerors

The first black man who arrived in Costa Rica came not on a slave ship, but with some of the first Europeans to explore the Americas, years before the “discoveries” of Mexico or Peru. “Diego el Negro” arrived at Cariay, now Puerto Limón, on 17 September 1502 as a “cabin boy” or apprentice seaman (*grumete*) aboard the caravel *Capitana*, one of four ships commanded by the Admiral Christopher Columbus on the latter's fourth voyage to the New World.⁷⁷ Little is known of Diego except that he served on the *Capitana*'s crew, that he was the only man on any of the ships designated as a “negro,” and that later, on 2 November 1505, a *cédula* issued in the name of His Catholic Majesty don Fernando ordered that Diego be paid 15,133 *maravedies* (about 445 *reales*) for his

labors on the voyage.⁷⁸ It is not known specifically what work he performed on board the ship, nor his activities on American shores – indeed, we cannot even be certain that he came ashore in Costa Rica. Ordered to be paid on his own account for his work on the voyage, Diego was probably not a slave. But as a “cabin boy,” Diego may well have performed work that was also undertaken by galley slaves. It is possible that Diego was born in Africa; the Portuguese referred to sailors from the seafaring peoples of Senegambia, Upper Guinea, or Cape Verde whom they hired as *grumetes*.⁷⁹ More likely he was one of the thousands of black creoles born in Iberia since the Portuguese began importing slaves directly from West Africa in the 1440s, children and grandchildren of West Africans who had survived a Middle Passage to Europe.⁸⁰ By 1500, slaves of African descent made up roughly one tenth of Seville’s population, and for decades after the discovery of the New World, Seville remained an obligatory stopping point of slaves bound for the Indies.⁸¹ A 1501 decree by Their Catholic Majesties Fernando and Isabel permitted the introduction only of slaves “born in the power of Christians, our subjects and natives.”⁸²

Probably born in Iberia, Diego’s name indicates that he had been baptized a Christian. Whatever his birthplace, he had lived in Spain and was able to communicate in the Spanish language. Although nothing is known about Diego’s reasons for embarking on the *Capitana*, we do know that he completed the voyage and returned with the ship to Hispaniola on 7 August 1505.⁸³ Although he participated as a subordinate in the exploration and conquest, he remained clearly identified with the Spaniards with whom

he came, and was recognized by the king for his labors. The first of the black men who arrived in Costa Rica, Diego came as both servant and conqueror.⁸⁴

From the beginning, black men such as Diego accompanied the conquistadores as armed and unarmed auxiliaries. Almost immediately, Spaniards imported larger numbers of enslaved Africans for essential work such as clearing paths through the forests and building roads and settlements. Sometimes black men played purely incidental roles in the conquest, as in the case of an unidentified black acrobat whom Gil González Dávila purchased for the then-exorbitant price of 300 pesos from Pedrarias Dávila, Governor of Castilla del Oro (Panama), in order to obtain the latter's sponsorship of an expedition north to the Pacific coast of Costa Rica, Nicoya, and Nicaragua.⁸⁵ Throughout the sixteenth century, as parties of conquistadores set out to explore Costa Rica from Panama and Nicaragua, they continued to include small numbers of black slaves. Before the habilitation of the port of Realejo on Nicaragua's Pacific coast in 1533, all goods and passengers entering Nicaragua – including black slaves -- passed through the Nicoya peninsula, now in northwest Costa Rica.⁸⁶ The few black slaves who entered Costa Rica in the first decades of the sixteenth century had already lived in other Spanish colonies, and contributed valuable cultural skills and knowledge they had acquired in the New World as well as the Old.

Living and working among people of other ethnic and cultural backgrounds, these early black arrivals adapted rapidly to their new environments. Although they understood the culture of their masters intimately, black slaves would always remain outsiders to it. This vantage-point may have given them an insight into other cultures that

allowed them to serve as effective intermediaries between Europeans and indigenous peoples. In July 1528, the celebrated chronicler Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo y Valdés left Managua for Costa Rica's Nicoya Peninsula, accompanied by a Spanish servant, two male black slaves, an enslaved black woman, and a number of indigenous slaves.⁸⁷ Oviedo's *Historia general y natural* establishes not only the presence of black slaves in Nicoya by that date, but indicates that some had already learned indigenous languages and customs. When he cut himself on some rocks, Oviedo suffered from a deep gash the length of his foot that made walking extremely painful. With no access to Spanish medical treatment, Oviedo feared he would become permanently lame, if he did not have to amputate the foot or even die from his injury. The enslaved black woman told Oviedo that "the Indians said" cocoa butter was good for dressing sores, and offered to apply some to his wound. After a few weeks' rest in Nicoya, Oviedo found himself completely healed. Impressed with the curative powers of the cocoa butter, he made the black slave woman extract the unguent from two *fanegas* (about 109 liters/28.8 gallons) of cacao pods, which "she knew well how to do."⁸⁸ Oviedo's narrative provides some of the earliest evidence of creolization in Costa Rica: within a colonial context of conquest and slavery, this unnamed black woman became an agent of cultural exchange between natives of Africa, Europe, and America.

Plans to introduce large numbers of African slaves to Costa Rica started early, occasionally to resurface throughout the colonial period. In 1531, the Crown licensed Felipe Gutiérrez to import 100 black slaves from Spain, Portugal, or the Cape Verde Islands for the conquest of a vast area including all of Costa Rica.⁸⁹ (This license

remained unused, and Gutiérrez never brought the slaves to Costa Rica.) African slaves arrived in Costa Rica en masse with the abortive expedition of Hernán Sánchez de Badajoz, a veteran of the Peruvian civil wars, in 1540.⁹⁰ Badajoz planned to found his colony on the backs of black slaves. On 15 February 1540, he set sail for Costa Rica's Atlantic coast from Nombre de Dios, Panama, with perhaps thirty-five "Spanish" soldiers, including some free blacks, and more than one hundred black slaves, who were to clear roads and mine the gold he expected to find. Badajoz had ordered an agent to purchase these slaves in Seville, reportedly paying more than 7,000 pesos, from where they were shipped to Nombre de Dios before leaving for Costa Rica.⁹¹ Presumably West Africans, most of them remained only briefly in Costa Rica before being sent on a galleon to Jamaica, probably to be traded there for more supplies.⁹² All were killed when the galleon and two brigantines were lost in a storm at sea.⁹³ Despite this tragedy, Sánchez de Badajoz began his conquest of Costa Rica with at least eight enslaved black men and one black slave woman in his personal entourage, among them three men called Antón, Francisco, and Capitanejo.⁹⁴

Free as well as enslaved black men joined the early expeditions to Costa Rica. Most, if not all, had already lived elsewhere in the Americas, and several had fought in other regions. To recruit soldiers for the conquest, Hernán Sánchez de Badajoz hired a crier to advertise on the streets of Panama City. Men who enlisted crossed the isthmus to Nombre de Dios, where many others joined the expedition, and Badajoz outfitted the ships with artillery, munitions, and black slaves.⁹⁵ Among the recruits was Francisco Díaz, a well-travelled black man (*de color prieto*) about thirty years old in 1540, who

resided permanently in Puebla de los Angeles, Mexico. In Costa Rica, Díaz explored ten or twelve leagues (34-41 miles/55-66 km) into the interior of Talamanca. He testified that the Indians “did him no harm and they gave him of what they had, and one could walk as peacefully among them as among men who walk the streets of Seville.”⁹⁶

As in Peru and elsewhere, black soldiers in Costa Rica took part in both sides of armed conflicts between rival conquistadores.⁹⁷ In November 1540, Nicaraguan governor Rodrigo de Contreras arrived in Talamanca to remove Sánchez de Badajoz from command. He brought an army of ninety Spaniards, 400 Indian auxiliaries, and an unknown number of black slaves.⁹⁸ Some of the original expeditionaries, including the blacks Francisco Díaz and Juan de Aguilar, remained loyal to Badajoz. Others, including Lope and Alonso, probably slaves, and free blacks Pedrianes Alonso, *de color prieto*, and Rodrigo López, *de color negro*, sided with Contreras, the eventual victor, and joined in deposing Badajoz.⁹⁹

Conquistadores, and later, government officials and clergymen, frequently brought a few black slaves to the Americas as personal retainers. Enslaved body servants became strongly identified with their Spanish masters. As elsewhere, some black slaves joined their masters in terrorizing the native population.¹⁰⁰ When Diego de Gutiérrez renewed exploration of the Atlantic region of Costa Rica in 1544, he marched flanked by two black slaves who obeyed his every command. Particularly brutal and avaricious, Gutiérrez chained and humiliated the *caciques* of Suerre in an attempt to extort gold from them, threatening to roast one of them alive, and forcing another to lead a march in a search for the mines.¹⁰¹ Upon reaching a crossroads, Gutiérrez ordered another Indian

man to tell which path led to a village. When he was unable to respond, Gutiérrez ordered his black slaves to kill the man.¹⁰² They complied and murdered the man. Upon a second command from their master, they menaced the chained *cacique* but spared his life. A few days later, a large indigenous army attacked Gutiérrez's party, taunting the Spaniards with cries of "Take gold, Christians, take gold!" The warriors singled out Gutiérrez and his two black slaves for special violence, severing their heads, hands, and feet.¹⁰³

After such failures, plans to conquer Costa Rica languished until the 1560s. When they resumed, enslaved and free blacks continued to figure in the projects. In January 1561, the Licentiate Juan de Cavallón left Granada, Nicaragua for Nicoya with a company of ninety "Spaniards and blacks," some of whom may have been free, on an expedition to Costa Rica's Central Valley.¹⁰⁴ The same year, Father Juan Estrada Rávago sailed for Costa Rica's Caribbean coast, where he briefly established a settlement, doubtless employing the labor of black slaves. When hunger reduced the colonists to eating "lizards, dogs, and grass," Estrada Rávago dispatched a ship to Nombre de Dios, Panama, to trade a cargo of "blacks, silver, and his own clothes" for more supplies.¹⁰⁵ When Juan Vázquez de Coronado arrived in Costa Rica in November 1562, his expedition included both free and enslaved blacks. Like his predecessors, Vázquez de Coronado hoped to discover mineral wealth that would justify the expense of the conquest. As the Crown had already restricted the use of Indians in mining work elsewhere in Central America,¹⁰⁶ Vázquez de Coronado sent black slaves to search for placer deposits in Talamanca's rivers. In 1564, Melchorillo, a slave of Carlos Bonifaz,

and two unnamed black slaves of Alonso de Valdivieso found gold in the Estrella River. Like other expeditionaries, Francisco de Fonseca, the free son of a mulato, received a mine as a reward for his service in the conquest.¹⁰⁷

The discovery of gold persuaded some Spanish expeditionaries to settle in Costa Rica, but when the expected bonanzas failed to materialize over the next few years, many threatened to leave the province. By the time Perafán de Ribera arrived as governor of Costa Rica in 1568, he faced strong opposition from Spanish colonists who threatened to abandon the new colony if they did not receive grants of land and Indians. Eight years before his arrival, Perafán had successfully thwarted his slave Pedro's attempt to gain his legal freedom, and no doubt brought other slaves to Costa Rica.¹⁰⁸ In his continuing conflicts with established settlers, the governor reportedly turned to mulatos and blacks of his entourage, a tactic continued by Costa Rican governors in later centuries.

According to Cartago councilman (*regidor*) and treasurer Jerónimo Villegas, Perafán ruled arbitrarily, employing his mulato servants to harass the original colonists with spurious legal charges.¹⁰⁹ To prevent an armed uprising, in January 1569 Perafán relented and distributed Costa Rica's Indians to the settlers in *encomienda*, knowing full well that the Crown had already prohibited the granting of new *encomiendas*.¹¹⁰

Dissatisfied with the *repartimiento*, many of the earliest settlers complained that Perafán had shown favoritism to members of his own party, who arrived later.¹¹¹ Fray Lorenzo de Bienvenida complained in 1577 that Perafán had "distributed all the land to a few more than forty Spaniards, most of whom were mestizos, blacks, and other lowly people.

...»¹¹²

The encomenderos of color to whom the friar objected presumably included Francisco de Fonseca, the son of a mulato and a veteran of the Vázquez de Coronado expedition.¹¹³ Fonseca, whose African ancestry was rarely noted in documents and apparently placed no obstacles in the way of his social mobility, received an encomienda of an unspecified number of Corobicí and Abangares Indians in Costa Rica's North Pacific region. He also went on to occupy a series of government posts, including *alguacil* (constable) of the short-lived town of Aranjuez, *regidor* (city councilman) of Esparza, a city he helped to found, and *Alcalde de la Santa Hermandad* (chief constable) in Cartago. Fonseca also numbered among the founders of the ephemeral Atlantic settlement at Nombre de Jesús in 1571.¹¹⁴ Quickly decimated, the Indians of Corobicí and Abangares provided little income for Fonseca or his heirs, who remained in the province.¹¹⁵ But the fact that a mulato received an encomienda at all was exceptional. In the rest of Spanish America, only a single black man in Chile is known to have received an encomienda of Indians.¹¹⁶

From the beginning, enslaved people of African descent took part in the conquest of Costa Rica, but their numbers remained in the dozens, in contrast to, for example, the thousands of black slaves who accompanied the invading armies in Peru.¹¹⁷ A few enslaved blacks, most of them creoles, accompanied the conquistadores as body servants. When more secular and ecclesiastical officials began to arrive after the conquest of the Central Valley in the 1560s, black and mulato slaves formed part of their entourages, imported under individual licenses from the Crown.¹¹⁸ In 1573, for example, Governor Diego de Artieda Chirinos received a *real cédula* authorizing him to import twenty black slaves to Costa Rica "for the service of [your] person and house and for whatever may be

most convenient to do in the said province.” The following year he received permission from the Council of the Indies to bring a mulato slave, Gaspar, and an enslaved black man, Luis, to Costa Rica. Both had previously served Artieda in Mexico.¹¹⁹ Under the individual licensing system, the Crown attempted to regulate strictly the number of captives imported to the Indies. Captain Gonzalo Pérez of the *Nuestra Señora de la Concepción* received permission to sail from Sanlúcar de Barrameda to Costa Rica in 1575 with his enslaved black page, Lázaro, only on the condition that the black man return to Spain on the first available ship.¹²⁰ A very few enslaved black women can be proved to have accompanied the early Spanish expeditions to Costa Rica; black maids, cooks, and sometime concubines probably came in greater numbers than the documents reflect.¹²¹ Strongly identified with their masters, slave men inevitably became implicated in the conflicts between Spaniards and local Indians. In 1610, Juan Gallardo, a mulato slave of don Diego de Sojo, joined in sacking the Cabécar Indians’ most sacred temple for gold. The desecration provoked the Cabécares to kill Gallardo and several others, igniting the general Indian rebellion that expelled the Spaniards from Talamanca for more than a century.¹²²

Throughout the colonial period, small numbers of creole slaves arrived in Costa Rica from various parts of the Americas and beyond. Like Africans, a plurality arrived from Panama and Nicaragua, and for some, Costa Rica was just one stop in their long travels in captivity. Pedro de Guevara, a mulato probably from Panama, was lent by his master don Manuel de Aguililla to Nicolás García, owner and captain of the *Nuestra Señora de la Soledad* to work aboard the ship on a journey from Panama City to Peru. When instead

the ship arrived in La Caldera in 1700, its Lieutenant Governor don Gregorio de Caamaño confiscated its human cargo. Under orders from the Audiencia of Guatemala, Caamaño sent Pedro north with a group of several Africans to serve at the Castle on the San Juan River in Nicaragua. He labored there for twelve years when, broken and chronically ill, he purchased his freedom from the commander of the fort for 250 pesos.¹²³ Lorenzo, a young creole from Santo Domingo, was purchased by Caamaño in Esparza, confiscated by the *oidor* don Francisco de Carmona in 1703, sold to Captain don Francisco de Noguera y Moncada, the military governor entrusted with the conquest of Talamanca, and finally sold to Captain Diego Miguel González Algarín, a resident of León, Nicaragua, in 1706.¹²⁴ José Tomás de Herrera, a native of Sanlúcar de Barrameda near Seville, travelled the “Black Atlantic” as most black people did: as a slave.¹²⁵ Antonio de Amoscote y Pallar, a Cartagena creole purchased by don Lorenzo de Arburola y Ribarén, worked his master’s haciendas in Matina for several years, and eventually left Costa Rica. Witnesses disagreed on details of Amoscote’s fate. All concurred that Amoscote was married to a woman in another province; according to some, his wife lived in Mompós (Colombia), while others maintained she was in Tenerife (Canary Islands). Early in the eighteenth century, Arburola took Amoscote to Portobello, where he either manumitted or resold him, and Amoscote allegedly returned to Cartagena.¹²⁶ Career Spanish officials in particular brought their slaves from other colonies where they had previously been stationed. By 1747, for example, Josefa de los Angeles Aviles and Andrea Carmona, creoles from Havana, had arrived in Cartago with Governor don Juan Gemmir y Lleonart.¹²⁷

With their experience of other areas of America, “foreign” creoles turned that familiarity to their advantage. José de Ibarra, a creole from Panama, was a master sugar boiler and sometime fugitive.¹²⁸ Juan Toribio (also known as Juan de Salas), a creole from Cartagena, proved a “troublesome property” to his masters as he demonstrated an ingenious ability to pursue his own interests.¹²⁹ Purchased in Colombia before 1695, his Cartago mistress doña Micaela Durán de Chaves sold him to *Alférez* Francisco Fernández in that year. For some reason unacceptable to Fernández, Juan returned to Durán shortly thereafter. Rather than try to keep him in slavery, doña Micaela agreed to accept 450 pesos for Juan’s freedom; she probably allowed him to work for wages to seek the money for his liberation. After paying his mistress 165 pesos, he fled north to the silver mines of Mineral del Córpus, Honduras. When Durán learned of Juan’s whereabouts in 1702, she dispatched Captain Andrés de Salazar to Honduras to collect the rest of the sum, but he proved unable to do so. The following year, doña Micaela sent a second agent, her nephew Captain Alonso Ruiz de Arroyo, to Córpus “to capture” Juan. Instead of returning to Costa Rica, Juan persuaded Ruiz to stick to the original deal and wait for the rest of the money to be paid for his freedom. Amazingly, he somehow convinced Ruiz to contribute 125 pesos to his cause. But when Ruiz returned to Cartago, Juan fled again, remaining at large for another eight years, and it is not known whether Durán ever received the remainder of the sum Juan had agreed to pay.¹³⁰

Like slaves, free people of color, overwhelmingly if not exclusively males, continued to arrive throughout the colonial period. These free black creoles, like many of their white and enslaved counterparts, came to Costa Rica with knowledge and experience

they had acquired in other colonies. As in some other parts of Spanish America, for a few men of African descent, the sixteenth century brought opportunities that matched those open to whites. At least one mulato received encomiendas of Indians, while other colonists, mostly white, were passed over. In later centuries, free mulatos continued to come to Costa Rica. Bernardo Cortés, a Panamanian mulato, came to Costa Rica in the seventeenth century, became the province's only large non-white sugar planter, and eventually owned eight slaves.¹³¹ Other free people of African descent pursued military service and exploited personal relationships with powerful Spaniards as avenues to social mobility and wealth. José de Chavarría, a mulato from León, Nicaragua, pursued a path to success familiar to Spanish *peninsulares* all over the empire. He moved to Cartago in the late seventeenth century, married the mulata creole daughter of a rich local Spaniard, and became a captain of Cartago's pardo militia^[RL11]. José Nicolás de la Haya, the illegitimate son of Governor don Diego de la Haya y Fernández by a Panamanian mulata, accompanied his father to Cartago, where he married a daughter of Captain José de Chavarría and eventually became a pardo militia captain himself.¹³² The Adjutant Lázaro de Robles, a mulato from Comayagua, Honduras allied himself with Governor don Francisco de Serrano de Reyna and collaborated with the corrupt official in profiting from a lucrative contraband trade in clothing and captive Africans.¹³³ At one time or another, all these mulato officers owned African slaves.

The "charter generation" of enslaved and free blacks, comprised of men and women born in Europe, Africa, or America, immediately became a vital part of the Costa Rican creole society they helped to found. Like their masters, most of these black men and

women had already lived in Spain or other Spanish American colonies. They understood the language, logics, and rules of Spanish society, including those that governed slavery, even as they helped to shape them. Living and working closely with Spaniards, Indians, mestizos, mulatos, and creole slaves, the first Africans to reach Costa Rica learned the rules of their new surroundings quickly. Spanish-speaking, baptized Catholics, bound to a particular slaveholding household, working at tasks determined by the unique local environment, the rapidly creolizing charter generations were able to draw on their hard-won experiences to help those who followed them adapt to slavery in Costa Rica.¹³⁴

The First Africans: Upper Guinea

Like the creoles, some of the first Africans brought to the New World had previously lived in the Iberian peninsula. To varying degrees, these earliest enslaved African immigrants had already learned something of Portuguese or Spanish culture. In the first half of the sixteenth century, a majority of captives exported into the Atlantic slave trade came from Upper Guinea, particularly Senegambia, the sub-Saharan region first contacted by the Portuguese in the 1440s. Captives known as *jolofos* formed the largest group of those black Africans imported to Spain who were identified by *casta* or “nation,” and with the so-called discovery of the New World, Africans who had lived in Spain comprised a large proportion of those taken to the Americas in the first decades of the conquest.¹³⁵ In 1531, the Crown licensed Felipe Gutiérrez to import 100 black slaves to Costa Rica from Spain, Portugal, or the Cape Verde Islands.¹³⁶ Although these

captives never arrived, from whichever of these transshipping points they left, in those years the Africans among them would most likely have been Senegambians. As demand for African slaves increased with the establishment of Spanish colonies, growing numbers of captives came to the Americas directly from West Africa.

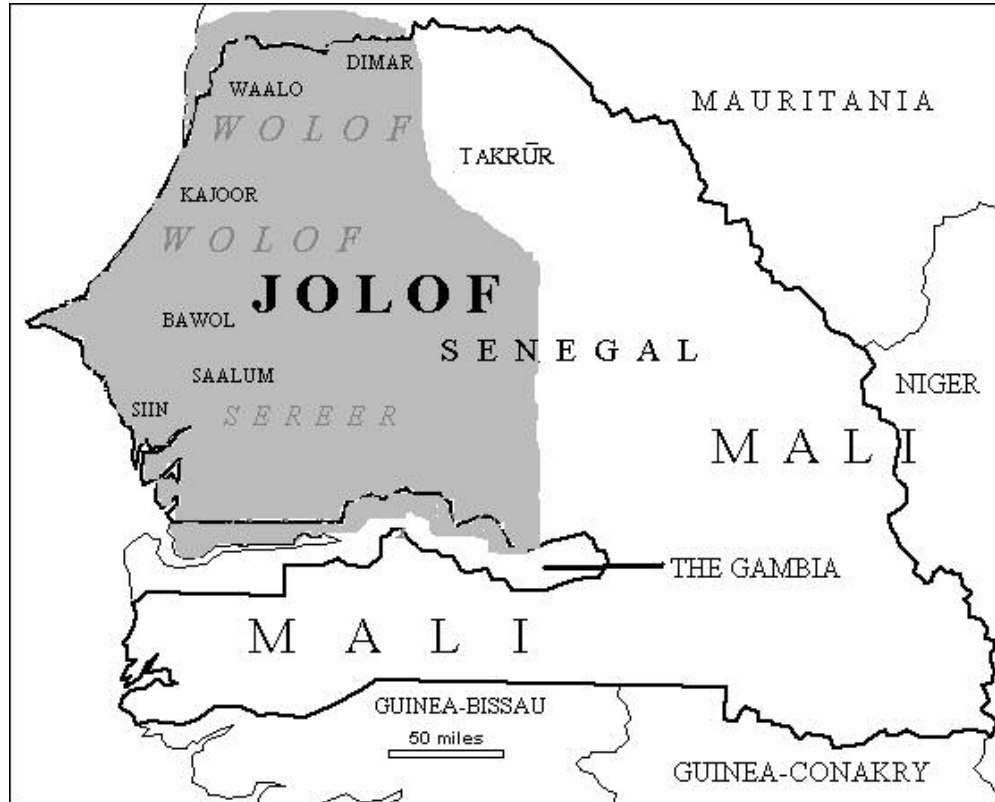
Europeans employed the name *jolofo* (also *gelofe*, *gilofo*, *jalof*, *jolof*, etc.) to refer to subjects of the Jolof Empire founded by the legendary Njaajaan Njaay in the thirteenth century. A loose confederation of six densely populated states, each of which held as many as 50,000 to 75,000 people, Jolof united most of the territories between the Senegal and Gambia Rivers at its height in the fifteenth century.¹³⁷ In early modern Senegambia, the name *jolof* referred to this political entity; *wolof* refers to the ethnic group that dominated its territory demographically and politically. Minorities of other origins, principally the indigenous non-Muslim Sereer as well as small groups of Mandinka traders, Fulbe pastoralists, and Moorish clerics from the Sahara, also lived within Jolof territories. While some scholars have stressed the ethnic, linguistic, and cultural similarities of Jolof's inhabitants, others have emphasized their heterogeneity. European slave traders assumed an essential unity, applying the name *jolofo* to all groups living within the Jolof Empire.¹³⁸ Thousands of captives entered the early Atlantic slave trade under the name *jolofo*; most were ethnic Wolof, but others were members of the other ethnic groups living in Jolof, especially the Sereer.

The imposition of the name *jolofo* on both Wolof and Sereer ignored critical historical and social differences that held major implications for the adaptation of members of these groups to slavery in the Americas. By the time Europeans arrived on the Senegambian

coast, many Wolof royal lineages had at least nominally converted to Islam, although orthodox religious scholars long railed against their lax observance of the faith, and most Wolof did not become Muslims until the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Long before, the Wolof had adopted the social structure of the Manding peoples to the east, upholding a strictly endogamous hierarchy of four status groupings including the ruling lineages (*garimi*), free people (*jaambur*), occupational castes (*ñeeño*), and slaves (*jaam*).¹³⁹

Like other African peoples, Wolof rulers measured their wealth and political power by the number of people they controlled. Slaves, who held no recognized natal lineage ties and were therefore assumed to be completely dependent on and loyal to their masters, came to play important roles at royal courts, filling administrative posts and later, with the dramatic expansion of the slave system under the influence of the Atlantic slave trade, making up the bulk of their military forces. Among the Wolof, these court slaves lived in material circumstances clearly superior to those of many free persons and exercised political power undreamt-of by the free peasantry.¹⁴⁰ Like their masters, such high-status slaves were consumers rather than producers, and specialist Martin Klein asserts that rather than dividing Wolof society into slave and free, “a more meaningful way of looking at social stratification would be to contrast those who participated in the exercise of power and those who did not.”¹⁴¹ Among the Wolof, the condition of slavery itself did not carry the associations with degradation and inferiority that it did among Europeans; on the contrary, for some, slave status meant a privileged lifestyle with access to all the trappings of power.

Most Sereer, on the other hand, did not live in centralized states and long resisted Wolof rule; their concentrated settlement in the south probably coincided historically with the rise of Jolof and their attempt to escape its domination. For centuries, they vehemently rejected conversion to Islam. Initially they observed no such caste system as the Wolof ; some Sereer areas adopted the division of society into ruling lineages, ordinary free persons, members of occupational castes, and slaves only in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Most importantly, the Sereer did not have an indigenous tradition of slavery.¹⁴² Although they usually lumped both groups together, occasionally European slave traders recognized cultural differences between Wolof and Sereer, calling the Sereer by the more specific name *jolofo berbest*.¹⁴³



Map 4

The Jolof Empire at Its Height, ca. 1450

*Source: Based on Boulègue, *Anciens royaumes Wolof**

Due at least in part to the increasing attraction of the trans-Atlantic trade, the Wolof kingdoms of Kajoor, Bawol, and Waalo, as well as the increased independence of the predominantly Sereer-speaking areas of Siin and Saalum, asserted their independence in the mid-sixteenth century, leading to the disintegration of the Jolof Empire. The ensuing wars led to the sale of thousands of prisoners into the Atlantic trade.¹⁴⁴ Many of the male Wolof exported to the Americas during those years had military experience, and male slavery in Wolof kingdoms was strongly tied to a warrior tradition. The Sereer had an

equally strong tradition of resistance to enslavement. These traditions played an important role in the strong Senegambian resistance to the slave trade, which constrained European slave traders' ability to procure captives in the region throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.¹⁴⁵

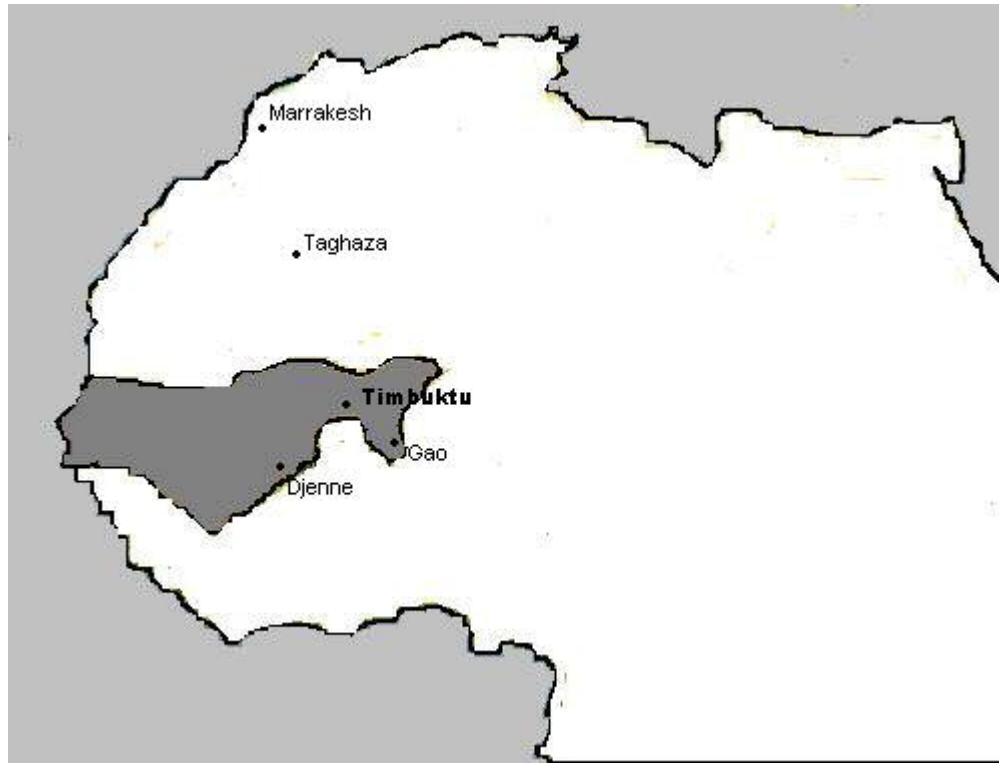
Traditions of warfare and resistance to enslavement among the Wolof and Sereer also contributed to the reputation of *jolofos* in Spanish America as arrogant, brave, and rebellious warriors. *Jolofos* were the only African *casta* singled out by Spanish imperial legislation in the sixteenth century. At the beginning of the century, Spanish slavemasters preferred *jolofos* over other *castas*, considering them peaceful and docile. That reputation changed overnight when slaves identified as *jolofos* led a rebellion at Diego Colón's sugar plantation in Hispaniola in 1521. Five years later, the Spanish Crown prohibited the importation of *jolofo* slaves to the Americas. Colonists obviously ignored the ban; "*jelofes*" were said to be responsible for another insurrection in Puerto Rico around 1527, and in 1536 the colonists of that island asked the king to ban further importations of *jolofos*. The influence of Islam, the Spaniards believed, only incited their haughty and violent predispositions.¹⁴⁶ In yet another unobserved ban, in 1532 the king ordered the Casa de Contratación in Seville "to take much care . . . that the blacks called *jelofes* do not pass to the Indies, . . . nor any others raised among Moors [sic], even if they are from the Negro Coast of Guinea."¹⁴⁷ Notwithstanding such periodic prohibitions, *jolofo* captives continued to arrive in sizeable numbers in Spanish America for much of the sixteenth century.¹⁴⁸ In a sample of Peruvian notarial records between 1532 and

1560, for example, James Lockhart found that “*jelofs*” were the most numerous single ethnic group among African- and American-born slaves.¹⁴⁹

Seemingly confirming the rebellious reputation of the *jolofo*s, Pedro Gilofo became the first recorded *cimarrón* in Costa Rican territory, withdrawing for more than twenty days to the “Indians of war” in 1540. When Pedro returned to the Spanish encampment, *caudillo* Hernán Sánchez de Badajoz had him executed on 1 September 1540.¹⁵⁰ In Costa Rica as elsewhere in Spanish America, colonial officials feared an alliance between Indians and enslaved Africans -- and with *jolofo*s in particular. Pedro’s abortive flight to the Indians testified unmistakably to his rejection of the terms of his enslavement, but if, as seems likely, there were other *jolofo*s in Costa Rica at the time, his abscondment also hints at an absence of or at least lack of support from his countrymen, known for collective, not individual resistance. Again corroborating Spanish stereotypes, at least one *jolofo* slave in Costa Rica continued to identify with an Islamic past in the early seventeenth century. To their great amusement, Manuel *de tierra jolof* told a festive gathering of Spaniards in 1609 that he refused to “deny Bujame” (Muh}ammad).¹⁵¹ Despite Manuel’s profession of faith, there is no direct evidence that he continued to practice his religion in Costa Rica, nor known records of other *jolofo*s or Muslims in the province at the time. Although the records of Pedro’s and Manuel’s actions suggest a *jolofo* determination to resist slavery and maintain a cultural heritage, their extreme rarity indicates the paucity of *jolofo*s in the province, their inability to unite with countrymen to preserve an ethnic- or religious-based identity, and consequently an obligatory adaptation to creole society.

Larger numbers of Upper Guinea natives arrived in Costa Rica by the early seventeenth century, reflecting the steady growth of the Atlantic slave trade. Africans identified as *mandinga* appear in Costa Rican documents as early as 1619.¹⁵² Like the name *jolofo*, *mandinga* represented an apparently straightforward ethnic name that in fact was employed by European slave traders to refer to a broad geographical area encompassing many ethnic groups.¹⁵³ The Mandinka (Manding, Mandingo, Malinke) were a Mande-speaking ethnic group indigenous to a small area along the left bank of the Niger River. In the early thirteenth century, legendary king Sundiata founded the Mali Empire, which at its height in the fourteenth century extended over the entire Sahel-Sudan region of West Africa, from the Mandinka homeland in modern Mali to the Atlantic, from Mauritania in the north to Guinea-Bissau in the south. Subjects of provinces of the Mali Empire included Moorish Arabs, Berbers and Tuareg, Fulbe and Tukolor, Wolof, Bamana (Bambara), and Dogon as well as the majority ethnic Mandinka.¹⁵⁴

Although the Mali Empire had entered a terminal decline by the fifteenth century, Mandinka traders continued to exploit extensive networks throughout the Senegambia. It was they who provided the Portuguese with the bulk of the captives obtained in the region in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The Portuguese used *mandinga* to refer to people from all areas of West Africa still under the waning influence of Mali, especially the states along the River Gambia. Along the Atlantic coast, captives called *mandinga* came from an area extending from the north bank of the Gambia to the Rio Cacheu in Guinea-Bissau, or even further south to the Biafara territories along the Geba River.¹⁵⁵



Map 5

The Mali Empire at Its Height, *ca.* 1350

European slave traders persistently, if not always accurately, associated the *mandinga* with Islam, as they did the less Islamized *jolofo*. Although many Mandinka continued to adhere to their traditional religions, the vast majority of Mandinka merchants active in West Africa professed Islam, and these were the Mandinka with whom the Portuguese first and most frequently traded in slaves and other commodities.¹⁵⁶ In the early seventeenth century, the Jesuit Alonso de Sandoval, who ministered to thousands of Africans in Cartagena in the early seventeenth century, believed “*mandinga*” properly

referred to the Soninke (Serakhulle), another Mande-speaking people who lived upriver from the mouth of the Gambia. From his description of the Soninke as the “principal ministers of that accursed sect” of Muh}ammad, Sandoval may have been referring to the Jakhanke, an occupational group of devout Muslim scholars and traders who claim to be of Soninke origin.¹⁵⁷ Eventually, some European slavers applied the name *mandinga* to all Muslims of Upper Guinea, transforming it from a marker of ethnicity to one of religion.¹⁵⁸

Like most African “ethnic” names used in the Americas, the term *mandinga* referred to different peoples over time and even at the same time, assuming different meanings according to the origins and knowledge of the slave traders and masters who used it. *Mandinga* could refer to the Mandinka themselves or to captives sold to European slave traders by Mande-speaking Muslim merchants from the Senegambia to Ivory Coast. As a result, Walter Rodney and others argued that many captives came to the Americas “incorrectly designated as Mandinga.”¹⁵⁹ French factor André Brüe claimed in 1723 that the Mandinka never sold their own people; *all* of the captives brought by Mandinka to the coast, he asserted, were Bamana (Bambara) from the far interior in modern Mali, a people who for centuries violently resisted conversion to Islam. (Conversely, during the same period the name *bambara* was sometimes used in Louisiana to refer to Muslims.)¹⁶⁰ In fact, the term *mandinga* could refer to members of what Michael Gomez has called “a plethora of ethnicities” from whom the Mandinka drew captives.¹⁶¹

This diversity, however, can be overdrawn. Mandinka, Bamana (Bambara), and Dyula, spoken along a vast arc extending through the modern countries of The Gambia,

Senegal, Guinea-Bissau, Guinea-Conakry, Mali, Liberia, Sierra Leone, and Ivory Coast, are generally mutually intelligible and have often been considered regional variants of a single Manding language.¹⁶² Muslims separated by great distances in Upper Guinea shared a faith that transcended ethnicity and geography. Their beliefs and practices would to some extent have been familiar to non-Muslims from those areas as well; Muslim holy men earned the respect of non-Muslims throughout Upper Guinea for their literacy and the efficacy of the magical charms they commonly made and sold.¹⁶³ A handful of Africans called *mandingas* continued to arrive in Costa Rica throughout the seventeenth and well into the eighteenth century.¹⁶⁴

Unlike functionaries in other Spanish American colonies and Brazil, in virtually all cases, Costa Rican notaries recorded only general *casta* names for the African slaves who appeared in official transactions. In different times and parts of the colonial Americas, masters came to differentiate African ethnic origins with remarkable specificity as they attributed different characters and behaviors to each group. Colonies such as Mexico in the sixteenth century, Colombia in the seventeenth, or Brazil and Cuba in the nineteenth century imported hundreds of thousands of Africans, and used hundreds of different names to refer to their ethnic origins.¹⁶⁵ In Costa Rica, on the other hand, having less experience with African ethnic diversity, masters and officials almost never classified Africans beyond general labels such as *mandinga*, *mina*, or *congo*. When they did, they simply repeated names they learned from slave traders and masters from other Spanish colonies.

The *casta* name *cancán* presents one such example. The exact name of a Mandinka polity, it occurs just twice in Costa Rican notarial documents, in the mid- and late 1730s, referring to two men purchased from the Asiento in Panama.¹⁶⁶ The name refers to Kankan, capital of Kankan-Baté, a polity of twelve Maninka Mori villages founded in the late seventeenth century by Muslim Mandinka traders in the hill country of what is now Guinea-Conakry. By that time, major philosophical differences were coming to a head in Senegambian Islam. The model of peaceful proselytization exemplified by the thirteenth-century Jakhanke holy man al-Hajj Salim Suware, although never totally eclipsed, began to be overshadowed by an ascendant militarist tradition that embraced *jiha*d (holy war) as a means of conversion.¹⁶⁷ Kankan soon became a regional center of Islamic education in the *jiha*d tradition, attracting devout students from throughout Upper Guinea.¹⁶⁸ Around 1726, after polytheist Jallonke rulers in nearby Futa Jallon outlawed public Islamic prayers, Muslim Fulbe (Peuls, Fulani), Mandinka, and the minority group of Muslim Jallonke launched the war known as the Fulani *Jiha*d against the régime. Residents of Kankan joined their fellow Muslim neighbors in the holy war to create an Islamic state.¹⁶⁹ In addition to the Muslims' wish to prevent the enslavement of their co-religionists by the Jallonke, the desire to gain a place for themselves in the rapidly expanding Atlantic slave trade figured among the secular motives of the *jiha*d.¹⁷⁰ Although the Muslim warriors soon won a major victory, resistance of local non-Muslims continued to smolder for decades, and the Islamic theocracy was not fully consolidated until 1747. In addition, in the course of the eighteenth century Muslims enslaved other Muslims in growing numbers, seizing them on the pretext of lax religious observance or

backsliding into unbelief. According to specialist Paul E. Lovejoy, “almost all” of the Muslims entering the Atlantic slave trade between 1650 and 1750 came from Senegambia and the Upper Niger region, enslaved as a result of various jihads. As slave exports from the area rose dramatically during the decades of the Fulani Jihad, the presence of *cancán* in Costa Rica in the 1730s reflected the enslavement of thousands of men and women in that social and religious conflict.¹⁷¹

Non-Muslims from further south in Upper Guinea were known in Costa Rica as blacks of the *nación de los ríos* or *casta de los ríos*, another geographic name referring to a vast area between the Senegal and Geba rivers, encompassing the modern states of Senegal, The Gambia, and Guinea-Bissau.¹⁷² This loosely defined region overlapped somewhat with the territories of Mande-speakers who might as easily have been called *mandinga*, as well as people of other origins, such as the Sereer, who might otherwise have been considered *jolofo*.¹⁷³ The Casanga ethnic group likely gave their name to the Casamance kingdom and river. In the late twentieth century, their numbers greatly reduced, the Casanga occupied a “narrow strip of territory” between the Casamance and Cacheu rivers on both sides of the modern Senegal-Guinea-Bissau border.¹⁷⁴ Juan Cacanga, the black father of a free mulata girl confirmed in Cartago in 1625, may have belonged to this ethnic group.¹⁷⁵ Casanga were also sometimes “erroneously considered Mandinga.”¹⁷⁶ The related Banhum (Bagnoun) people, also from the Casamance River Delta in Guinea-Bissau, became known in Mexico and Ecuador as *bañol*, and in Costa Rica as *bañón* and *buñón*.¹⁷⁷ Sixteenth- and seventeenth-century sources described the Biafara (also Biafada, Beafara, and not to be confused with Biafra in eastern Nigeria) as living south of

the Geba River, extending eastward from the coast to the lower Corubal River (again, in Guinea-Bissau). Both the frequent victims of Bijagó slave raids and prodigious slave traders themselves, *biafara* appeared frequently in sixteenth-century documents in most of Spanish America – including in Cuba, Mexico, Guatemala, Panama, Colombia, Venezuela, Ecuador, and Peru -- but only rarely in Costa Rica.¹⁷⁸

Slaves known in colonial Spanish America as *bran* came from several ethnic groups now known as Manjak, Papel, and Mankanya.¹⁷⁹ From a small area in western Guinea-Bissau and the extreme south of Senegal, the *bran* contributed “staggering numbers” of captives to the Atlantic slave trade, and figured prominently among the few Africans of Upper Guinea origin in Costa Rica.¹⁸⁰ The name appears as the surname of slaves in Costa Rica as early as 1602, when Francisco Bran stood with the Indians Francisca and Juana and another slave, also named Francisco, as godfather to thirteen individuals.¹⁸¹ Almost uniquely among African names, *Bran* persisted as a surname among free descendants of African slaves in Costa Rica. Diego Bran served as a soldier in the free mulatto militia in Esparza from the 1720s through the 1740s; José Bran of Bagaces was a master shoemaker in 1747.¹⁸²

The name *biojo*, also found in Costa Rican documents, derived originally from Bijagó, the name of an ethnic group indigenous to the Bijagós (Bissagos) Islands just off the coast of Guinea-Bissau at the mouth of the Geba River. Renowned boat-builders and fishermen, by the seventeenth century, the Bijagó had redirected their traditional activities overwhelmingly to slave-raiding on the mainland, and re-exported large numbers of Upper Guinea Africans from several ports throughout the islands. Europeans

applied the name *biojo* both to the Bijagó themselves and to their victims, such as Biafaras, Balantas, and Nalus. Slave traders complained that like other Africans of Upper Guinea, *biojos* proved rebellious and prone to suicide.¹⁸³

In the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, many of the captives exported from the Guinea River region into the Atlantic slave trade left by way of the Cape Verde Islands -- overwhelmingly from the island of Santiago, a major transshipping point for slaves to the Americas. From the mid-fifteenth century, slave traders used the name *cabo verde* to refer to men and women exported from Cape Verde who had been kidnapped from the same Upper Guinea societies discussed above: in 1466, the Portuguese king authorized colonists in the islands to export captives from the “*rios de Guiné*” regions of the adjacent mainland.¹⁸⁴ Although slavers paid more for captives in the islands than when they travelled directly to the Upper Guinea coast, the *cabo verdes* presented several advantages from the Europeans’ point of view. Historian T. Bentley Duncan wrote that captives purchased at Cape Verde “had already endured the trauma of their first sea passage; their bonds with the mainland were already loosened; their incentive for escape was weakened, and the opportunity to do so much diminished. The slave trader at Santiago found perhaps a more resigned, a more bewildered, and a more manageable slave cargo than he would have found on the Guiné coast.”¹⁸⁵ Natives of Upper Guinea exported by way of Cape Verde had already undergone some of the dehumanizing “seasoning” that American masters found essential to reduce free African men and women to their status as slaves. But as that process pushed them together in their suffering, they drew on strengths they already shared. Most people in the region known

as *los ríos* lived in small polities or decentralized societies, but these were linked by central markets, and many people were bi- or multilingual. Many Papel (*bran*), for example, spoke Banhum, Casanga, Balanta, Mande (Mandinka), and Biafara. Balanta often spoke Papel and Mande, and Nalu usually understood Biafara.¹⁸⁶ Facility in more than one language was of incalculable value in allowing people of different origins to help each other share the burdens of captivity during the weeks or months in Cape Verde and beyond.

Although most captives were soon exported, some remained in the islands long enough to absorb and contribute to a new culture forged from elements originating in Upper Guinea, Portugal, and shared experiences of enslavement. Known locally as *crioulos*, these other men and women whom slave traders and masters called *cabo verdes* had spent years enslaved in the islands, learned creole Portuguese, and practiced Catholicism. Still others, often descended from local Portuguese men and mainland African women, had been born into the Afro-Portuguese creole culture of the islands and had never lived in an indigenous African society.¹⁸⁷ Cartago slave Ramón Durán no doubt came from one of the latter two groups; sometimes taken for a *criollo*, he was elsewhere identified as a *cabo verde*.¹⁸⁸ An extremely imprecise, generic label, the name *cabo verde* concealed significant ethnic, cultural, linguistic, religious, and even racial differences.¹⁸⁹ Nevertheless, the Spanish Crown regarded the *cabo verdes* as homogeneous, and sufficiently undesirable, to forbid their importation to Spanish America after 1702, a prohibition that remained in effect for six years.¹⁹⁰

A few natives of other areas of Upper Guinea arrived in Costa Rica from the Windward Coast further south, including Catalina, described in 1656 as a *negra de nación sape*.¹⁹¹ Probably deriving initially from the Fula name for the Tyapi ethnic group, the name Sapi referred in the sixteenth century to a loose-knit confederation of small polities just north of the modern Sierra Leone-Guinea border that included people of the Tyapi, Landuman, Temne, Baga, Limba, Jallonke, and Bullom ethnic groups.¹⁹² Some chroniclers also included the Susu, Kokoli, and Loko among the Sapi. At war with Mani between from the mid-sixteenth to the early eighteenth centuries, Sapi contributed thousands of captives to the Atlantic slave trade, and “*zapes*” appear in sixteenth-century documents in Mexico, Guatemala, Panama, Peru, and Colombia. Alonso de Sandoval recognized a “great diversity of languages and nations” and “innumerable *castas*” among the *zapes*, noting that they “do not always understand each other.”¹⁹³

Table 2.4

***Casta* Names of Upper Guinea Origin in Costa Rican Documents**

<i>Casta</i> Name as Recorded in Costa Rica Reference	Number of Individuals	Years of First and Last
Bañón, Buñón	3	1613, 1705
Biafara	1	1603
Biojo	1	1696
Bran	8	1602, 1740
Cabo Verde	6	1688, 1725
Cacanga	1	1625
Cancán	2	1739
De los Ríos	2	1674, 1679
Gilofo, Jolof	2	1540, 1610
Mandinga	7	1619, 1722
Sape	1	1656
Total	34	

Sources: Vega Bolaños, ed., *Colección Somoza*, vol. 6; ACMSJ, LBC, no. 1 (1594-1680); ACMSJ, Confirmaciones de Cartago (1625); AGCA, A3 (6), exp. 124, leg. 10 (1604); AGN, Inq., vol. 474, exp. 6 (1610); ANCR, C. 11 (1638); ANCR, C.C. 3792 (1726), 3798 (1734), 3864 (1740), 4075 (1719); ANCR, G. 34 (1611); ANCR, P.C. 817 (1666) through PC 915 (1736); ANCR, P.H. 586 (1739).

As demonstrated in the variety of *casta* names with which they designated them, Spanish slavemasters recognized an impressive ethnic diversity among Africans from Upper Guinea.¹⁹⁴ Some names, such as *bañón*, readily corresponded to identifiable ethnic groups. Others, such as *jolofo*, *mandinga*, and *zape*, while initially deriving from a specific ethnic group, came to apply more loosely to people of varied origins. Seemingly straightforward identifications, such as the *casta* name *jolofo* with the Wolof ethnic group, or *mandinga* with the Mandinka, need to be assessed in the light of other contemporary evidence on the movements of Senegambian peoples, the nature and extent of warfare between societies, and their involvement in the Atlantic slave trade, to name a

few considerations. Names such as *biojo* or *mandinga* might refer to the African peoples who sold slaves, or to captives of other ethnic origins whom they enslaved and sold. Most general were names deriving from geographic locations such as *de los ríos* and *cabo verde*. These terms corresponded not to the ethnic origins of enslaved Africans, but to centers of the slave trade, and provide only indirect indications of the ethnic origins of the men and women to whom they were applied.

Because of their small numbers and in part because of their ethnic diversity, most natives of Upper Guinea in Costa Rica quickly adapted to their local environments in Costa Rica – the earliest, in particular, joining the established creole slaves as part of the broader servant class including Indians, free mulatos, and mestizos. A few Upper Guinea Africans resisted rather than adapted to slavery. In the mid-sixteenth century, Pedro Gilofo immediately perceived a common interest with the Indians resisting Spanish invaders in Talamanca. The natives, however, probably viewed him as an undesirable alien, and it was very likely their rejection of him that forced him to return to the Spanish camp, paying the ultimate price for his unsuccessful escape. More usually, it seems that slaves born in Upper Guinea found it relatively easy to blend in to their Spanish-dominated surroundings. By 1603, slave Juan Biafara fit into the mixed labor system on an hacienda near Nandayure on the Nicoya Peninsula, speaking Spanish and working alongside Indian laborers.¹⁹⁵ Manuel *de tierra jolof* showed an easy cultural conversance, joking with Spaniards as he served them at a fiesta in the pueblo of Pacaca in 1609. Perhaps Costa Ricans already preferred *jolofos* as attendants; in later years, French colonials prized these Senegambians as domestic servants, due to their alleged loyalty,

discretion, and aristocratic bearing – qualities that might possibly be attributed to the lack of stigma and frequent material benefits that attended slavery and encouraged them to bond with their masters in their homeland.¹⁹⁶

Natives of other regions of Upper Guinea also became culturally fluent, earning the trust of their masters. Jacobo, who declared himself a *mandinga*, came to Costa Rica from Martinique around 1706. Jacobo had lived among Europeans long enough to train in their tradition of stonemasonry, and became so thoroughly acculturated that his master took him for a creole.¹⁹⁷ The West African known at various times in his life as Raimundo, Ramón Durán, and Ramón Calvo was already a grown man when he was baptized in Cartago in 1687. His master eventually employed him in the highly specialized craft of dyeing thread off the coast of the Pacific. In 1719, by then about fifty and known as Ramón, he took advantage of a trip to Panama to flee, remaining at large for more than a year. When his mistress authorized an agent to apprehend him, she described Ramón as a creole. Although Costa Rican masters commonly lied to conceal the origins of slaves imported illegally, in this case Ramón's mistress had every reason to describe her fugitive property as accurately as possible. If she knew herself that Ramón had been born in Africa, she must have considered his foreign origins imperceptible to strangers. When he won his freedom at the age of fifty-five in 1725, however, Ramón called himself a *cabo verde*.¹⁹⁸ In general, Africans from Upper Guinea quickly joined their American-born fellow slaves and servants as permanent subordinates in Costa Rican society. Several became so integrated that observers could not distinguish them from their creole companions.

An Isolated Minority: Bight of Biafra

The tendency to subsume men and women of different ethnic origins under a single name reached an extreme in the case of Africans exported from the ports of the Bight of Biafra. A few natives from the region – broadly defined – had arrived in Costa Rica by the early seventeenth century. In virtually all known Costa Rican records, functionaries called them *carabalies* – a name which, according to specialist Femi Kolapo, had a “fantastically omnibus character.”¹⁹⁹ The name *carabalí* referred initially to Elem Kalabari, the Ijo-speaking community on the east side of the Niger Delta known as “New Calabar” (modern Kalabari, Nigeria), whose residents Sandoval considered the “native or pure *carabalies*.” Sandoval listed an additional eighteen names of “*carabalies particulares*,” several of which correspond to the names of modern Ijo communities near Bonny and Brass, Nigeria. Ijo-speakers comprised the majority of captives exported from New Calabar, while a minority were Igbo- and Efik-speakers.²⁰⁰ María and Diego, both “of the *carabalí* country,” were brought to Cartago by merchant Hernando de Luna from Panama and sold to Salvador de Torres in 1613.²⁰¹ Melchor Carabalí had established roots in Cartago by 1622, the year his daughter, Isabel, was baptized.²⁰² In 1632, Jusepe de Prendas, acting in the name of Diego de Velazco of Portobello, sold Pedro Carabalí to Diego López de Ortega in exchange for 250 pesos’ worth of agricultural produce, to be shipped to La Caldera.²⁰³

trade. European slave traders applied the name *carabalí* to captives exported from “Old Calabar” as well as “New Calabar,” despite the fact that, according to Northrup, there was no “evidence of any historical or linguistic connection between Old Calabar and Elem Kalabari.” In the late seventeenth century, Africans identified as *carabalies* continued to appear occasionally in Costa Rican documents, but they now came from a greater range of Bight of Biafra peoples, possibly including Ijo-, Efik-, Ibibio-, and Igbo-speakers.²⁰⁵_[RL16] In 1659, Adjutant Juan Gómez Rico declared Florencia, a *negra de casta carabalí*, among his modest property consisting mainly of mules.²⁰⁶ In 1681, Bernardo Cortés, a free mulato sugar planter, leased four slaves, including Antonio Carabalí, from doña María de Alvarado for a period of four years.²⁰⁷ In 1686, Nicolás González of the Valley of Barva gave Marcela, a *carabalí* then about twenty, to his daughter Andrea as part of her dowry.²⁰⁸

Between the late seventeenth and the mid-eighteenth centuries, slave exports from the Bight of Biafra more than tripled. Beginning in the 1730s, Bonny emerged as the region’s most important slaving port. Its rise was linked to the expansion of the Aro trade network that supplied Bonny with large numbers of Igbo captives, who comprised between 60 and 90 percent of the slaves embarked at that port.²⁰⁹ The name *ibo*, recorded by Sandoval in 1627 and which, by 1666, royal officials in Panama employed to distinguish captives from other “*carabalies*,” occurs rarely in Costa Rican documents.²¹⁰ In 1744, a group of several enslaved Africans arrived in Costa Rica from Henrietta Island (called San Andrés by the Spaniards and now a Colombian possession by that name), a small British colony in the western Caribbean. Two men, whose names were recorded as

“Heredima” and “Cocho,” declared their *casta* as *ibo*; their presence in Costa Rica reflects the expansion of British slaving activity in the mid-eighteenth century Bight of Biafra.²¹¹ Presumably, however, most slaves of Igbo origin, who may have comprised as much as 65 to 80 percent of all captives exported from the Bight of Biafra between 1662 and 1750, became known in Costa Rica as *carabalies*.²¹² In an important methodological essay, however, Femi Kolapo cautions that over time the name might have been expanded refer to the Igala, Nupe, Idoma, and Tiv peoples with whom the Igbo traded far in the Nigerian hinterland.²¹³

Like other Africans, *carabalies* arrived in Costa Rica rarely and in small numbers, restricting their opportunities to communicate with men and women of similar background. A process by which Bight of Biafra natives of different ethnicities came together in “cultural identities-in-formation” while still in Africa continued and deepened with their arrival in the Americas, where it extended to people of more disparate origins.²¹⁴ Although a few *carabalies* arrived in Costa Rica with companions of the same *casta*, they immediately found themselves living and working with people of other African and American origins. *Carabalies* María and Diego arrived together in Cartago in 1613 with captives of Upper Guinea (*bañón* and *mandinga*), Bight of Benin (*lucumi*), and West Central African (*angola*) origin, and were sold to a master who also kept Indian servants, a free mulata, and another black man, presumably American-born, in his Cartago home.²¹⁵ A young man and woman described as being of *casta carabalí* arrived at La Caldera on the *Nuestra Señora de la Soledad* in 1700 with people of all ages from the Slave Coast and West Central Africa. They were purchased by a master who also

bought six young *congo* men and women.²¹⁶ Other *carabalies* came alone and were sent to remote areas of the province, hundreds of miles from countrymen. María Francisca had been purchased in Panama by her master, who took her to live on his hacienda in the Valley of Bagaces with a black creole slave woman, Agustina. She was about sixteen years old when listed in her mistress's testament in 1732.²¹⁷ José, born in the Bight of Biafra around 1720 and acquired from the Royal Asiento in Panama, and Francisco Cubero, a local mulato, were both purchased by a Cartago official on the same day in 1746.²¹⁸

Table 2.5

***Casta* Names of Bight of Biafra Origin in Costa Rican Documents**

<i>Casta</i>	Number of Individuals	Years of First and Last Reference
Carabalí	12	1613, 1746
Ibo	2	1744
Monco	1	1744
Total	15	

Sources: ACMSJ, LBC, no. 1 (1594-1680); AGI, G. 359, pieza 6 (1704); ANCR, G. 34 (1613); C. 109 (1701), 265 (1719), 455 (1744), G. 188 (1719), M.C.C. 1052 (1738), P.C. 804 (1632) through 934 (1746), P.H. 574 (1722) through 589 (1744).

The handful of women and men in Costa Rica from the Bight of Biafra region arrived intermittently, usually alone, over a period of a century and a half. They almost certainly came from a number of small polities and linguistic groups in the Niger and Cross River Deltas. In the early seventeenth century, most Africans known as *carabalies* were

probably Ijo-speakers, with a minority of Igbos. By mid-century, European slavers stopped at more Biafran ports, and the captives they purchased came from a larger area that included Ibibio- and Efik- speakers as well as what was by then an Igbo-speaking majority. By the early eighteenth century, the captives included not only Igbo, Ijo, Ibibio, and Efik, but perhaps also Igala, Nupe, Idoma, and Tiv from far in the Nigerian hinterland. Some of the tiny minority of Bight of Biafra natives who arrived in Costa Rica might have been able to preserve relationships with people of similar cultural and linguistic backgrounds, especially in the early seventeenth century, but this is not certain. From the beginning, most *carabalies* came to Costa Rica with Africans of other origins, with whom they had already begin to establish relationships. Already handicapped by their small numbers, their ability to form and maintain ties with people of similar background diminished further over time as *carabalies* came from increasingly diverse groups and became increasingly scattered throughout Costa Rica.

West Central Africans

Although all the regions of Western Africa were represented among the enslaved population of Costa Rica, West Central Africa contributed the largest proportion of captives by far. Africans from Upper Guinea dominated in the earliest years of the colony, and maintained a constant but limited presence, as did natives of the Bight of Biafra. Africans of Gold Coast and Slave Coast origin began to arrive in the late seventeenth century, and played an important role in the “re-Africanization” of the slave

population with the arrival of the *Fredericus Quartus* and *Christianus Quintus* in 1710. But as in other parts of the Americas, West Central Africans arrived early and comprised a clear majority of the enslaved African population throughout the early and mid-colonial period.²¹⁹

In the early seventeenth century, the majority of West Central Africans – indeed, of all Africans -- imported to Costa Rica were known as *angolas*. In this period, most of these men and women were Kimbundu-speakers of agricultural background from a relatively small, hilly area around the Kwanza River, “roughly as far north as the *ndembu* watershed, east to the Kwango valley, and up the slopes leading to the high plateau above its southern banks”: ancestors of the people now called Mbundu.²²⁰ The Portuguese first used the term *angola* in the sixteenth century to refer to the region along the middle Kwanza subject to the *ngola a kiluanje* rulers. After occupying Luanda, which became their principal slaving port, in 1575, the Portuguese used *angola* to refer to areas under their direct military control. *Angola* was understood to refer to captives exported from Luanda, who left Africa in increasingly large numbers after 1580.²²¹ They entered the Atlantic slave trade as victims of the “widespread community breakdown, refugee flight, and uncontrolled banditry and raiding” which dominated life in the region during the period coinciding with the Portuguese monopoly of the slave trade to Spanish America.²²²

As surviving Costa Rican documents become more abundant after 1600, *angolas* appear frequently. Although other Africans arrived in the colony earlier, the earliest surviving record of a slave sale in Cartago, in 1607, was of Juan, a slave “of the *angola*

country.”²²³ After escaping from a master in Cuzco, Peru, Francisco Angola was brought to Santiago de Talamanca in 1608, where he fled again.²²⁴ By 1612, María Angola had given birth to a creole daughter, Isabel, in Cartago.²²⁵ *Angolas* were also found in the Pacific region. Four *angola* slaves – Pedro, Francisco, Juan, and María – lived in the household of their master near the bustling Nandayure shipyards on the Nicoya peninsula at the time Juan Martín de Montalvo made his will in 1623.²²⁶

As the Dutch, British, and French entered the slave trade in the mid-seventeenth century, they used the term *angola* to refer to the entire West Central African coast. Men and women now called *angolas* were often natives of the kingdom of Kongo, or of “identical” origins to the people exported through the port of Loango, even further north. In Spanish America and the French Caribbean, the term *congo* came to be used in the same inclusive sense.²²⁷



Map 7

West Central Africa, ca. 1650

Sources: Based on Thornton, *Kingdom of Kongo*; idem, *Kongolesse Saint Anthony*

Although Panamanian officials registered the name *congo* as early as 1565, if not before, very few Africans known as *congos* arrived in Costa Rica before 1650.²²⁸ The name cannot simply be equated with subjects of the powerful kingdom of Kongo, nor with the speakers of the Kikongo language now called Bakongo. According to specialist John K. Thornton, before the mid-seventeenth century, slaves exported into the Atlantic trade from Kongo were “almost always” drawn from beyond the kingdom’s borders.²²⁹ By the 1660s, however, increasing numbers of people – ultimately hundreds of thousands – from within the Kingdom of Kongo were shipped across the Atlantic. Directly related to the decline of Kongo’s royal revenues and the Mwissikongo nobility’s need for new

sources of income, the increasing enslavement of non-Mwissikongo and junior lineage members within the kingdom's borders reflected the impending breakdown of the old order.²³⁰ The defeat of Kongo forces by the Portuguese in the battle of Mbwila (Ambuila) in 1665 marked the beginning of a half-century of destructive civil wars that resulted in the enslavement and export of hundreds of thousands of Kongo subjects. The new social and political order that eventually arose in Kongo based its power precisely on "mediating between the interior and the coast in the rapidly developing Atlantic slave trade."²³¹ From the 1670s, *congos* appeared regularly in all types of Costa Rican documents, surpassing *angolas*, and in all probability many of these men and women did come from the kingdom of Kongo.

In the precolonial period, the vast kingdom of Kongo included parts of modern Angola, the Republic of Congo (Brazzaville), and the Democratic Republic of the Congo (Kinshasa). If most of the men and women known as *congos* in Costa Rica shared elements of a common culture including the Kikongo language, principles of kinship and social organization, indigenous religious concepts, and significantly, exposure to Catholicism, all brought their own uniquely local perspectives and experiences. In Africa, "Kongo" was a political, not an ethnic or cultural entity, and did not form the primary designation by which people defined themselves.²³² In Costa Rica, *congos* were almost invariably known by that name alone, without more specific qualifying terms such as were commonly used in Brazil and Cuba.²³³ This was due to local convention, not to the self-identifications of the Africans: one of the young West Central Africans who arrived in Esparza on the *Nuestra Señora de la Soledad* in 1700 was later sent to

Guatemala, where he was called a *congo braco*.²³⁴ Likewise, Africans called *angolas* sometimes maintained a sense of more specific origins. Around the same time in Nicaragua, Bernardo de Monteserrano identified himself as a black man from “the nation of Afra in the Kingdoms of Angola.”²³⁵ A possible use of more specific ethnic names in Costa Rica was the name of José Matamba, a Cartago mulato whose surname recalled a province of the kingdom of Kongo. If so, this would constitute evidence of the transmission of an African name, in this case a toponym, as a surname among free descendants of Africans.²³⁶

North of Kongo, the kingdom of Loango emerged as a major exporter of slaves by the early seventeenth century. By the 1630s, the group of traders known as “Vili” sold large numbers of captives there, many acquired from Makoko (Tio-speaking) traders, especially around the Malebo Pool.²³⁷ Many of these captives were people from the densely populated areas yet further in the interior, east of the Kwango and Kasai rivers, who fell victim to Ruund (Lunda) warlords, and were then dispatched to other traders in the lower Kwango Valley, east of Kongo, and also down the Kasai River toward the Pool.²³⁸ Beginning in the 1670s, the Dutch acquired huge numbers of captives at Loango. In the last quarter of the seventeenth century, captives purchased at Loango made up almost 39 percent of all Africans carried to the Americas on licensed Dutch slavers; according to leading expert Johannes Postma, the Dutch “interlopers” who traded in slaves illegally obtained their human cargoes “perhaps . . . entirely in the Loango region.”²³⁹ Only a few Africans were known as *loango* in Costa Rica.²⁴⁰ Given the importance of Loango in the West Central African slave trade, it is likely that most slaves

exported from that kingdom to Costa Rica were known there as *congos* and *angolas*. Any Tio-speakers from northeast of Kongo were probably also recorded as *congos*; the name *anchico*, as they were known in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Mexico and Guatemala, has not been found in Costa Rican documents.²⁴¹

Few themes have excited such controversy in the precolonial historiography of West Central Africa as the identity of the *Jaga*. According to one contemporary and several later sources, the Jaga were a group of cannibals who conquered and destroyed the Kingdom of Kongo in 1569.²⁴² Modern historians have disagreed sharply over the ethnic identity of the Jaga, several insisting that the name does not refer to an ethnic group at all. In 1966, Jan Vansina, a pioneer of West Central African history, asserted that all traits mentioned in Portuguese sources as particular to the “Jaga” could be ascribed either to the Luba or Ruund, especially western Luba such as the Kanyok and Kalundwe. At the same time, Vansina cautioned against attempts to identify the “Jaga” with specific Central African ethnic groups.²⁴³ A few years later, Joseph C. Miller advanced the thesis that no such ethnic group as the “Jaga” ever existed; in his view Portuguese missionaries and slave traders applied the name to various peoples over the centuries, but especially to the Imbangala, originally military bands without lineages who arose among the Mbundu of Angola and intermittently wreaked havoc throughout West Central Africa.²⁴⁴ A major contemporary source, Cadornega’s seventeenth-century *História geral das guerras de Angola*, seems to confirm that “Jaga” referred to the activities, not the ethnicity, of the warriors.²⁴⁵ John Thornton argued in 1978, however, that *Yaka* was the self-ascribed name of an ethnic group who had invaded the Kongo in 1569, and saw “no reason to

doubt” that it referred to the Yaka people east of the Kwango River, which “has long been the assumption of historians of Kongo.” Subsequently, the Portuguese had applied “Jaga” less precisely to other foreign invaders.²⁴⁶

A consensus among Africanist scholars gradually emerged that interested Europeans applied the name “Jaga” to a range of adversaries who conflicted with colonial ambitions over the years.²⁴⁷ Most commonly, the term referred to the Imbangala. Costa Rican evidence, however, establishes that at least at times slaves used the name, as Thornton has argued, as an ethnic self-descriptor (*casta*). Two African men who arrived with a number of other West Central Africans at the turn of the eighteenth century identified themselves as of *casta yaka* when questioned about their *castas*.²⁴⁸ Yaka (and “Jaga”) mercenaries were active in the Kingdom of Kongo in the 1690s and 1700s, and it is possible that the men who arrived in Costa Rica had been captured in the civil wars that continued to rage.²⁴⁹ Other military bands of Yaka were operating at that time to the south in the Benguela hinterland of Angola, where the Portuguese had begun to obtain growing numbers of captives. Competing factions including Yaka warriors were fighting in the last of the region’s civil wars between Soyo and Mbula at the time, and Ruund invaders were about to invade the Yaka kingdom on the Middle Kwango. While it is possible that José Cubero and Antonio de Rosas meant to indicate Yaka origins, in the absence of further evidence an identification with the Imbangala of Kasanje appears safest.²⁵⁰ It is also possible, however, that they claimed the “Jaga” ethnic origin to associate themselves with a formidable warrior tradition while their own origins lay elsewhere in West Central Africa.²⁵¹

Table 2.6

***Casta* Names of West Central African Origin in Costa Rican Documents**

<i>Casta</i>	Number of References	Years of First and Last Reference
Angola	35	1607, 1719
Congo	106	1648, 1744
Congo Braco	1	1701
Loango	3	1682, 1722
Matamba	1	1686, 1688
Yaga	2	1719
Total	148	

Sources: ANCR, C. 224, 231, 232, 240, 243, 251, 259, 262, 265 (all 1719), 292 (1722); G 188 (1719); PC 801 (1607) through 803 (1629), 815 (1654-1655, 1664-1667) through 850 (1698), 853 (1697, 1699, 1700, 1701) through 865 (1708), 867 (1709) through 871 (1712), 873 (1714) through 917 (1737), 919 (1738) through 924 (1740), 926 (1741) through 934 (1746); ANCR, P.H. 573 (1721) through 581 (1730), 583 (1733) through 586 (1739), 588 (1742) through 594 (1749); ANCR, P.S.J. 411 (1721) through 415 (1738); *Indice de los protocolos de Cartago*, vols. 1-3; ACMSJ, LBC, nos. 1-6 (1599-1738)/FHL, VAULT INTL film 1219701, items 1-5, VAULT INTL film 121970, item 1; LMC, nos. 1-4 (1662-1750)/FHL, VAULT INTL film 1219727, items 6-10.

Men and women from West Central Africa, overwhelmingly described as *congos* and *angolas*, far outnumbered natives of other regions of origin in colonial Costa Rica. To a large extent, their predominance reflected the enormous scale of Portuguese slave trading in Angola and Kongo, as well as the expansion of slaving activities by the British, Dutch, and French in the region by the mid-seventeenth century. As well, Costa Rica's marginal involvement in the slave trade and the relative poverty of potential slave buyers in the colony favored imports of West Central Africans whom wealthier buyers saw as undesirable and passed over for captives of other origins. Rich Peruvians and Panamanians could always outbid Costa Ricans for choice slaves. By the early

seventeenth century and long after, slavemasters almost universally reputed *congos* and *angolas* as sickly, lazy, and prone to flight. “An Angolan Negro,” wrote the British ship’s surgeon John Atkins in the 1730s, “is a proverb for worthlessness.” When wealthy planters in the British Caribbean refused to buy West Central Africans, British slave traders re-exported thousands to Spanish America. Although they often preferred Africans of other *castas*, Spanish American buyers in general purchased West Central Africans in massive numbers because of their availability; Costa Rican buyers in particular probably cared more about their cheapness.²⁵²

Although many West Central Africans came from areas relatively near the Atlantic coast, especially in the early years of the Atlantic trade, commercial networks and slaving routes extended far into the interior, ultimately encompassing an area as large as the United States east of the Mississippi River. In the Americas, Kimbundu- and Kikongo-speaking people used to thinking of themselves as members of lineages and subjects of small, highly localized states, developed a broader consciousness of the commonalities they shared with others from this vast region. Despite their differences, the cultures of the hundreds of peoples “from Cameroon to Angola and from Gabon to eastern Zaïre” can be considered “local variations of a single cultural system adapted to different environments and historical circumstances,” as anthropologist Wyatt MacGaffey, a leading authority on Kongo, has argued.²⁵³ The circle of people accepted as insiders expanded greatly as West Central Africans adopted a “diasporic ethnicity” as *congos* and *angolas*. Furthermore, colonial Costa Ricans may have recognized important differences between the peoples of West Central Africa and West Africa, as well as between Africans

and creoles. In 1719 the creole slave José declared that “he was not from Guinea, nor from Angola, but a creole and born in the city of Cartago.”²⁵⁴

Unidentified

In addition to the ethnic names discussed above, Costa Rican notarial records also include a scattering of references to African ethnicities which cannot presently be identified definitively. At the end of the seventeenth century, a testament referred to two men of *casta anga* and *casta angó*.²⁵⁵ Costa Rican historian Carlos Meléndez suggested that *angó* was simply a variant of *angola*, while Jean-Pierre Tardieu, a specialist in Peruvian slavery, has identified *angú* with the ruling dynasty of the densely populated province of Mpangu in the kingdom of Kongo, which underwent a succession crisis in the late seventeenth century.²⁵⁶ Perhaps the most likely possibility is Ngoyo (known to the French as Angoy), a coastal kingdom on the north bank of the Congo River sometimes called a province of Loango. Its port at Cabinda formed the terminus of a major commercial route where Afro-Portuguese *pombeiros* sold large numbers of captives obtained in the Lower Kwango state of Okango. This route passed directly through Mpangu, and was among the largest suppliers of slaves to Luanda in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.²⁵⁷ Another woman in the same 1699 testament was described as of *casta corobiá*, and called in another document *corobicí*; she was reported to have been purchased in Panama City.²⁵⁸

Another unidentified ethnic name was *mora*, according to a shipmate the *casta* of Mateo, an African who arrived on the *Nuestra Señora de la Soledad y Santa Isabel* in 1700. His shipmates included men and women of West Central African, Bight of Benin, and Bight of Biafra origins.²⁵⁹ *Casta mora* (Spanish for “Moorish”) suggests that Mateo was of Muslim origin. The Portuguese-owned Cacheu Company, based in Guinea-Bissau, held the Asiento in 1700, but encountered serious difficulties in fulfilling its contract. Unable to fill its ships with captives from Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde, who likely included some Senegambian Muslims, the Portuguese purchased other Africans from the British in The Gambia, who certainly included Muslims of Mandinka origin. “Just over half” of the slaves carried by the Cacheu Company came directly from Africa; the rest were purchased from British and Dutch slavers in Jamaica and Curaçao; captives brought by the British to the Caribbean, some from The Gambia, also included men and women of Muslim background.²⁶⁰ Possibly but less likely, Mateo might conceivably have been brought to the Slave Coast from the far interior of the Bight of Benin region, where the Mossi of Burkina Faso knew Muslims as “*more*.”²⁶¹ On the Slave Coast, the future Mateo would have joined the men and women known by the names *arará* and *popo* who later boarded the *Nuestra Señora*.

Another name of unidentified origin hints that at least a few Africans came to Costa Rica from far in the African hinterland. Two bills of sale in 1716 referred to the same man as of *casta dalá*. Brought on the *Christianus Quintus* or *Fredericus Quartus* from the Gold Coast to Costa Rica in 1710, “Antonio Castadala” later identified himself as *mina*.²⁶² Costa Rican historian Carlos Meléndez speculated that *dalá* represented a

variant of *chalá*, a name encountered more frequently in mid-eighteenth Colombia.²⁶³ In turn, *chalá* was a Spanish American adaptation of the more common *chamba*, which according to Philip Curtin, “for the English on the Gold Coast, . . . simply meant any slaves brought down from the region north of Ashanti, or anyone speaking one of the Gur languages.”²⁶⁴ Some of these natives of the northern Gold Coast became bilingual, able to communicate in the language of the Akan peoples to the south who became known in Costa Rica as *minas*.²⁶⁵ Although this identification is no more than a guess, a northern Gold Coast origin would be consistent with Antonio’s self-identification as *mina*.

Table 2.7

***Casta* Names of Unidentified Origin in Costa Rican Documents**

<i>Casta</i>	Number of Individuals	Years of First and Last Reference
Anga, Ango	2	1699
Corobiá, Corobicí	1	1698, 1699
Dalá	1	1716, 1722
Mora	1	1719
Total	5	

Sources: ANCR, C. 251 (1719), G. 187 (1716), P.C. 878 (1716); *Indice de los protocolos de Cartago*, 1:438

Conclusion

From dozens of societies, each with its own history, customs, religious beliefs and practices, the African men and women who became slaves in Costa Rica comprised a far more heterogeneous group than the Indians or Europeans in the province. But as the slave trade threw together these strangers from diverse areas, they began to perceive similarities in the fellow captives around them, especially in language, which provided one of the major elements of a new diasporic identity.²⁶⁶ Most men and women who came to Costa Rica from West Central Africa, by far the largest group of Africans in Costa Rica, spoke dialects of two or three related “Bantu” languages – Kimbundu, Kikongo, and perhaps Mbundu (Ovimbundu) – that to varying degrees were mutually intelligible. Although many of the captives may not have understood each other perfectly or have been able to express advanced concepts to one another -- at least initially -- the differences between these languages roughly corresponded to those in the Romance family, and very likely the captives soon developed their own “patois based on one or more of the Bantu languages.”²⁶⁷ The peoples of the Slave Coast represented in Costa Rica, including natives of Anlo, Popo, Allada, Ouidah, and Dahomey, shared even more cultural elements. All spoke variants of what linguists now consider a single language (Gbe), and shared nearly identical religious and cosmological beliefs.²⁶⁸ The Yoruba, including the Ana and Anago subgroups, occupied some of the same territories as the

peoples of the Slave Coast, shared many basic beliefs about how the world worked, and practiced a religion that in many particulars corresponded exactly to that of the Slave Coast. Shango, for example, one of the most venerated divinities (*orishas*) of Yorubaland, shared identical traits with Hevieso, the thunder deity (*vodun*) of the Slave Coast. Enslaved Yoruba and Slave Coast natives likely understood the experiences of enslavement and the Middle Passage in much the same way.²⁶⁹ The Yoruba, in turn, had deep historical connections to the peoples of Borgu.²⁷⁰ The Akan-speaking peoples throughout the Gold Coast likewise shared a common cosmology and language (Twi), which had in turn deeply influenced the culture and religion of the nearby Ga- and Adangme-speaking peoples.²⁷¹ The Wolof- and many of the Mande-speaking peoples of the Senegambia and Upper Guinea shared a common history of subjection to the Jolof and Mali Empires. Most adhered to a deeply entrenched caste system and lived under Muslim rulers.

Such deep historical, linguistic, and religious ties favored the formation of diasporic ethnicities in Costa Rica. People from groups who arrived in the province in smaller numbers, sometimes their lone representatives, became associated and came to identify with those of more numerous “nations” such as the *popo* and *mina* from the same broadly defined regions of Africa. Antonio de la Riva, of *casta dalá*, and Miguel Largo, a *popo* whom even “those of his own nation do not understand,” came to call themselves *minas*. Antonia of *casta barbá*, perhaps the only native of Borgu in the colony, became regarded as a *popo*. In Costa Rica, people of similar linguistic and cultural backgrounds were able effectively to choose membership in one or more “nations.” *Popos* were identified with

the *aná*, and vice versa. These inclusive diasporic ethnicities, grounded in an African past, became stronger through the experiences of enslavement, the Middle Passage, and slavery in Costa Rica. They soon came to overlap with identities formed exclusively in the New World.

¹ Declaración de Miguel Largo, Cartago, 7 Sept. 1719, Archivo Nacional de Costa Rica, San José (hereafter ANCR), Sección Colonial Cartago (hereafter C.) 240, fol. 3.

² Auto del gobernador, Cartago, 7 May 1720, ANCR, C. 240, fol. 5v.

³ John K. Thornton, *Africa and Africans in the Making of the Atlantic World, 1400-1680*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 205.

⁴ Declaración de Miguel Largo, Cartago, 30 June 1720, ANCR, C. 240, fol. 21.

⁵ Katia M. de Queirós Mattoso, *To Be a Slave in Brazil*, trans. Arthur Goldhammer (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1986; first published 1979), 133.

⁶ Simon Bockie, *Death and the Invisible Powers: The World of Kongo Belief* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1993), ch. 1.

⁷ Julian Bromley and Viktor Kozlov, "The Theory of Ethnos and Ethnic Processes in Soviet Social Sciences," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 31, no. 3. (July 1989): 425-438.

⁸ Richard N. Adams, "Internal and External Ethnicities: With Special Reference to Central America," in *Estado, democratización y desarrollo en Centroamérica y Panamá*, ed. Manuel Rivera, Giovanni Duarte, and María Dolores Marroquín (Guatemala: Asociación Centroamericana de Sociología (ACAS), 1989), 478.

⁹ See Wyatt MacGaffey, "Kongo Identity, 1483-1993," *South Atlantic Quarterly* 94, no. 4 (1995), 1028-1029. The question of ethnicity in precolonial Africa and the Diaspora in the era of the slave trade continues to be one of the most contentious in the field. For a good overview of the issues, see Kristin Mann, "Shifting Paradigms in the Study of the African Diaspora and of Atlantic History and Culture," *Slavery & Abolition* 22, no. 1 (April 2001): 3-21.

One of the most recent and sophisticated statements is Joseph C. Miller's "Retention, Reinvention, and Remembering: Restoring Identities through Enslavement in Africa and under Slavery in Brazil," in *Enslaving Connections: Changing Cultures of Africa and Brazil during the Era of Slavery*, ed. José Curto and Paul E. Lovejoy (New York: Humanity Books, 2004), 81-121.

¹⁰ See Femi J. Kolapo, "The Igbo and Their Neighbours During the Era of the Atlantic Slave Trade," *Slavery & Abolition* 25, no. 1 (2004): 114-133; Adams, "Internal and External Ethnicities," 478; Bromley and Kozlov, "Theory of Ethnos," 427-429.

¹¹ See Robert W. Slenes, “‘Malungu ngoma vem!’ África encoberta e descoberta no Brasil,” *Revista USP* (Brazil), no. 12 (Dec. 1991-Feb. 1992): 48-67.

¹² Paul E. Lovejoy, “The African Diaspora: Revisionist Interpretations of Ethnicity, Culture and Religion under Slavery,” *Studies in the World History of Slavery, Abolition and Emancipation* 2, no. 1 (1997), available at <http://h-net2.msu.edu/~slavery/essays/esy9701love.html>; Paul E. Lovejoy and David V. Trotman, “Enslaved Africans and Their Expectations of Slave Life in the Americas: Towards a Reconsideration of Models of ‘Creolisation,’” in *Questioning Creole: Creolisation Discourses in Caribbean Culture*, ed. Verene A. Shepherd and Glen L. Richards (Kingston, Jamaica: Ian Randle Publishers, 2002), 62-91; Thornton, *Africa and Africans*, ch. 5.

¹³ Daniel C. Littlefield, *Rice and Slaves: Ethnicity and the Slave Trade in Colonial South Carolina* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1981); Monica Schuler, “Akan Slave Rebellions in the British Caribbean,” *Savacou* 1 (June 1970): 8-31; Thornton, “The Coromantees”; Bernardo Leal, “‘Matar a los blancos bueno es, luego Chocó acabará’. Cimarronaje de esclavos jamaquinos en el Chocó (1728),” *Fronteras* (Instituto Colombiano de Cultura Hispánica, Bogotá) 2, no. 2 (1998): 143-161; Paul E. Lovejoy, “Background to Rebellion: The Origins of Muslim Slaves in Bahia,” *Slavery and Abolition* 15, no. 2 (1994): 151-180; João José Reis, *Rebelião escrava no Brasil: A história do levante dos malês em 1835*, 2nd ed. (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 2003).

¹⁴ Lovejoy and Trotman, “Enslaved Africans.”

¹⁵ Miller, “Retention, Reinvention, and Remembering,” 81-121.

¹⁶ Cf. Walter Johnson, *Soul by Soul: Life inside the Antebellum Slave Market* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2000), chapter 2.

¹⁷ Douglas B. Chambers, “Tracing Igbo into the African Diaspora,” in *Identity in the Shadow of Slavery*, ed. Paul E. Lovejoy (London: Continuum, 2000), 55. See also Frank “Trey” Proctor, “African Diasporic Ethnicity and Slave Community Formation in Mexico City to 1650,” paper presented at the 2003 meeting of the American Society for Ethnohistory, Riverside, California, 5-9 Nov., 2003.

¹⁸ Chambers, “Ethnicity in the Diaspora,” 33. See also Sterling Stuckey, *Slave Culture: Nationalist Theory and the Foundations of Black America* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987), chapter 1; Michael A. Gomez, *Exchanging Our Country Marks: The Transformation of African Identities in the Colonial and Antebellum South* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998), 7; Miller, “Retention, Reinvention, and Remembering,” 87; Thornton, “The Coromantees,” 161-162.

¹⁹ Gomez, *Exchanging Our Country Marks*; Miller, “Retention, Reinvention, and Remembering.”

²⁰ Paul E. Lovejoy, “Methodology through the Ethnic Lens: The Study of Atlantic Africa,” in *Sources and Methods in African History: Spoken, Written, Unearthed*, ed. Toyin Falola and Christian Jennings (Rochester, N.Y.: Rochester University Press, 2003), 103-117.

²¹ Rina Cáceres, *Negros, mulatos, esclavos y libertos en la Costa Rica del siglo XVII* (Mexico: Instituto Panamericano de Geografía e Historia, 2000), 71.

²² Testamento del Sarg. Mr. don Francisco de Ocampo Golfín, Cartago, 3 Oct. 1714, ANCR, Protocolos Coloniales de Cartago (hereafter P.C.) 874, fols. 21v-22; Auto y reconocimiento de marcas de los esclavos, Valle de Barva, 12 Nov. 1719, ANCR, Sección Colonial Guatemala (hereafter G.) 188, fols. 3v-4; Declaración de Pedro, negro esclavo, Valle de Barva, 12 Nov. 1719, ANCR, G. 188, fol. 4.

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- ²³ Russell Lohse, "Slave-Trade Nomenclature and African Ethnicities in the Americas: Evidence from Early Eighteenth-Century Costa Rica," *Slavery & Abolition* 23, no. 3 (Dec. 2002): 73-92.
- ²⁴ Kolapo, "Igbo and Their Neighbours"; Miller, "Retention, Reinvention, and Remembering," 86-87.
- ²⁵ Gwendolyn Midlo Hall vehemently argues the contrary in "African Ethnicities and the Meanings of 'Mina,'" in *Trans-Atlantic Dimensions of Ethnicity in the African Diaspora*, ed. Paul E. Lovejoy and David V. Trotman (London: Continuum, 2003), 65-81.
- ²⁶ Lovejoy, "The African Diaspora"; Lohse, "Slave-Trade Nomenclature," 74.
- ²⁷ Joseph C. Miller, "Central Africa during the Era of the Slave Trade, c. 1490s-1850s," in *Central Africans and Cultural Transformations in the American Diaspora*, ed. Linda Heywood (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 22.
- ²⁸ Miller, "Retention, Reinvention, and Remembering," 91.
- ²⁹ For the concept of "charter generations" of black immigrants to the New World, see Ira Berlin, *Many Thousands Gone: The First Two Centuries of Slavery in North America* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1998), chs. 1-2; idem, *Generations of Captivity: A History of African-American Slaves* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2003), ch. 1.
- ³⁰ Nicolás Ngou-Mve, *El Africa bantú en la colonización de México (1595-1640)* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Agencia Española de Cooperación Internacional, 1994); Carlos Sempat Assadourian, *El tráfico de esclavos en Córdoba, de Angola a Potosí: Siglos XVI-XVII* (Córdoba, Argentina: Universidad Nacional de Córdoba, 1966).
- ³¹ See Paul E. Lovejoy, *Transformations in Slavery: A History of Slavery in Africa*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), chapter 3.
- ³² See Lohse, "Slave Trade Nomenclature."
- ³³ Thornton, *Africa and Africans*, 96; Mariza de Carvalho Soares, *Devotos da cor: Identidade étnica, religiosidade e escravidão no Rio de Janeiro, século XVIII* (Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 2000), 47, 49; Ray A. Kea, *Settlements, Trade, and Politics on the Seventeenth-Century Gold Coast* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1982), 197-198, 399 n. 147; John L. Vogt, "The Early São Tomé-Príncipe Slave Trade with Mina, 1500-1540," *International Journal of African Historical Studies* 6, no. 3 (1973): 453-467.
- ³⁴ Pierre Verger, *Trade Relations between the Bight of Benin and Bahia from the 17th to the 19th Century*, trans. Evelyn Crawford (Ibadan, Nigeria: Ibadan University Press, 1976), 3-4, 11; Stuart B. Schwartz, *Sugar Plantations in the Formation of Brazilian Society: Bahia, 1550-1835* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 340; Hall, "African Ethnicities," 65 (quoted).
- ³⁵ Hall, "African Ethnicities," 70-71; Alonso de Sandoval, *Un tratado sobre la esclavitud*, ed. Enriqueta Vila Vilar (Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 1987; first published as *Naturaleza, policia sagrada i profana, costumbres i ritos, disciplina i catechismo evangelico de todos Etiopes* [Seville: Francisco de Lira, 1627]), 65 (quoted), 123.
- ³⁶ Hall, "African Ethnicities," 70-71; Sandoval, *Tratado sobre la esclavitud*, 65 (quoted), 123.

³⁷ Kea, *Settlements, Trade*, 11; Lovejoy, *Transformations in Slavery*, 49. Africanists have largely abandoned assertions of a direct causal relationship between the importation of European firearms, African warfare, and the procurement of captives. For a strongly argued recent statement, see Per Hernæs, “The ‘Gun-Slave’ Circle Theory” in *Slaves, Danes, and African Coast Society: The Danish Slave Trade from West Africa and Afro-Danish Relations on the Eighteenth-Century Gold Coast* (Trondheim, Norway: Department of History, University of Trondheim, 1995), 369-384.

³⁸ Thomas Phillips, “A Journal of a Voyage Made in the *Hannibal* of London, 1693-1694,” in *A Collection of Voyages and Travels*, ed. Awnsham Churchill and John Churchill (London: By Assignment for Messrs. Churchill, 1732), 6:214; K. G. Davies, *The Royal African Company* (London: Longman, Grion & Co., 1957), 228; Eltis, *Rise of Atlantic Slavery*, 247, 252; Michael Craton, *Searching for the Invisible Man: Slaves and Plantation Life in Jamaica* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1979), 55; Thornton, “The Coromantees.”

³⁹ Venta de esclavo, Cartago, 10 April 1674, ANCR, P.C. 822, fols. 33-34v.

⁴⁰ Venta de esclavos, Cartago, 13 May 1680, ANCR, P.C. 828, fols. 61-62.

⁴¹ Asiento ajustado entre sus dos Majestades Católica y Cristianísima y la Real Compañía de Guinea de Francia, Madrid, 27 Sept. 1701, Archivo General de Indias, Seville (hereafter AGI), Indiferente 2779.

⁴² Real Cédula, Buen Retiro, 7 July 1708, AGI, Indiferente 2779.

⁴³ Monica Schuler, “Akan Slave Rebellions”; Craton, *Searching for the Invisible Man*, 55; Thornton, “The Coromantees”; Sandra E. Greene, “From Whence They Came: A Note on the Influence of West African Ethnic and Gender Relations on the Organizational Character of the 1733 St. John Slave Rebellion,” in *The Danish West Indian Slave Trade and Its Abolition*, ed. George F. Tyson and Arnold R. Highfield (St. Croix, V.I.: Virgin Islands Humanities Council, 1994), 47-67; Bernardo Leal, “‘Matar a los blancos buenos, luego Chocó acabará’: Cimarronaje de esclavos jamaquinos en el Chocó (1728),” *Fronteras* (Instituto Colombiano de Cultura Hispánica, Bogotá) 2, no. 2 (1998), 152, passim.

⁴⁴ Testamento de doña Micaela Durán de Chaves, Cartago, 14 Jan. 1703, ANCR, P.C. 857, fol. 4v; Obligación de doña Juana Ruiz, Cartago, 5 Nov. 1703, ANCR, P.C. 857, fols. 64v-66; Obligación del Cap. Blas González Coronel y su mujer doña Bárbara Fonseca, Cartago, 30 Sept. 1706, ANCR, P.C. 860, fol. 94v; Testamento de doña Francisca Calvo, Cartago, 30 Sept. 1706, ANCR, P.C. 863, fol. 110v; Obligación del Cap. Francisco López Conejo y su mujer doña María de Quirós, Cartago, 1709, ANCR, P.C. 867, fols. 163v-164v.

⁴⁵ Nicoué Lodjou Gayibor, *Le Genyi: Un royaume oublié de la côte de Guinée au temps de la traite des noirs* (Lomé, Togo: Éditions HAHO, 1990); S. Wilson, “Aperçu historique sur les peuples et cultures dans le golfe du Bénin: Le cas des ‘mina’ d’Anécho,” in *Peuples du golfe du Bénin: Aja-éwé (colloque de Cotonou)*, ed. François de Medeiros (Paris: Karthala, 1984), 127-150.

⁴⁶ Autos relativos a un esclavo de Pedro de Moya, Cartago, 1719, ANCR, C. 237; Autos relativos a una esclava de doña Ana Antonia de Acosta, Cartago, 1720, ANCR, C. 264; Autos relativos a varios esclavos de doña Luisa Calvo, Cartago, 1719, ANCR, C. 267; Autos relativos a varios esclavos de don Juan Francisco de Ibarra y Calvo, Cartago, 1719, ANCR, G. 187.

⁴⁷ Partida de bautizo, Archivo de la Curia Metropolitana de San José (hereafter ACMSJ), Libros de Bautizos de Cartago (hereafter LBC), no. 3/ Family History Library, Salt Lake City (hereafter FHL), VAULT INTL film 1219701, item 3; Padrón y memoria de los mulatos, negros libres y mestizos vecinos de Cartago, Cartago, 27 March 1691, ANCR, C. 83, fol. 17v.

⁴⁸ Partida del bautizo de Juan, mulato, Cartago, 10 June 1708, ACMSJ, LBC, no. 3/FHL, VAULT INTL film 1219701, item 3; Partida del bautizo de Manuel Antonio, Cartago, 20 Dec. 1748, ACMSJ, LBC, no. 8 /FHL, VAULT INTL film 1219702, item 3.

⁴⁹ Lygaard to Directors, Christiansborg, 19 Aug. 1709, in Ole Justesen, ed., *Danish Documents concerning the History of Ghana* (forthcoming), Document V.20.

⁵⁰ See Lohse, "Slave-Trade Nomenclature," 78-79.

⁵¹ Philip Bartle, "The Universe Has Three Souls: Notes on Translating Akan Culture," *Journal of Religion in Africa* 14 (1983): 85-114.

⁵² Lovejoy, *Transformations in Slavery*, 50.

⁵³ Albert Van Dantzig, "English Bosman and Dutch Bosman: A Comparison of Texts – VI," *History in Africa* 7 (1980), 285; Robin Law, *The Kingdom of Allada* (Leiden, The Netherlands: Research School CNWS, School of Asian, African, and Amerindian Studies, 1997), 89.

⁵⁴ Venta de esclavo, Cartago, 29 Aug. 1677, ANCR, P.C. 828, fols. 12-15; Testamento del Pbo. don Domingo de Echavarría Navarro, Cartago, 3 Feb. 1675, ANCR, P.C. 823, fol. 8; Venta de esclava, Cartago, 27 July 1696, ANCR, P.C. 848, fols. 111-112v; Certificación de venta celebrada en el 1 de noviembre de 1700, Cartago, 24 Aug. 1701, ANCR, G. 188, fol. 10; Venta de esclava, Cartago, 3 June 1704, ANCR, P.C. 860, fols. 15-17; Obligación del Lic. don Diego de Angulo Gascón y doña Manuela Quirós, Cartago, 20 Aug. 1705, ANCR, P.C. 861, fol. 45; Venta de esclavo, Cartago, 22 Sept. 1705, ANCR, P.C. 861, fols. 49v-52; Obligación del Cap. Blas González Coronel y su mujer doña Bernarda de Fonseca, Cartago, 30 Sept. 1706, ANCR, P.C. 860, fol. 94v.

⁵⁵ Certificación de venta celebrada en el 1 de noviembre de 1700, Cartago, 24 Aug. 1701, ANCR, G. 188, fol. 10.

⁵⁶ Declaración de Antonia de casta yjé, Cartago, 23 Sept. 1719, ANCR, C. 252, fol. 1v; Auto definitivo de sentencia sobre la negra Antonia de casta éjé o mina, Cartago, 21 June 1720, ANCR, C. 252, fol. 12.

⁵⁷ Declaración de Miguel Largo, negro esclavo de casta mina, Cartago, 7 Sept. 1719, ANCR, C. 240, fol. 3; Razón de diligencias hechas para hallar algún esclavo le entienda su lengua a Miguel Largo, negro esclavo de casta popo, Cartago, 17 May 1720, ANCR, C. 240, fols. 5-5v.

⁵⁸ Robin Law, *The Slave Coast of West Africa, 1550-1759* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), 184.

⁵⁹ Clarence J. Munford, *The Black Ordeal of Slavery and Slave Trading in the French West Indies, 1625-1715* (3 vols. Lewiston, N.Y.: Edwin Mellen Press, 1991), 1:115.

⁶⁰ Law, *Slave Coast*, 185 (quoted), 186; idem, *Kingdom of Allada*, 90, 101, 105.

⁶¹ Law, *Slave Coast*, 348; Edna G. Bay, *Wives of the Leopard: Gender, Politics, and Culture in the Kingdom of Dahomey* (Charlottesville, Va.: University Press of Virginia, 1998), 40-48.

⁶² Robin Law, *The Oyo Empire, c. 1600- c. 1836: A West African Imperialism in the Era of the Atlantic Slave Trade* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1977), 219, 226; see also Robin Law and Paul E. Lovejoy, "Borgu in the Atlantic Slave Trade," *African Economic History* 27 (1999), 74-75.

⁶³ Venta de cinco esclavos, Cartago, 28 October 1613, ANCR, G. 34, fol. 48.

⁶⁴ Inventario de 16 negros y negras, Cartago, 11 June 1710, ANCR, C. 187, fols. 147-149.

⁶⁵ Robin Law, "Ethnicity and the Slave Trade: 'Lucumi' and 'Nago' as Ethnonyms in West Africa," *History in Africa* 24 (1997), 212; idem, *Slave Coast*, 189. A New Granada census recorded "nango" slaves in 1759, no doubt another variant of *nago*, which was distinguished from "lucumí." William F. Sharp, *Slavery on the Spanish Frontier: The Colombian Chocó, 1680-1810* (Norman, Okla.: University of Oklahoma Press, 1976), 115; Law, "Ethnicity and the Slave Trade," 208.

⁶⁶ Biodun Adediran, *The Frontier States of Western Yorubaland, circa 1600-1889: State Formation and Political Growth in an Ethnic Frontier Zone* (Ibadan, Nigeria: Institut Français de Recherche en Afrique, 1994), 15; idem, "Yoruba Ethnic Groups or a Yoruba Ethnic Group? A Review of the Problem of Ethnic Identification," *África* (Centro do Estudos Africanos, Universidade de São Paulo) 7 (1984), 58; Bascom, *Yoruba of Southwestern Nigeria*, 5. Gonzalo Aguirre Beltrán included the "Aná" in his extensive catalogue of African ethnicities represented in Mexican colonial documents, asserting that they began to arrive in Mexico in the late sixteenth century, and precisely described their geographical origin as along the Ana tributary of the Mono River in southern Togo. However, he incorrectly identified the Ana as an Ewe-Fon-speaking group. Aguirre Beltrán, *La población negra de México, 1519-1810: Estudio etno-histórico*, 2nd ed. (Mexico: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1972; first published 1946), 131. Costa Rican historian Carlos Meléndez followed Aguirre Beltrán in this misidentification; see "El negro en Costa Rica durante la colonia," in Meléndez and Quince Duncan, *El negro en Costa Rica* (San José: Editorial Costa Rica, 1972), 21. Jorge Castellanos and Isabel Castellanos also found "Aná" in Cuban documents, and likewise associated them with the Ewe-Fon in "The Geographic, Ethnologic, and Linguistic Roots of Cuban Blacks," *Cuban Studies* 17 (1987), 96-98.

⁶⁷ Declaración de Antonia, negra esclava, Cartago, 12 Sept. 1719, ANCR, C. 236, fol. 1v; Declaración de Antonia, negra esclava, Cartago, 22 June 1720, ANCR, C. 236, fol. 17.

⁶⁸ Law and Lovejoy, "Borgu in the Atlantic Slave Trade," 74-5. See also Robert Cornevin, *Histoire du Dahomey* (Paris: Éditions Berger-Levrault, 1962), ch. 5.

⁶⁹ Sandoval, *Tratado sobre la esclavitud*, 139, 141. Robin Law and Paul E. Lovejoy have noted an absence of "Bariba" slaves in American documents between the sixteenth and mid-eighteenth centuries, and suggested several reasons for their association with the *lucumí*, including centuries of close cultural, commercial, and political ties between the Borgu and Yoruba-speaking peoples. Law and Lovejoy, "Borgu in the Atlantic Slave Trade," 74, 75. See also Marjorie H. Stewart, *Borgu and Its Kingdoms: A Reconstruction of a Western Sudanese Polity* (Lewiston, N.Y.: Edwin Mellen Press, 1993), 21.

⁷⁰ Almoneda de esclavos, Esparza, 9 Dec. 1700, ANCR, C. 109, fols. 24-24v; Cuenta y relación de las almonedas de esclavos, inserta en una carta de Cartago, 2 Jan. 1701, AGI, Audiencia de Guatemala (hereafter G.) 359, pieza 6, fol. 26v.

⁷¹ Declaración de Miguel Largo, Cartago, 7 Sept. 1719, ANCR, C. 240, fol. 3; Auto del gobernador, Cartago, Cartago, 7 May 1720, ANCR, C. 240, fol. 5v.

⁷² Testimonio de la venta de una esclava, Cartago, 3 Sept. 1716, ANCR, C. 236, fols. 7-11; Declaración de Antonia de casta barbá, Cartago, 12 Sept. 1719, ANCR, C. 236, fol. 1v.

⁷³ Declaración del Cap. Francisco de Bonilla, Cartago, 25 May 1720, ANCR, C. 232, fol. 19v; Declaración del Cap. Esteban de Zúñiga, Cartago, 25 May 1720, ANCR, C. 232, fol. 20; Declaración de Sebastián de Quirós, Cartago, 27 May 1720, ANCR, C. 232, fol. 20v; Careo en el cual las negras María y Petrona

identifican a María Popo como una de sus carabelas, Cartago, 5 Oct. 1720, ANCR, C. 267, fol. 59; Don Nicolás de Ocampo Golfín afianza a la negra María Popo, Cartago, 25 Feb. 1722, ANCR, C. 288, fol. 71; Declaración de María negra de casta popó, Valle de Barva, 12 Nov. 1719, ANCR, G. 188, fol. 7v.

⁷⁴ Chambers, "Ethnicity in the Diaspora."

⁷⁵ This argument revises one I presented in "Slave-Trade Nomenclature."

⁷⁶ Declaración de Juana, negra de casta popo, Cartago, 9 Sept. 1719, ANCR, C. 232, fol. 2.

⁷⁷ "Relación (hecha por Diego de Porrás) de la gente e navíos que llevó a descubrir el almirante don Cristóbal Colón" [Nov. 1504?], in Academia de Geografía e Historia de Costa Rica, *Colección de documentos para la historia de Costa Rica relativos al cuarto y último viaje de Cristóbal Colón* (San José: Atenea, 1952), 51.

⁷⁸ "Real cédula para quel thesorero de la contratación pague las partida aquí conthenidas, a las personas en ella Declaradas, que fueron en el postrer viaxe a las Indias con el almirante Colón" [Salamanca, 2 Nov. 1505], in Academia de Geografía e Historia de Costa Rica, *Colección de documentos*, 102.

⁷⁹ T. Bentley Duncan, *The Atlantic Islands: Madeira, the Azores, and Cabo Verde in the Seventeenth Century* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1972), 212; José da Silva Horta, "Evidence for a Luso-African Identity in 'Portuguese' Accounts on 'Guinea of Cape Verde' (Sixteenth-Seventeenth Centuries)," *History in Africa* 27 (2000), 103.

⁸⁰ Referring to a slightly later period, Matthew Restall argues that most "black conquistadors" were African-born but had spent some time in the Caribbean or Iberia before joining Spanish military expeditions. Restall, "Black Conquistadors: Armed Africans in Early Spanish America," *The Americas* 57, no. 2 (Oct. 2000), 189, 190. For slavery in Andalusia around this time, see Ruth Pike, "Sevillian Society in the Sixteenth Century: Slaves and Freedmen," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 47, no. 3 (1967): 344-359; Alfonso Franco Silva, *Esclavitud en Andalucía, 1450-1550* (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 1992); Franco Silva, *La esclavitud en Sevilla y su tierra a fines de la edad media (1479-1525)* (Seville: Diputación Provincial de Sevilla, 1980); Franco Silva, *Los esclavos en Sevilla* (Seville: Diputación de Sevilla, 1980). For Portugal, see A. C. de C. M. Saunders, *A Social History of Black Slaves and Freeman in Portugal, 1441-1555* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982).

⁸¹ Robin Blackburn, *The Making of New World Slavery: From the Baroque to the Modern, 1492-1800* (London: Verso, 1997), 52; Lutgardo García Fuentes, "Licencias para la introducción de esclavos en Indias y envíos desde Sevilla en el siglo XVI," *Jahrbuch für Geschichte von Staat, Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft Lateinamerikas* 19 (1982): 1-46.

⁸² Antonio Herrera y Tordesillas, *Historia general de los hechos de los castellanos en las islas y tierra firme del mar océano* (Madrid, 1726-1740), dec. 1, bk. 4, chap. 12; rpt. ed., 17 vols. (Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia, 1934), 3:96.

⁸³ "Real cédula," 102.

⁸⁴ Cf. James Lockhart, *Spanish Peru, 1532-1560: A Social History*, 2nd ed. (Madison, Wis.: University of Wisconsin Press, 1994), 197, 206-207.

⁸⁵ Carol F. Jopling, ed., *Indios y negros en Panamá en los siglos XVI y XVII: Selecciones de documentos del Archivo General de Indias* (Antigua Guatemala: Centro de Investigaciones Regionales de Centroamérica, 1994), 40; Eduardo Pérez Valle, ed., *Nicaragua en los cronistas de Indias: Oviedo*

(Managua: Fondo de Promoción Cultural, Banco de América, 1976), 154-155; Ricardo Fernández Guardia, *Historia de Costa Rica: El descubrimiento y la conquista*, 3rd ed. (San José: Librería Alsina, 1933), 49-50.

⁸⁶ David R. Radell and James J. Parsons, "Realejo: A Forgotten Colonial Port and Shipbuilding Center in Nicaragua," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 51, no. 2 (May 1971), 298.

⁸⁷ Pérez Valle, ed., *Nicaragua en los cronistas de Indias: Oviedo*, 383, 385, 74.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 73-75, quoting 74, 75.

⁸⁹ "Capitulación de Felipe Gutiérrez para poblar la provincia de Veragua. Año de 1534," in León Fernández, *Colección de documentos para la historia de Costa Rica* (10 vols. Vols. 1-3, San José: Imprenta Nacional, 1881-1883; Vols. 4-5, Paris, Impr. P. Dupont, 1886; Vols. 6-10, Barcelona, Impr. Viuda de L. Tasso, 1907), 4:38-39.

⁹⁰ Andrés Vega Bolaños, ed., *Colección Somoza: Documentos para la historia de Nicaragua* (17 vols.; Madrid, 1945-1957), 8:232; James Lockhart, *The Men of Cajamarca: A Social and Biographical Study of the First Conquerors of Peru* (Austin, Tex.: University of Texas Press for the Institute of Latin American Studies, 1972), 353.

⁹¹ Vega Bolaños, ed., *Colección Somoza*, 8:220, 237, 255, 259, 276, 278, 367; see also Manuel M. de Peralta, ed., *Costa Rica, Nicaragua y Panamá en el siglo XVI* (Madrid: M. Murillo, 1883), 745; Fernández Guardia, *Historia de Costa Rica*, 85.

⁹² Vega Bolaños, ed., *Colección Somoza*, 8:295, 306, 329, 353.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, 8:221, 260, 277, 295, 306, 318, 329, 330, 341, 353.

⁹⁴ Vega Bolaños, ed., *Colección Somoza*, 7:131, 413, 8:234, 249, 269; Fernández Guardia, *Historia de Costa Rica*, 85.

⁹⁵ Vega Bolaños, ed., 8:292, 293, 303-304, 327, 351.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 7:129, 129-130, 6:488.

⁹⁷ Frederick P. Bowser, *The African Slave in Colonial Peru, 1524-1650* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1974), 8-9.

⁹⁸ Fernández Guardia, *Historia de Costa Rica*, 90; Juan Contreras Lozoya and el Marqués de López de Ayala, *Vida del segoviano Rodrigo de Contreras, gobernador de Nicaragua (1534-1544)* (Toledo: Editorial Católica Toledana, 1920), 153.

⁹⁹ Vega Bolaños, ed., *Colección Somoza*, 8:233; "Relación y probanza de los gastos que hizo en el descubrimiento del Desaguadero Rodrigo de Contreras. Año 1548," in Lozoya and López de Ayala, *Vida del segoviano*, 56.

¹⁰⁰ For Peru, see Bowser, *African Slave*, 7; Lockhart, *Spanish Peru*, 194.

¹⁰¹ The major source for the Diego Gutiérrez expedition is the account of participant Girolamo Benzoni, *History of the New World . . . Shewing His Travels in America, from A.D. 1541 to 1556 . . .*, trans. W. H. Smyth (London: For the Hakluyt Society, 1857; first published Venice, 1565), 121-141.

¹⁰² There were other enslaved black attendants who killed on their masters' command. Also in the 1540s, one Miguel Díaz ordered his black slaves to murder several *caciques* in Honduras, which they did. See William L. Sherman, *Forced Native Labor in Sixteenth-Century Central America* (Lincoln, Neb.: University of Nebraska Press, 1979), 270.

¹⁰³ Benzoni, *History of the New World*, 131-134, quoting 134.

¹⁰⁴ Carta del cabildo de Garcimuñoz, 22 Aug. 1562, in Manuel M. de Peralta, ed., *Costa Rica, Nicaragua y Panamá en el siglo XVI* (Madrid: M. Murillo, 1883), 217; "Información de méritos y servicios de Ignacio Cota. Año de 1562," in Fernández, ed., *Colección de documentos*, 6:490, 493, 496, 500, 501; Oscar R. Aguilar Bulgarelli and Irene Alfaro Aguilar, *La esclavitud negra en Costa Rica: Origen de la oligarquía económica y política nacional* (San José: Progreso Editora, 1997), 119.

¹⁰⁵ "Memorial de servicios de Juan de Estrada Rávago, Vicario general de las Provincias de Nuevo Cartago y Costa-Rica presentado al real y supremo Consejo de las Indias por el licenciado Alvar Gomez. 1565," in Peralta, ed., *Costa Rica, Nicaragua y Panamá*, 369.

¹⁰⁶ Murdo J. MacLeod, *Spanish Central America: A Socioeconomic History, 1520-1720* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973), 60-61.

¹⁰⁷ Mauricio Meléndez Obando, "El mestizaje," in Tatiana Lobo Wiehoff and Meléndez Obando, *Negros y blancos: Todo mezclado* (San José: Editorial de la Universidad de Costa Rica, 1997), 90; "Registros de minas en el Río de la Estrella. - Año de 1564," in Fernández, ed., *Colección de documentos*, 4:324, 325, 331; "Relación de lo que he andado y visto de la provincia de Costa Rica, por Pedro Gallego," in Academia de Geografía e Historia, *Documentos históricos: Edición en ocasión del 50 aniversario* (San José: Imprenta Nacional, 1990), 14; Carlos Meléndez, *Conquistadores y pobladores: Orígenes histórico-sociales de los costarricenses* (San José: Editorial Universidad Estatal a Distancia, 1982), 219.

¹⁰⁸ Sentencia del Consejo de Indias en el litigio de Pedro, esclavo de Perafán de Ribera sobre su libertad, Toledo, 1 June 1560, AGI, Escribanía 952, fols. 190-190v.

¹⁰⁹ "Gerónimo de Villegas, Regidor perpétuo de a S.M. el Rey, quejándose del injusto repartimiento de encomiendas hecho por Perafán de Ribera [Panama, 10 June 1569]," in Peralta, ed., *Costa Rica, Nicaragua y Panamá*, 433.

¹¹⁰ Claudia Quirós, *La era de la encomienda* (San José: Editorial de la Universidad de Costa Rica, 1990), 50-54; Ovidio García Regueiro, "El repartimiento de Perafán de Ribera (Una estimación de la población indígena costarricense en 1569)," *Cuadernos Hispanoamericanos* (Spain), no. 450 (1987): 139-168.

¹¹¹ Their assertion was, at best, arguable; see the list of encomiendas awarded by Perafán in Quirós, *Era de la encomienda*, 71-72.

¹¹² Peralta, ed., *Costa Rica, Nicaragua y Panamá*, 433.

¹¹³ For the mulato parentage of Francisco de Fonseca, see Meléndez, *Conquistadores y pobladores*, 219; Meléndez Obando, "El mestizaje," 90.

¹¹⁴ "Proceso criminal," in Fernández, ed., *Colección de documentos*, 1:127, 135, 136; "Autos sobre repartimiento," 29, 30; Fernández, ed., *Conquista y poblamiento*, 229, 231.

¹¹⁵ Quirós, *Era de la encomienda*, 236; "Fundadores de familias costarricenses" in Meléndez, *Conquistadores y pobladores*, 255.

¹¹⁶ Restall, "Black Conquistadors." For the analogous case of Anthony Johnson in early colonial Virginia, see Timothy H. Breen and Stephen Innes, *"Myne Owne Ground": Race and Freedom on Virginia's Eastern Shore, 1640-1676* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980).

¹¹⁷ Restall, "Black Conquistadors," 183.

¹¹⁸ García Fuentes, "Licencias para la introducción de esclavos en Indias y envíos desde Sevilla en el siglo XVI"; Leví Marrero, *Cuba: Economía y sociedad* (14 vols. Río Piedras, Puerto Rico: Editorial San Juan, 1975), 2:356.

¹¹⁹ Carlos Meléndez, ed., *Reales cédulas relativas a la provincia de Costa Rica (1540-1802)*, 115 (quoted); Licencia de Diego de Artieda para llevar esclavos, Madrid, 19 Jan. 1575, AGI, Indiferente 2055, no. 4 bis.

¹²⁰ Visita de dos naos y un patache que don Diego de Artieda y Chirinos, gobernador de Costa Rica, lleva a esas provincias, Sanlúcar de Barrameda, 4 April 1575, AGI, Patronato 259, ramo 61.

¹²¹ For one example, see "Pleito seguido por Juan de Bastidas ante Rodrigo de Contreras contra Hernán Sánchez de Badajoz. - Año de 1540," in Fernández, ed., *Colección de documentos*, 6:128.

¹²² Fernández, ed., *Colección de documentos*, 2:129, 140.

¹²³ Pleito sobre la libertad del esclavo de S.M. Pedro de Guevara, Castillo de San Juan, Nic., 1714, Archivo General de Centroamérica, Guatemala City (hereafter AGCA), A1.56 (5), exp. 3032, leg. 463.

¹²⁴ Venta de esclavo, Cartago, 4 May 1706, ANCR, P.C. 862, fols. 28v-30v; Certificación de escrituras públicas, Cartago, 30 Dec. 1706, AGCA, A1 (6), exp. 1080, leg. 77.

¹²⁵ Venta de esclavo, Cartago, 2 Nov. 1709, ANCR, P.C. 867, fols. 144v-147.

¹²⁶ Declaración del Alf. Jacinto de Rivera, Cartago, 3 June 1720, ANCR, C. 232, fol. 31; Petición de doña Josefa de Osos Navarro, presentada en Cartago, 17 July 1720, ANCR, C. 232, fol. 39v; Declaración del Cap. Manuel García de Argueta, Cartago, 18 July 1720, ANCR, C. 232, fol. 41; Declaración del Cap. José Felipe Bermúdez, Cartago, 19 July 1720, ANCR, C. 232, fol. 42v.

¹²⁷ *Indice de los protocolos de Cartago* (6 vols. San José: Imprenta Nacional, 1909-1930), 3:422.

¹²⁸ Poder para aprehender y vender a un esclavo, Panama, 4 Sept. 1691, ANCR, P.C. 842, fols. 99-102; Testamento de don Sebastián de Sandoval Golfín, Cartago, 9 March 1697, ANCR, P.C. 849, fol. 27.

¹²⁹ Kenneth Stampf made the phrase famous in *The Peculiar Institution: Slavery in the Ante-Bellum South* (New York: Knopf, 1956), ch. 3.

¹³⁰ Venta de esclavo, Cartago, 3 June 1695, ANCR, P.C. 846, fols. 23v-24v; Poder para concertar la libertad de un esclavo, Cartago, 3 Nov. 1702, ANCR, P.C. 856, fols. 197v-198v (quoted); Testamento de doña Micaela Durán de Chaves, Cartago, 14 Jan. 1703, ANCR, P.C. 857, fols. 5-5v; Testamento de doña Micaela Durán de Chaves, Cartago, 10 Feb. 1711, ANCR, P.C. 869, fol. 17.

¹³¹ *Indice de los protocolos de Cartago*, 2:223.

¹³² Testamento del Gobernador don Diego de la Haya Fernández y de su mujer doña Petronila de Ollo y Carrasco, Cartago, 15 June 1725, ANCR, P.C. 898, fol. 81v; Partida del bautizo de Nicolasa Gerarda, h.l.

de José Nicolás de la Haya y de María Josefa Chavarría, Cartago, 9 May 1728, ACMSJ, LBC, no. 5/FHL, VAULT INTL film 1219701, item 5; Lista general de las milicias de Costa Rica, Cartago, 29 Nov. 1739, ANCR, C.C. 3793, fol. 5.

¹³³ Testamento del Ayu. Lázaro de Robles, Cartago, 4 Nov. 1704, ANCR, P.C. 859, fol. 34v-37; Declaración del Cap. Rafael Fajardo, Cartago, 26 June 1703, AGI, G 359, pieza 1, fol. 3.

¹³⁴ In their brilliant, pioneering essay, Sidney W. Mintz and Richard Price argued that the Saramaka Maroons established the basic and most important elements of culture within the first two decades of their escape from slavery in Suriname. Mintz and Price, *The Birth of African-American Culture: An Anthropological Perspective* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1992; first published as *An Anthropological Approach to the Afro-American Past*, Philadelphia: Institute for the Study of Human Issues, 1976), 49-50. Ira Berlin's elaboration of the "Atlantic creoles" and "charter generations" builds on their insights. Berlin, *Many Thousands Gone*, chs. 1-2.

¹³⁵ Alfonso Franco Silva, *Regesto documental sobre la esclavitud sevillana (1453-1513)* (Seville: Publicaciones de la Universidad de Sevilla, 1979), passim; V. Cortés Alonso, "Procedencia de los esclavos negros en Valencia, 1482-1516," *Revista Española de Antropología Americana* 7 (1972): 123-151; P. E. H. Hair, "Black African Slaves at Valencia, 1482-1516: An Onomastic Inquiry," *History in Africa* 7 (1980), 120; idem, "An Ethnolinguistic Inventory of the Upper Guinea Coast before 1700," *African Language Review* 6 (1967), 32; Stephan Bühnen, "Ethnic Origins of Peruvian Slaves (1548-1650): Figures for Upper Guinea," *Paideuma* 39 (1993), 76.

¹³⁶ Fernández, ed., *Colección de documentos*, 4:38-39.

¹³⁷ Martin A. Klein, "Servitude among the Wolof and Sereer of Senegambia," in *Slavery in Africa: Historical and Anthropological Perspectives*, ed. Suzanne Miers and Igor Kopytoff (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1977), 336-337; Valentim Fernandes, in Richard Jobson, *Discovery of the River Gambia*, ed. David P. Gamble and P. E. H. Hair (London: Hakluyt Society, 1999), 267; João de Barros, *Ásia, primeira década*, in ibid., 271; James F. Searing, *West African Slavery and Atlantic Commerce: The Senegal River Valley, 1700-1860* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 10.

¹³⁸ Jobson, *Discovery of the River Gambia*, 111 n. 2; Boubacar Barry, *Le royaume de Waalo, 1659-1859: Le Sénégal avant la conquête* (Paris: François Maspero, 1972), 67; B. O. Oloruntimehin, *The Segou Tukulor Empire* (London: Longman, 1972), 3-4.

¹³⁹ Searing, *West African Slavery*, 8-9, 39; Klein, "Servitude among the Wolof," 337-338.

¹⁴⁰ Searing, *West African Slavery*, 15-16, 21-23, 39-40; Klein, "Servitude among the Wolof," 344.

¹⁴¹ Klein, "Servitude among the Wolof," 338. For a Marxist critique of such views, see Jacob Gorender, "Equívocos e mistificações sobre a variedade do ser escravo," in *A escravidão reabilitada* (São Paulo: Editora Ática, 1990), 88.

¹⁴² Searing, *West African Slavery*, 8, 36, 39; Klein, "Servitude among the Wolof," 337-338. For a later period, see Searing, "'No Kings, No Lords, No Slaves': Ethnicity and Religion among the Sereer-Safên of Western Bawol, 1700-1914," *Journal of African History* 43, no. 3 (2002): 407-429.

¹⁴³ Gonzalo Aguirre Beltrán, *La población negra de México, 1519-1810: Estudio etno-histórico*, 2nd ed. (Mexico: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1972), 116; Alonso de Sandoval, *Tratado sobre la esclavitud*, ed. Enriqueta Vila Vilar (Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 1987; first published, Seville, 1627), 63, 106; Boulègue, *Grand Jolof*, 16.

¹⁴⁴ Barry, *Senegambia and the Atlantic Slave Trade*, 8, 36, 44; idem, "Senegambia from the Sixteenth to the Eighteenth Century: Evolution of the Wolof, Sereer, and 'Tukuloor,'" in *General History of Africa V: Africa from the Sixteenth to the Eighteenth Century*, ed. B. A. Ogot (Paris: UNESCO, 1992), 5:262, 267; Searing, *West African Slavery*, 12.

¹⁴⁵ Eltis, *Rise of African Slavery*, 167-173.

¹⁴⁶ Sylviane Diouf, *Servants of Allah: African Muslims Enslaved in the Americas* (New York: New York University Press, 1998), 18-20, 145; Gomez, *Exchanging Our Country Marks*, 62-63; idem, "Muslims in Early America," *Journal of Southern History* 60, no. 4 (Nov. 1994), 675, 677; Jean-Pierre Tardieu, "The Origins of the Slaves in the Lima Region in Peru (Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries)," in *From Chains to Bonds: The Slave Trade Revisited*, ed. Doudou Diène (Paris: UNESCO, 2001), 51-52.

¹⁴⁷ Quoted in Alegría, "Notas sobre la procedencia," 72.

¹⁴⁸ Carlos Esteban Deive, *Los guerrilleros negros: Esclavos fugitivos y cimarrones en Santo Domingo* (Santo Domingo: Fundación Cultural Dominicana, 1989), 33-36; Ricardo E. Alegría, "Notas sobre la procedencia de los esclavos negros de Puerto Rico durante la segunda mitad del siglo XVI," *Revista del Centro de Estudios Avanzados de Puerto Rico y el Caribe* 1 (July-Dec. 1985), 58, 63; Diouf, *Servants of Allah*, 18, 145-146.

¹⁴⁹ Lockhart, *Spanish Peru*, 196.

¹⁵⁰ "Juicio promovido por Rodrigo de Contreras contra Hernán Sánchez de Badajoz en la costa del Mar del Norte, al cual se acumularon los procesos entablados por Juan de Bastidas y Juan Luis contra el dicho . . ." [1540], in Vega Bolaños, ed., *Colección de Somoza*, 6:495, 497.

¹⁵¹ Declaración de Leandro de Figueroa, corregidor de Pacaca, 9 Oct. 1609, Archivo General de la Nación, Mexico (hereafter AGN), Fondo Documental Inquisición (hereafter Inq.), vol. 292, exp. 25, fols. 92v-93v; Declaración de Juan de Buliaga, Guatemala, 16 March 1610, AGN, Inq., vol. 474, exp. 6, fol. 333; Declaración de Francisco de Salas, Cartago, 13 Oct. 1609, AGN, Inq., vol. 292, exp. 25, fol. 102v (quoted).

¹⁵² Partida de bautizo, 6 Jan. 1619; ACMSJ, LBC, no. 1/FHL, VAULT INTL film 1219701, item 1; Partida de confirmación, Cartago, 26 March 1625, ACMSJ, Libro de Confirmaciones 1 (1609-1625)/FHL, VAULT INTL film 1219727, item 2.

¹⁵³ Sylviane Anna Diouf, "Devils or Sorcerers, Muslims or Studs: Manding in the Americas," in *Trans-Atlantic Dimensions of Ethnicity in the African Diaspora*, ed. Paul E. Lovejoy and David V. Trotman (London: Continuum, 2003), 139-141.

¹⁵⁴ D. T. Niane, "Mali and the Second Mandingo Expansion," in *General History of Africa IV: Africa from the Twelfth to the Sixteenth Century*, ed. Niane (Paris: UNESCO, 1984), 4:153-157.

¹⁵⁵ Walter Rodney, "Upper Guinea and the Significance of Origins of Africans Enslaved in the New World," *Journal of Negro History* 54 (autumn 1969), 332-333, 335 (quoted); Bühnen, "Ethnic Origins," 75 (quoted), 76; José da Silva Horta, "La perception du mandé et de l'identité mandingue dans les textes européens, 1453-1508," *History in Africa* 23 (1996): 75-86; Almada, *Tratado breve dos rios de Guiné (c. 1594)*, in Jobson, *Description of the River Gambia*, 281; Niane, "Mali and the Second," 4:119, 156.

¹⁵⁶ Trimmingham, *History of Islam*, 186-187.

¹⁵⁷ Sandoval, *Tratado sobre la esclavitud*, 63, 106, 119 (quoted); Lamin O. Sanneh, *The Jakhanke Muslim Clerics: A Religious and Historical Study of Islam in Senegambia* (Lanham, Md.: University Press of America, 1989), 1, 15.

¹⁵⁸ Diouf, "Devils or Sorcerers," 148-151; Christopher Fyfe, *A History of Sierra Leone* (London: Oxford University Press, 1962), 6; Rodney, "Jihad and Social Revolution," 273 n. 2.

¹⁵⁹ Gomez, *Exchanging Our Country Marks*, 39; Philip D. Curtin, *The Atlantic Slave Trade: A Census* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1969), 184-185; Walter Rodney, "Upper Guinea and the Significance of Origins of Africans Enslaved in the New World," *Journal of Negro History* 54 (autumn 1969), 335 (quoted).

¹⁶⁰ Gwendolyn Midlo Hall, *Africans in Colonial Louisiana: The Development of Afro-Creole Culture in the Eighteenth Century* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1992), 41, 42; Searing, *West African Slavery*, 29; Paul Lovejoy, "Slavery, the Bilad al-Sudan and the Frontiers of the African Diaspora," in Lovejoy, ed., *Slavery on the Frontiers of Islam* (Princeton, N.J.: Markus Wiener, 2004), 14.

¹⁶¹ Gomez, *Exchanging Our Country Marks*, 39, 88 (quoted), 88-89; Curtin, *Atlantic Slave Trade*, 184-185.

¹⁶² Maurice Delafosse, *La langue mandingue et ses dialectes (Malinké, Bambara, Dioula) Volume 1. Introduction, grammaire, lexique français-mandingue* (Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1929); Delafosse, *La langue mandingue et ses dialectes (Malinké, Bambara, Dioula) Volume 2. Dictionnaire mandingue-français* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale/Paul Geuthner, 1955); David Dalby, "Distribution and Nomenclature of the Manding People and Their Language," in *Papers on the Manding*, ed. Carleton T. Hodge (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1971), 1-13.

¹⁶³ Mervyn Hiskett, *The Development of Islam in West Africa* (New York: Longman, 1984), 30-31, 45, 139; Sanneh, *Jakhanke Muslim Clerics*, 12.

¹⁶⁴ *Indice de los protocolos de Cartago*, 1:169; Certificación del Cap. José Antonio de Espinosa, vecino de Panamá y tratante en Costa Rica, Cartago, 3 Feb. 1716, ANCR, P.C. 875, fols. 38-39; Capital de bienes de doña Agueda Pérez del Muro en ocasión de su casamiento al Cap. don Francisco Garrido Berlanga, Cartago, 16 April 1722, ANCR, P.C. 895, fol. 51v; Venta de esclavo, Cartago, 19 Jan. 1719, ANCR, P.C. 887, fols. 10-11v; Declaración del negro Jacob, esclavo del Cap. Antonio de Soto y Barahona, de casta mandinga, Cartago, 2 Oct. 1719, ANCR, C. 233, fol. 5v; Petición del Cap. Antonio de Soto y Barahona, presentada en Cartago, 20 May 1720, ANCR, C. 233, fol. 34.

¹⁶⁵ Michael A. Gomez, "African Identity and Slavery in the Americas," *Radical History Review* 75 (1999), 116.

¹⁶⁶ Venta de esclavo, Cartago, 21 July 1736, ANCR, P.C. 915, fols. 45-47; Venta de esclavo, Cartago, 3 March 1739, ANCR, Protocolos Coloniales de Heredia (hereafter PH) 586, fols. 5v.-7.

¹⁶⁷ Sanneh, *Jakhanke Muslim Clerics*, 2, 25; Peter B. Clarke, *West Africa and Islam: A Study of Religious Development from the 8th to the 20th Century* (London: Edward Arnold, 1982), chapter 4; Hiskett, *Development of Islam*, chapter 8.

¹⁶⁸ Emily Lynn Osborn, "Power, Authority, and Gender in Kankan-Bate, 1650-1920" (Ph.D. diss., Stanford University, 2001), 4; Hiskett, *Development of Islam*, 150; J. Spencer Trimingham, *A History of Islam in West Africa* (London: Oxford University Press, 1962), 143, 186-187.

¹⁶⁹ Walter Rodney, "Jihad and Social Revolution in Futa Djallon in the Eighteenth Century," *Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria* 4, no. 2 (June 1968), 277-278; Hiskett, *Development of Islam*, 84, 142.

¹⁷⁰ Rodney, "Jihad and Social Revolution," 282.

¹⁷¹ Gomez, "Muslims in Early America," 679, 680; Barry, *Senegambia and the Atlantic Slave Trade*, 98; Lovejoy, "Slavery, the Bilad al-Sudan," 14 (quoted).

¹⁷² Venta de esclavo, Cartago, 22 Jan. 1674, ANCR, P.C. 822, fols. 5-6; Partida de bautizo, Cartago, 6 Jan. 1679, ACMSJ, LBC, no. 1/FHL, VAULT INTL film 1219701, item 1; Aguirre Beltrán, *Población negra*, 115. For an excellent analysis of the slave trade in the Guinea-Bissau region, including changes in the ethnic origins of those enslaved, see Walter Hawthorne, "The Production of Slaves Where There Was No State: The Guinea-Bissau Region, c. 1450- c. 1950," *Slavery & Abolition* 20 (1999), 97-124.

¹⁷³ Gomez, *Exchanging Our Country Marks*, 62.

¹⁷⁴ P. E. H. Hair, "Ethnolinguistic Continuity on the Guinea Coast," *Journal of African History* 8, no. 2 (1967), 251.

¹⁷⁵ If, as seems likely, the author of this document simply omitted the cedilla from the man's ethnic surname: Kris Lane recorded the *casta* name "Caçanga" in Quito, *ca.* 1600. Partida de confirmación de Catalina, mulata libre, hija de Juan Cacanga, Cartago, 26 March 1625, ACMSJ, Libro de Confirmaciones 1625/FHL, VAULT INTL film 1219727, item 2; Kris Lane, "Captivity and Redemption: Aspects of Slave Life in Early Colonial Quito and Popayán," *The Americas* 57, no. 2 (Oct. 2000), 229. Also possible in this case, "*casanga*" was the name of an Angolan ethnic group. Aguirre Beltrán, *Población negra*, 101. This seems unlikely, however, as West Central Africans were known in Costa Rica almost without exception simply as *angolas* or *congós*, while the ethnic surnames of people from Upper Guinea reflected much greater specificity and diversity.

¹⁷⁶ Bühnen, "Ethnic Origins," 77.

¹⁷⁷ Aguirre Beltrán, *Población negra*, 295-296; Peter Boyd-Bowman, "Negro Slaves in Early Colonial Mexico," *The Americas* 26 (Oct. 1969), 140, 141-142; Lane, "Captivity and Redemption," 229; Venta de cinco esclavos, Cartago, 28 Oct. 1613, ANCR, G. 34, fol. 48; *Indice de los protocolos de Cartago*, 1:438, 449; Obligación del Lic. don Diego de Angulo Gascón y de doña Manuela Quirós, Cartago, 20 Aug. 1705, ANCR, P.C. 861, fol. 45.

¹⁷⁸ Hair, "Ethnolinguistic Continuity," 252; Hawthorne, "Production of Slaves," 114-118; Leví Marrero, *Cuba: Economía y sociedad* (14 vols. Río Piedras, Puerto Rico: Editorial San Juan, 1975), 2:360; Aguirre Beltrán, *Población negra*, 240, 241; Boyd-Bowman, "Negro Slaves," 140, 141; Robinson Herrera, "The African Slave Trade in Early Santiago," *Urban History Workshop Review* 4 (1998), 7; Carol F. Jopling, ed., *Indios y negros en Panamá en los siglos XVI y XVII: Selecciones de los documentos del Archivo General de Indias* (Antigua Guatemala: Centro de Investigaciones Regionales de Mesoamérica, 1994), 242, 243, 248, 366, 373, 392, 413, 424, 449; David Pavy, "The Provenience of Colombian Negroes," *Journal of Negro History* 52, no. 1 (Jan. 1967), 56; Miguel Acosta Saignes, *Vida de los esclavos negros en Venezuela* (Havana: Casa de las Américas, 1978), 96, 97; Lane, "Captivity and Redemption," 229; Bowser, *African Slave*, 40-43; Declaración de Juan Biafara, Nicoya, 27 Sept. 1603, AGCA, A3 (6), exp. 124, leg. 10.

¹⁷⁹ Bühnen, "Ethnic Origins," 80.

¹⁸⁰ Ibid., 100 (quoted); Partidas de bautizo, Cartago, 29 March 1639, 15 Nov. 1640, [date incomplete] 1644, ACMSJ, LBC, no. 1/FHL, VAULT INTL film 1219701, item 1; Testamento del Cap. José de Vargas Machuca, Cartago, 30 April 1684, ANCR, P.C. 833, fol. 25v.

¹⁸¹ Partidas de bautizo, Cartago, 15 Sept. 1602, ACMSJ, LBC, no. 1/FHL, VAULT INTL film 1219701, item 1.

¹⁸² Lista de los milicianos negros, pardos, mulatos y mestizos bajos de Esparza, 9 Nov. 1726, ANCR, C.C. 3792, fol. 24v; Lista de las milicias de gente parda, Cartago, 21 Nov. 1734, ANCR, C.C. 3798, fol. 34v; Lista de la compañía de pardos libres de Esparza, 1 July 1740, ANCR, C.C. 3864, fol. 24; Testamento del Cap. José Nicolás de la Haya, Cartago, 2 May 1747, ANCR, M.C.C. 841, fol. 5v.

¹⁸³ Manumisión de esclavo, Cartago, 20 March 1696, ANCR, P.C. 848, fols. 44v-45; Hawthorne, "The Production of Slaves," 102, 103, 111-114; Aguirre Beltrán, *Población negra*, 118; Rodney, "Upper Guinea," 331-332, 340.

¹⁸⁴ Sandoval, *Tratado sobre la esclavitud*, 139, 412; Nicolas Ngou-Mve, "São Tomé et la diaspora bantou vers l'Amérique hispanique," in *Cahiers des Anneaux de la Mémoire*, no. 3 (2001), 66.

¹⁸⁵ Duncan, *Atlantic Islands*, 211.

¹⁸⁶ Sandoval, *Tratado sobre la esclavitud*, 137-138; Rodney, "Upper Guinea," 338.

¹⁸⁷ Sandoval, *Tratado sobre la esclavitud*, 139; António Carreira, *Cabo Verde: Formação e extinção de uma sociedade escravocrata, 1460-1878*, 2nd ed. (N.p.: Com o Patrocínio da Comissão da Comunidade Económica Europeia para o Instituto Caboverdeano do Livro, 1983), chapter 8.

¹⁸⁸ Poder para aprehender a un esclavo, Cartago, 27 Nov. 1720, ANCR, P.C. 891, fols. 26-27; Carta de manumisión, Cartago, 10 April 1725, ANCR, P.C. 898, fols. 21-22v.

¹⁸⁹ Carta poder, Cartago, 6 May 1688, ANCR, P.C. 837, fols. 45-45v; Venta de esclavo, Cartago, 1692, ANCR, P.C. 842, fol. 143v; Venta de esclavo, Cartago, 22 Sept. 1705, ANCR, P.C. 861, fols. 49v-52; Permuta de esclavos, Cartago, 27 March 1722, ANCR, P.C. 895, fol. 32v-35; Sandoval, *Tratado sobre la esclavitud*, 139; Aguirre Beltrán, *Población negra*, 114-115.

¹⁹⁰ Asiento ajustado entre sus dos Majestades Católica y Cristianísima y la Real Compañía de Guinea de Francia, Madrid, 27 Sept. 1701; Real Cédula, Buen Retiro, 7 July 1708; both in AGI, Indiferente 2779.

¹⁹¹ Carta dote, Cartago, 30 Dec. 1656, ANCR, P.C. 817 bis, fols. 489-492v.

¹⁹² A. P. Kup, *A History of Sierra Leone, 1400-1787* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1961), 123, 127.

¹⁹³ Hair, "Ethnolinguistic Inventory of the Upper Guinea Coast," 51; Gonzalo Aguirre Beltrán, "Tribal Origins of Slaves in Mexico: II. The Rivers of Guinea," *Journal of Negro History* 31, no. 3 (July 1946), 299-300; Rina Cáceres, "Mandingas, congos y zapes: Las primeras estrategias de libertad en la frontera comercial de Cartagena. Panamá, siglo XVI," in *Afrodescendientes en las Américas. Trayectorias sociales e identitarias. 150 años de la abolición de la esclavitud en Colombia*, ed. Claudia Mosquera, Mauricio Pardo and Odile Hoffmann (Bogotá: Universidad Nacional de Colombia, Instituto Colombiano de Antropología e Historia (ICANH), 2002), 143-168; Lockhart, *Spanish Peru*, 196; Robinson Herrera, "The African Slave Trade in Early Santiago," *Urban History Workshop Review* 4 (1998), 7; Sandoval, *Tratado sobre la esclavitud*, 138 (quoted).

¹⁹⁴ Similarly, Alejandro de la Fuente García counted fifteen *casta* names of Upper Guinea origin in Cuban notarial documents from 1570-1699. De la Fuente García, "Esclavos africanos en La Habana: Zonas de procedencia y denominaciones étnicas, 1570-1699," *Revista Española de Antropología Americana* 20 (1990), 141.

¹⁹⁵ Declaración de Juan Biafara, Nicoya, 27 Sept. 1603, AGCA, A3 (6), exp. 124, leg. 10.

¹⁹⁶ Declaración de Juan de Buliaga, Guatemala, 16 March 1610, AGN, Inq., vol. 474, exp. 6. fol. 333; Gwendolyn Midlo Hall, *Africans in Colonial Louisiana: The Development of Afro-Creole Culture in the Eighteenth Century* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1992), 40-41.

¹⁹⁷ Declaración del negro Jacob, esclavo del Cap. Antonio de Soto y Barahona, de casta mandinga, Cartago, 2 Oct. 1719, ANCR, C. 233, fol. 5v; Petición del Cap. Antonio de Soto y Barahona, presentada en Cartago, 20 May 1720, ANCR, C. 233, fol. 34.

¹⁹⁸ Partida del bautizo de Raimundo, adulto negro esclavo de doña Micaela de Durán, Cartago, 5 Feb. 1687, ACMSJ, LBC, no. 2/FHL, VAULT INTL film 1219701, item 2; Testamento del Cap. Miguel Calvo, Cartago, 16 Feb. 1715, PC 877, fol. 30v; Notificación en la casa del reo el Cap. José de Chavarría, Cartago, 16 May 1719; G 177, fol. 3v; Mortual del Cap. José de Chavarría, Cartago, 22 April 1720, ANCR, M.C.C. 733, fol. 14; Poder para aprehender a un esclavo, Cartago, 27 Nov. 1720, ANCR, P.C. 891, fols. 26-27; Carta de manumisión, Cartago, 10 April 1725, ANCR, P.C. 898, fols. 21-22v.

¹⁹⁹ Femi J. Kolapo, "The Igbo and their Neighbours During the Era of the Atlantic Slave Trade," *Slavery & Abolition* 25, no. 1 (2004), 122.

²⁰⁰ David Northrup, *Trade without Rulers: Pre-Colonial Economic Development in South-Eastern Nigeria* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978), 51; idem, "Igbo and Myth Igbo: Culture and Ethnicity in the Atlantic World, 1600-1850," *Slavery & Abolition* 21, no. 3 (2000), 7-8; Hair, "Ethnolinguistic Continuity," 262, 262 n. 54; Sandoval, *Tratado sobre la esclavitud*, 139.

²⁰¹ Venta de cinco esclavos, Cartago, 28 October 1613, ANCR, G. 34, fol. 48.

²⁰² Partida de bautizo, Cartago, 6 April 1622, ACMSJ, LBC, no. 1/FHL, VAULT INTL film 1219701, item 1.

²⁰³ *Indice de los protocolos de Cartago*, 1:33; Cáceres Gómez, "Negros, mulatos," 100.

²⁰⁴ Northrup, "Igbo and Myth Igbo," 8.

²⁰⁵ Ibid., 9 (quoted), 10; Hair, "Ethnolinguistic Continuity," 262-263.

²⁰⁶ Testamento del Ayudante Juan Gómez Rico, Cartago, 5 Aug. 1659, ANCR, P.C. 817 bis, fol. 276.

²⁰⁷ Arrendamiento de cuatro esclavos, Cartago, 22 April 1681, ANCR, P.C. 827, fols. 77-79; Padrón y memoria de los mulatos, negros libres y mestizos vecinos de Cartago, 27 March 1691, ANCR, C. 83, fol. 18.

²⁰⁸ Carta dote de Francisco Gregorio de Govantes y Zúñiga a favor de Andrea González, Cartago, 26 Oct. 1686, ANCR, P.C. 835, fol. 58v; Venta de esclava, Cartago, 23 Dec. 1698, ANCR, P.C. 850, fols. 58v-61.

²⁰⁹ David Eltis, David Richardson, Stephen D. Behrendt, and Herbert S. Klein, eds., *The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade: A Database on CD-ROM* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999); E. J. Alagoa, "The Slave Trade in Niger Delta Oral Tradition and History," in *Africans in Bondage: Studies in Slavery and the Slave Trade*, ed. Paul E. Lovejoy (Madison, Wis.: African Studies Program, University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1986), 127; G. Ugo. Nwokeji, "The Biafran Frontier: Trade, Slaves, and Aro Society, c. 1750-1905 (Ph.D. diss., University of Toronto, 1999), 51, 65; Northrup, *Trade without Rulers*, 54, 55 fig. 1; idem, "Igbo and Myth Igbo," 14; Douglas B. Chambers, "The Significance of Igbo in the Bight of Biafra Slave-Trade: A Rejoinder to Northrup's 'Myth Igbo,'" *Slavery & Abolition* 23, no. 1 (April 2002), 110, 111.

²¹⁰ Sandoval, *Tratado sobre la esclavitud*, 139; Inventario de negros, Portobello, 10 June 1666, AGI, Contaduría 264A, ramo 33, fol. 23.

²¹¹ Declaración de Heredima, Cartago, 3 Dec. 1744, ANCR, C. 455, fol. 27; Declaración de Cocho, Cartago, 5 Dec. 1744, ANCR, C. 455, fol. 32v.

²¹² Chambers, "The Significance of Igbo," 108-111.

²¹³ Kolapo, "The Igbo and Their Neighbours," 114-133.

²¹⁴ Ibid., 115.

²¹⁵ Venta de cinco esclavos, Cartago, 28 October 1613, ANCR, G. 34, fol. 48; Partida del bautizo de Juan, Cartago, 4 Aug. 1607; Partida del bautizo de Catalina, Cartago, 26 Dec. 1638; Partida del bautizo de Nicolás Curridabat, Cartago, 28 Sept. 1643; Partida del bautizo de Bartolomé, 20 July 1644; all in ACMSJ, LBC, no. 1/FHL, VAULT INTL film 1219701, item 1; Partida de confirmación de Magdalena de Turrialba, Cartago, Jan. 1609; Partida de confirmación de Catalina, mulata, hija de Antón, negro, Cartago, 26 March 1625; both in ACMSJ, Confirmaciones de Cartago, Libro 1 (1609, 1625)/FHL, VAULT INTL film 1219727, item 2.

²¹⁶ Auto de almoneda, Esparza, 15 April 1701, ANCR, C. 109, fols. 32v-33.

²¹⁷ Testamento de doña Josefa de Ocampo, San José de Tenorio, Valle de Bagaces, 10 Dec. 1732, ANCR, M.C.C. 1052, fol. 8v; Inventario y avalúo de bienes de doña Josefa de Ocampo, San José de Tenorio, Valle de Bagaces, 25 Feb. 1738, ANCR, M.C.C. 1052, fol. 17v.

²¹⁸ Ventas de esclavos, Cartago, 16 Aug. 1746, ANCR, P.C. 934, fols. 64-68.

²¹⁹ Ngou-Mve, *Africa bantú*; Sempat Assadourian, *Tráfico de esclavos*.

²²⁰ Miller, "Central Africa," 44 (quoted), 44-45 n. 40.

²²¹ Miller, "Central Africa," 28-29.

²²² Ibid., 44, 46 (quoted), 61.

²²³ Venta de esclavo, 23 June 1607, Cartago, ANCR, P.C. 801, fols. 46-47.

²²⁴ Fernando de Luna contra Ambrosio de Brenes para que se anule una escritura de permuta de una negra esclava del primero por un negro esclavo del segundo, por ser éste fugitivo, Guatemala, 26 April 1614, ANCR, G. 34 (99 fols.). For slavery in seventeenth-century Cuzco, see Jean-Pierre Tardieu, *El negro en*

Cusco: Los caminos de la alienación en la segunda mitad del siglo XVII (Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, 1998).

²²⁵ Permuta de esclavos, Cartago, 10 March 1612, ANCR, G. 34, fols. 51-53.

²²⁶ Testamento de Juan Martín de Montalvo, Astillero de Nandayure, Jurisdicción y Provincia de Nicoya, 17 April 1623, ANCR, M.C.C. 918, fol. 7.

²²⁷ Miller, "Central Africa," 55, 56 (quoted); Johannes M. Postma, *The Dutch in the Atlantic Slave Trade, 1600-1815* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 57; Munford, *Black Ordeal*, 1:117.

²²⁸ Jopling, ed., *Indios y negros en Panamá*, 248; Partida de confirmación de Isabel Conga, Cartago, 31 March 1625, ACMSJ, Libro de Confirmaciones 1 (1609-1625)/FHL, VAULT INTL film 1219727, item 2; *Indice de los protocolos de Cartago*, 1: 90.

²²⁹ John K. Thornton, *The Kingdom of Kongo: Civil War and Transition, 1641-1718* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1983), xv (quoted).

²³⁰ Anne Hilton, *The Kingdom of Kongo* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985), 121-124.

²³¹ Hilton, *Kingdom of Kongo*, 198; Wyatt MacGaffey, "Kongo Identity, 1483-1993," *South Atlantic Quarterly* 94, no. 4 (1995), 1027 (quoted).

²³² Miller, "Central Africa," 22; MacGaffey, "Kongo Identity," 1027-1029.

²³³ Mary C Karasch cites more than two hundred ethnic names for West Central Africans in nineteenth-century Rio de Janeiro. See Karasch, *Slave Life in Rio de Janeiro, 1808-1850* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1987), 371-383. For examples of names used in nineteenth-century Cuba, see Fernando Ortiz, *Los negros esclavos* (Havana: Editorial de Ciencias Sociales, 1996), 25, 21-35, passim. Although useful to illustrate the large number of ethnic names used in Cuba, many of Ortiz's identifications have proved incorrect.

²³⁴ Notificación al Maestre de Campo don José Agustín de Estrada y Aspertia y su respuesta, Guatemala, 12 Feb. 1704, AGI, G 359, pieza 1, fol. 89.

²³⁵ Petición de Nicolás Gramajo por la defensa de Bernardo de Montes Serrano, presentada en Guatemala, 7 Nov. 1705, AGCA, A1.56 (5), exp. 3030, leg. 463.

²³⁶ Registro del entierro de un hijo de José Matamba, mulato, Cartago, 10 Sept. 1688, ACMSJ, Sección Fondos Antiguos, Serie Documentación Encuadernada, Caja 9, Libro 3, fols. 55-55v. *Matamba* is also a local name, probably of African origin, for a palm tree found in Costa Rica (*Desmoncus oxyacanthos*). Miguel Angel Quesada Pacheco, *Diccionario histórico del español de Costa Rica* (San José: Editorial Universidad Estatal a Distancia, 1995), 100-101; Carlos Meléndez, "Negro en Costa Rica," 48.

²³⁷ Hilton, *Kingdom of Kongo*, 115.

²³⁸ Miller, "Central Africa," 50-51, 56.

²³⁹ Postma, *The Dutch in the Atlantic Slave Trade*, 113.

²⁴⁰ Partida de bautizo de Antonio, adulto negro esclavo de Antonio de Acosta de nación loango, Cartago, 20 July 1682, ACMSJ, LBC, no. 2/FHL, VAULT INTL film 1219701, item 2; Petición de doña Luisa de

Abarca, presentada en Cartago, 27 May 1720, ANCR, C. 245, fol. 5; Declaración de Catalina de casta loango, Cartago, 13 Nov. 1720, ANCR, C. 244, fol. 6v.

²⁴¹ Aguirre Beltrán, *Población negra*, 138; Boyd-Bowman, "Negro Slaves," 141, 143; Herman Lee Bennett, "Lovers, Family and Friends: The Formation of Afro-Mexico, 1580-1810" (Ph.D. diss., Duke University, 1993), 66, table 2.1, 69, table 2.2; Colin A. Palmer, "From Africa to the Americas: Ethnicity in the Early Black Communities of the Americas," *Journal of World History* (Honolulu) 6, no. 2 (1995), 234, table 1; Paul Lokken, "Sugar Plantations and African Origins in Colonial Guatemala, 1650-1720," paper presented at 2003 meeting of the Latin American Studies Association, Dallas, Tex., 29 March 2003, 3, table 1.

²⁴² Filippo Pigafetta, *A Report of the Kingdom of Congo and of the Surrounding Countries: Drawn out of the Writings and Discourses of the Portuguese Duarte Lopes by Filippo Pigafetta*, trans. Margarite Hutchinson (1881; rpt., London: Frank Cass, 1970; first published Rome, 1591), 96-99; Giovanni Antonio de Montecucullo Cavazzi, *Descrição histórica dos três reinos Congo, Matamba, e Angola*, trans. and ed. Graziano Maria da Legguzzano (Lisbon: Junta de Investigações do Ultramar, 1965; first published Bologna, 1687), 1: 173-220; Anne Hilton, "The Jaga Reconsidered," *Journal of African History* 22 (1981), 191-192.

²⁴³ Jan Vansina, "More on the Invasions of Kongo and Angola by the Jaga and the Lunda," *Journal of African History* 7, no. 3 (1966), 422, 423 (quoted), 424, 429.

²⁴⁴ Joseph C. Miller, "Requiem for the 'Jaga,'" *Cahiers d'Études Africaines* 13, no. 1 (no. 49) (1973): 121-149; Miller, *Kings and Kinsmen: Early Mbundu States in Angola* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976), chs. 6-8. For the predatory activities of the Imbangala in the early seventeenth century, see John K. Thornton, "The African Experience of the '20. and Odd Negroes' Arriving in Virginia in 1619," *William & Mary Quarterly* 55, no. 3 (1998): 421-434.

²⁴⁵ António de Oliveira de Cadornega, *História geral das guerras angolanas*, 1680, ed. José Matias Delgado and Manuel Alves da Cunha (3 vols. Lisbon: Agência Geral das Colônias, 1972), 2:179; Luiz Felipe de Alencastro, post to H-LUSO-AFRICA internet listserv, 2 Feb. 2004, <http://h-net.msu.edu/cgi-bin/logbrowse.pl?trx=lm&list=H-Luso-Africa>.

²⁴⁶ John K. Thornton, "A Resurrection for the Jaga," *Cahiers d'Études Africaines* 18, nos. 1-2 (1978): 223-227, quoting 224.

²⁴⁷ See the January-February 2004 discussion on "'Jagas' in Kongo/Angola" by experts Luis Felipe Alencastro, Joseph C. Miller, and John K. Thornton on the H-LUSO-AFRICA internet listserv, <http://h-net.msu.edu/cgi-bin/logbrowse.pl?trx=lm&list=H-Luso-Africa>.

²⁴⁸ Declaración de Antonio de Rosas, negro esclavo del Cap. Juan Sancho de Castañeda, Matina, 6 Dec. 1719, ANCR, C. 231, fol. 10v; Declaración de José Cubero, negro esclavo de doña Catalina González del Camino, Matina, 5 Dec. 1719, ANCR, C. 266, fol. 6.

²⁴⁹ Thornton, *Kingdom of Kongo*, 99; Kongolese *Saint Anthony*, 21, 137.

²⁵⁰ Thornton, post to H-LUSO-AFRICA internet listserv, 3 Feb. 2004, <http://h-net.msu.edu/cgi-bin/logbrowse.pl?trx=lm&list=H-Luso-Africa>.

²⁵¹ Catherine Skidmore-Hess, personal communication, 25 Jan. 2005.

²⁵² Sandoval, *Tratado sobre la esclavitud*, 139; Memorial de la Compañía Real de Guinea, Madrid, 7 Aug. 1703, AGI, Indiferente 2783; Memorial de la Compañía Real de Guinea al Consejo de Indias, contestado por el Fiscal en Madrid, 31 May 1703, AGI, Indiferente 2783; Munford, *Black Ordeal*, 2:888; John Atkins, *A Voyage to Guinea, Brazil, and the West Indies in His Majesty's Ships the Swallow and Weymouth* (1735; rpt. ed., Northbrook, Ill.: Metro Books, 1972), 179; David Eltis, *The Rise of African Slavery in the Americas* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 252. I have seen no document in which a Costa Rican master expressed a preference for one African ethnicity over another.

²⁵³ MacGaffey, "Kongo Identity," 1027.

²⁵⁴ Declaración del negro José, esclavo del Cap. Manuel de Arburola, Esparza, 11 Nov. 1719, ANCR, C. 256, fols. 7-7v.

²⁵⁵ *Indice de los protocolos de Cartago*, 1:438.

²⁵⁶ Meléndez, "Negro en Costa Rica," 20; Jean-Pierre Tardieu, "The Origins of the Slaves in the Lima Region in Peru (Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries)," in *From Chains to Bonds: The Slave Trade Revisited*, ed. Doudou Diène (Paris: UNESCO, 2001), 49; Hilton, *Kingdom of Kongo*, 128, 202.

²⁵⁷ E. G. Ravenstein, ed., *The Strange Adventures of Andrew Battell, of Leigh, in Angola and the Adjoining Regions* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1901; first published London, 1625), 42; Joseph C. Miller, *Way of Death: Merchant Capitalism and the Angolan Slave Trade, 1730-1830*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1988), 35; Georges Balandier, *Daily Life in the Kingdom of the Kongo from the 16th to the 18th Century* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1968), map (facing 128); Adriano Parreira, *Economia e sociedade em Angola na epoca da rainha Jinga (século XVII)* (Lisbon: Editorial Estampa, 1990), 120, 121; Hilton, *Kingdom of Kongo*, 75, 76 (map), 77-78.

²⁵⁸ *Indice de los protocolos de Cartago*, 1:449. Due to their poor condition, the original documents in which these names appear were not available for consultation in 1999-2000.

²⁵⁹ Declaración de José Congo, negro esclavo de doña Agueda Pérez de Muro, Matina, 5 Dec. 1719, ANCR, C. 251, fol. 3; Inventario de las haciendas de cacao de doña Agueda Pérez de Muro, Cartago, 10 April 1722, ANCR, P.C. 895, fol. 96.

²⁶⁰ Walter Rodney, *A History of the Upper Guinea Coast, 1545-1800* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1970), 240, 241; Hugh Thomas, *The Slave Trade: The Story of the Atlantic Slave Trade, 1440-1870* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1997), 218, 219 (quoted).

²⁶¹ Diouf, "Devils or Sorcerers," 141.

²⁶² Venta de esclavo, Cartago, 25 May 1716, ANCR, G. 187, fols. 30v-33; Auto sobre el esclavo Antonio Mina, Cartago, 30 July 1720, ANCR, G. 187, fol. 45; Venta de esclavo, Cartago, 27 May 1716, ANCR, P.C. 878, fols. 77v-79v; Declaración del esclavo Antonio de casta mina, Cartago, 7 Nov. 1722, ANCR, G. 187, fol. 11.

²⁶³ Meléndez, "Negro en Costa Rica," 20; Pavy, "Provenience of Colombian Negroes," 40, 41; Sharp, *Slavery on the Spanish Frontier*, 115; see also Venta de esclavo, Cartago, 21 July 1736, ANCR, P.C. 915, fols. 45-47.

²⁶⁴ Curtin, *Atlantic Slave Trade*, 187 (quoted); Aguirre Beltrán, *Población negra*, 111; see also Law, *Slave Coast*, 189. Paul E. Lovejoy identifies "Chamba" more specifically with the Konkomba of the upper Voltaic region in northern Ghana. See Lovejoy, "The African Diaspora."

²⁶⁵ Chambers, “Ethnicity in the Diaspora,” 30.

²⁶⁶ Thornton, “The Coromantees.”

²⁶⁷ Robert W. Slenes, “The Great Porpoise-Skull Strike: Central African Water Spirits and Slave Identity in Early Nineteenth-Century Rio de Janeiro,” in *Central Africans and Cultural Transformations in the American Diaspora*, ed. Linda Heywood (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 186.

²⁶⁸ Hounkpatin Capo, “Le gbe est une langue unique,” *Africa* 53, no. 2 (1983): 47-57; Law, *Slave Coast*, chapters 1, 3.

²⁶⁹ Surgy, *Système religieux*, 118; Russell Lohse, “Africans in a Colony of Creoles: The Yoruba in Colonial Costa Rica,” in *The Yoruba Diaspora in the Americas*, ed. Toyin Falola and Matt D. Childs (Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press, 2005).

²⁷⁰ Biodun Adediran, *The Frontier States of Western Yorubaland, circa 1600-1889: State Formation and Political Growth in an Ethnic Frontier Zone* (Ibadan, Nigeria: Institut Français de Recherche en Afrique/French Institute for Research in Africa, 1994), chapter 1.

²⁷¹ Bartle, “The Universe Has Three Souls.”

CHAPTER 3
MIDDLE PASSAGES:
THE SLAVE TRADE TO COSTA RICA

A Single Middle Passage: The Christianus Quintus and Fredericus Quartus

After the *Fredericus Quartus* met up with the *Christianus Quintus* off the Slave Coast in October 1709, the ships sailed together. Trade winds made it easy for European sailors to get to the “Guinea Coast,” but hard to sail west again into the Atlantic. Strong currents pulled ships east along the West African coast toward the Bight of Biafra and Cameroon. For the voyage to the Americas, slavers turned south in the Bight toward the Portuguese islands of São Tomé, where they usually stopped and hoped to catch a westward current to America. The turn was everything, however, and although most slavers stopped at the Portuguese islands for provisions, they found this part of the journey notoriously difficult. Countervailing currents could halt ships at sea for weeks just miles from the islands. Sailing toward São Tomé to take on supplies, the crews of the *Fredericus Quartus* and the *Christianus Quintus* found the winds against them and were unable to make land. Aiming for Príncipe, there too the ships found the winds hard and failed to reach port.¹ The ships’ captains then attempted to reach Cape Lopes de Gonçalves (in modern Gabon), where they hoped finally to take on some water, firewood, and fruit, and tried to find a favorable course for the West Indies. On the way, the *Fredericus Quartus* met

three Portuguese ships, and learned that Denmark had gone to war with France. After hearing that two French ships had anchored off Cape Lopes, the ships' captains dared not sail into port. By 20 November 1709, the ships had run so low on supplies that they reduced the slaves' rations. From 1 to 12 December, they waited off Cape Lopes while their provisions continued to dwindle. By 30 December 1709, fearing another slave rebellion – this one on the open sea -- the ships' officers reduced the crews' rations as well. Taking a desperate chance, they sailed for the Americas without adequate food or water.²

Portuguese slavers bound for Brazil often took advantage of a southwest current that shortened the voyage, already the shortest route to the Americas. Ships bound for the Caribbean, however, faced more potential difficulties from shifting winds and currents, and the Danish slavers soon confronted additional problems that spelled death for many captives and crew. After a month at sea, the ships were nearing the islands of the eastern Caribbean, and the ships' captains decided to stop at Barbados for news of the war between Denmark and France. Sailors on the *Christianus Quintus* sighted land on 21 January 1710, but Captain Pfeiff ordered that they continue on to Barbados. By 8 February 1710 they had still not reached the British island; the ships had obviously steered badly off course, and food supplies were now dangerously low. Captain Wærøe and the officers of the *Fredericus Quartus* agreed to sail south to 10° N latitude, but a few days later turned northward to 13° N, the latitude of Barbados. On 10 February, Captain Pfeiff asked Wærøe to share some of his ship's provisions with the *Christianus*

Quintus, but Wærøe had only enough supplies remaining to last fourteen days. Conflicts began to sharpen between the crews and the ships' officers over which course to take.³



Map 8

Detail of a 1656 map by Nicolas Sanson showing
Costa Rica and Santa Catalina (Providence Island)

Source: Rucker Agee Map Collection, University of Alabama
<http://alabamamaps.ua.edu/historicalmaps/mexicoandcaribbean/pre1750.html>

Finally, on 14 February 1710, the ships reached an island. Captain Wærøe and First Officer Ide Quant went ashore, but found no people, only an abandoned Spanish fort. The next morning a small English bark stopped there to hunt sea turtles on its way to

Jamaica. The Danes learned that they were on Santa Catalina (Providence Island) in the western Caribbean. Their supplies had run critically low because they had sailed past their destination by some 1,200 nautical miles. The Danish officers amended their plan; instead of sailing back toward St. Thomas, they decided to sail to Portobello, the Atlantic port of the Spanish province of Panama, to sell the slaves there.⁴ At least this was the account they later presented in a Danish court -- an enslaved Jamaican crew member and another witness contended that the captains of the ships always planned to sail for Panama, where slaves would undoubtedly fetch a higher price than in the West Indies.⁵

At this point, morale among the ships' crews was completely exhausted, and captives on both ships continued to die. By 18 February 1710, fifty-five more slaves aboard the *Christianus Quintus* had died -- thirty-five men, seventeen women, and three boys -- 318 survived. On the *Fredericus Quartus*, disease had killed another eighty slaves: only 353 remained alive.⁶ Mortality on the Danish slavers exceeded the already horrific average death rate of the Middle Passage in the first decade of the eighteenth century.⁷

The Slave Trade to Costa Rica

Africans entered Costa Rica in one of three ways: (1) they were imported legally, most often singly or in small groups, from other provinces, mainly Panama and Nicaragua; (2) they were brought illegally, usually to the Atlantic Matina coast, by Spanish or foreign smugglers; or (3) occasionally, slavers bound elsewhere ended up in Costa Rica due to storms or navigational errors.⁸ On such rare occasions, slaveowners quickly snapped up

the survivors and devised intricate schemes to cheat the Crown of its claim to the Africans. Ironically, such unforeseeable accidents provided some of the largest documented infusions of Africans into the colony. The largest group of Africans ever to arrive in Costa Rica came unexpectedly with the *Christianus Quintus* and *Fredericus Quartus* in 1710.

The small numbers of Africans who arrived in Costa Rica for most of the sixteenth century arrived with Spanish immigrants under individual licenses issued by the Council of Indies.⁹ Spanish immigration itself largely determined the extent of the slave trade during the early years of the colony. From 1595, the adoption of the *Asiento* system produced an explosion in the numbers of Africans brought to Spanish America in the trans-Atlantic slave trade.¹⁰ Their ambitions always constrained by their relative poverty, Costa Rican colonists could not acquire Africans in large numbers despite their proximity to major centers of the slave trade directly to the south in Portobello and Panama City. With a few exceptions, legally imported slaves continued to arrive in the province intermittently and in very small numbers. Faced with high taxes on the human cargoes, Costa Rican colonists turned to smuggling Africans in the seventeenth century as they smuggled almost everything else. An unknown number of Africans arrived illegally throughout the seventeenth century, as reflected in edicts issued against the contraband trade. The rise of Costa Rica's cacao economy in the late seventeenth century created the conditions for an expansion of the slave trade to Costa Rica. By the early eighteenth century, ships carrying dozens of Africans arrived on the Atlantic coast of Matina, greatly contributing to the growth of the African-born slave population. Two unplanned arrivals,

fortuitous for Costa Rican slave buyers, brought several hundred Africans to La Caldera and Matina in 1700 and 1710, further augmenting the African population.

Although the absolute numbers of Africans in the colony remained small, the eighteenth-century infusion of Africans contributed to a “re-Africanization” of the slave population. Although still outnumbered by creoles and mulatos, a critical mass of Africans now developed that allowed African men and women to speak their native languages – or patois developed from several -- and to reconstitute, for a time, African-based identities. At the same time, the ethnic diversity of the African population and their small absolute numbers encouraged Africans’ assimilation to the creole culture that surrounded them.

The small-scale, intermittent nature of the slave trade to Costa Rica held profound implications both for the development of Costa Rican slavery as an institution and for slave cultures and communities. Sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century black and mulato creoles, many born in Spain, elsewhere in Spanish America, and increasingly in Costa Rica itself, set the tone early for the slave community. Although clearly on unequal terms, these early creoles helped to forge and became fully integrated into a local culture shared by members of all racial and social groups. Although they made up a substantial proportion of the total slave population, the small numbers of Africans who arrived in the early decades soon became accustomed to the local environment. By the late seventeenth century, Africans comprised an increasing proportion of new arrivals among the slave population. Although recent research has conclusively established that the human cargoes of Atlantic slave ships were less ethnically diverse than traditionally

believed, further “Middle Passages” between their first ports of disembarkation and their final destinations in the Americas separated and recombined Africans of diverse ethnicities at every point.¹¹ Only the survivors of the *Christianus Quintus* and *Fredericus Quartus* sailed (more or less) directly from Africa to Costa Rica; the thousands of other Africans who came to the province between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries endured numerous stopovers. A man or woman brought to Costa Rica might easily have disembarked at Jamaica or Curaçao, Cartagena, Portobello, and/or Panama City before completing the final leg of their hellish journey to Costa Rica’s ports of La Caldera or Matina.

Costa Rica and the Asiento Slave Trade

By the early seventeenth century, considerable numbers of African-born slaves began arriving in Costa Rica, coinciding with the expansion of the trans-Atlantic slave trade under the *Asiento* system.¹² Under the terms of the *Asiento*, individuals or corporations contracted with the Spanish Crown for the exclusive right to bring a predetermined number of Africans to authorized ports during a specified period. Between 1595 and 1640, hundreds of thousands of enslaved Africans arrived in colonies such as Mexico and Peru, where demand was great and, more importantly to slave traders, colonists often paid in coveted silver.¹³ Despite enormous growth in the availability of African slaves, Costa Rica remained at the margins of the Atlantic slave trade. No slave ship ever intentionally sailed directly from Africa to Costa Rica, nor did a continuous or substantial

trade in slaves develop between Costa Rica and other American colonies. With rare exceptions, slaves in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries continued to arrive in Costa Rica much as they had in the sixteenth: brought in small numbers from other colonies, they were bought and sold by private arrangement between individuals. In the vast majority of cases, slaves were sold singly or in small groups. This held true even in the common circumstance that a prospective buyer contracted an agent to buy a slave for him or her outside the province. Large slave auctions made memorable events that were recalled by colonists and captives for many years afterward.

Directly to the south of Costa Rica, the Isthmus of Panama became a center of the Spanish American slave trade (first in indigenous, then in African captives) almost from the beginning of the conquest.¹⁴ In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, both Portobello, on Panama's Atlantic coast, and Panama City, on the Pacific, became authorized ports of the Asiento. Under the terms of several seventeenth-century Asiento contracts, Portobello was one of just three authorized ports in Spanish America, and slave traders consistently preferred to sell their captives in Portobello rather than in Cartagena or Veracruz. Between 1663 and 1674, for example, more than 60 percent of the Africans legally imported to the three authorized ports disembarked at Portobello. In addition, a majority of legally imported Africans who landed in Cartagena during this period were later dispatched to Portobello.¹⁵ In the eighteenth century, between 1714 and 1739, Portobello and Panama City continued to import more Africans than any other Spanish American ports, surpassing Cartagena, Buenos Aires, Caracas, Havana, and Veracruz,

among others.¹⁶ In addition to the legal slave trade, Portobello became a favorite market for contraband slaves.¹⁷



Map 9

Detail of a 1717 map by Nicolas de Fer showing
Costa Rica and the Isthmus of Panama

Source: Rucker Agee Map Collection, University of Alabama
<http://alabamamaps.ua.edu/historicalmaps/mexicoandcaribbean/pre1750.html>

During the period of Portuguese dominance of the trans-Atlantic slave trade (1595-1640), most Africans sold in Spanish America arrived in Cartagena and Portobello directly from West Central and West Africa.¹⁸ After 1640, however, as more European

nations entered the slave trade on a large scale, Asiento contractors who had difficulty procuring captives in Africa often secured permission to fill their quotas with slaves purchased from the Dutch and British. Before being shipped to Cartagena and Portobello, a large share of the Africans bound for the Spanish Main had already disembarked in Caribbean islands such as Curaçao, Jamaica, or Barbados.¹⁹ Seven *congo* slaves purchased in Portobello by don Lorenzo de Arburola y Ribarén in 1690, for example, had arrived on the Isthmus by way of Curaçao on the *San Pedro y San Pablo*.²⁰ Most remained only briefly at such island entrepôts and thus underwent no significant “seasoning” or acculturation to any American society there. The women, men, and children who arrived in Jamaica on the British South Sea Company’s *Dunwich Merchant* from Jaquin (Slave Coast) in March 1716, for example, stayed only a few days on the island before continuing to Portobello.²¹

Although the numbers and origins of Africans who arrived at the Isthmus of Panama varied widely over time, the basic procedures of Spanish officials for disembarking them remained the same. In Portobello, Asiento officials inspected and inventoried the captives just arrived from Africa or the Caribbean. First, inspectors boarded the slave ships to inspect their papers, verify the count of captives, and ensure that they carried no unauthorized goods. Corruption was inherent to the human commerce, and slavers spent liberally on bribes and “gifts” to persuade royal officials to ignore discrepancies throughout the period of the slave trade.²² Captain Samuel Boyle of the *Dunwich Merchant*, for example, paid royal officials forty-eight pesos to board a boat to his ship,

200 more “to put the guards on board,” and 152 pesos for “a refreshment for the Royal Officials” in addition to the actual costs of the inspections in 1716.²³

After these preliminaries, captives were disembarked and held in pens for closer inspection while awaiting auction or transportation to Panama City. In the mid-seventeenth century, these slave warehouses were located in Portobello’s La Galería neighborhood, near the Cross of Humilladero. First, officials noted the sex, approximate age, and sometimes origin of each of the captives. Men, women, and children from all parts of Western Africa shared the continued misery of the holding pens. One group imported by the *asentistas* Domingo Grillo and Ambrosio Lomelín in 1666, for example, included ninety-one men, women, and children from the Bight of Biafra (sixty-one *carabalies* and thirty *ibos*), fifty-one from the Slave Coast (*aradaes*), thirty-seven from the Gold Coast and/or Upper Slave Coast (*minas*), one man from West Central Africa, and five girls of unidentified origin. The inspectors also verified that the captives had already been scarred with the brands of the Royal Asiento, in this case, the “RC” of the *Real Corona* burned into the left breast, confirming that they were legally imported. Some of the group had suffered additional tortures, and were missing eyes, ears, and limbs. Next a surgeon examined them and separated the sick and dying from the healthier captives. Those too ill for the forced march to Panama City – such as two men suffering from smallpox, one from a wounded leg (*apostema en una pierna*), and one from a swelling of the throat -- went to an infirmary, but the worthless medicines they received, such as sugar and sarsaparilla, could have done little to ease their suffering.²⁴

Slave traders kept their human cargoes in Portobello from a few days to several months, where they “refreshed” the Africans with food, fresh water, and clothing. Healthier – or at least healthier-looking – Africans commanded higher prices. To allow them to recover so they would be more presentable for sale, in March 1716 the 349 captives brought from the Slave Coast by the *Dunwich Merchant* received rations of plantains, corn, fresh and salted beef, and smoking tobacco, and were provided suits of canvas (*cañamazo*) or “old sheets.” Local men guarded the Africans, lighting candles and lamps to watch them by night. A surgeon attended the sick, and a midwife was hired to help with the birth of a child among the dead and dying. Despite attempts at medical care, like the barracoons in Africa, the pens of Portobello proved as deadly as the Middle Passage itself. At least thirteen women, men, and children brought to the Isthmus on the *Dunwich Merchant* died within five weeks of arrival, succumbing to such illnesses as “malignant fevers,” smallpox, and “side pains.” Priests collected sixty-six pesos for burying the dead and another twelve for providing the death certificates of Africans who passed on during the days at Portobello.²⁵

Although thousands of Africans were purchased at auction in Portobello, many slave traders hoped for even higher profits in Panama City. The forced march across the Isthmus was a short trip usually accomplished in just a few days, but an exhausting one through difficult terrain. On 7 April 1716, Boyle set out for Panama with 200 Africans and twenty men to guard them, allowing four nights for the journey. Captives often tried to flee into the forest during the crossing, and slavers routinely bore the expense of hiring one guard for each ten captives. Most of the time, the Africans walked, but sometimes

the sick and injured had to ride; Boyle bought ten mules for the purpose, which the guards probably rode most of the time. The slaver hoped to improve the Africans' health by feeding them large quantities of beef: the 64½ *arrobas* (1,613 lb./731 kg) carried on the journey worked out to an average of more than two pounds (3.6 kg) per person each day, and were supplemented by fourteen loads (*cargas*) of plantains of unspecified weight. Innkeepers along the way charged slave traders one *real* per slave for each night's lodging (a total of twenty-five pesos in this case), no doubt providing crude but secure facilities designed especially for the captive guests. On another crossing of the Isthmus the following month, Boyle brought a boat, undoubtedly for ferrying the Africans across the Chagres River.²⁶ In Panama City, the captives who arrived from Portobello were held at El Coco.²⁷ Soon the inspections, inventories, and frenzied buying and selling resumed. After sale, many were again loaded onto ships at the port of Perico. A majority of those went to Peru, where some, in turn, would be resold to Ecuador, Bolivia, or Chile. A very few of the Africans sold in Panama City were purchased by Costa Rican buyers and sailed north to La Caldera, from where they might go on to Esparza, Nicoya, Nicaragua, or even Guatemala.

Costa Rica enjoyed relatively easy sea access to both Portobello and Panama City, and for the entire colonial period, most legally imported slaves entered Costa Rica by way of Panama. But the overwhelming mass of Africans transshipped from Panama went to South, not Central, America. Costa Ricans seeking slaves found themselves at an insuperable disadvantage vis-à-vis other Spanish American buyers, especially Peruvians, who were able to afford higher prices.²⁸ At Panama City, professional slave traders

bought large lots of Africans at prices far beyond the reach of Costa Ricans, again paying with silver in quantities that few if any Costa Ricans could lay their hands on. In June 1666, don Juan de Cevallos bought a lot of “sixty *piezas*, two-thirds of them males and one-third females.” Despite the physical condition of several of the Africans – some afflicted with hernias, others missing eyes or limbs – Cevallos paid 470 pesos for each for a total of 28,200 pesos. The *Alférez* Francisco de Acosta purchased a lot of fifty captives, thirty-four of them men, who likewise suffered from various illnesses and injuries, at 450 pesos each for a total of 22,500 pesos. Such sums exceeded the total fortunes of some of Cartago’s wealthiest residents.²⁹ In small numbers, Africans sold for much more.³⁰ The mean price of the five adult black men and women sold in Costa Rica, by contrast, none of whom were described as suffering poor health, was just 316 pesos in the 1660s.³¹

Few if any slave traders were persuaded to forsake silver-rich Peru to sail north to Costa Rica. The prices of slaves in Cartago always paled before those paid in Peru. Drawing on a large sample of slave sales recorded in notarial records, Frederick Bowser calculated that a *ladino* (Spanish-speaking) black man between the ages of sixteen and twenty-five sold in Lima for an average price of 454 pesos in 1630. By contrast, Jerónimo, a twenty-year-old black creole, brought just 300 pesos in Cartago in 1632.³² In 1648, Diego, a mulato, was sold in Cartago for 250 pesos. In Lima two years later, black male *ladinos* sold for more than twice as much, at an average price of 522 pesos.³³ While there may be many possible explanations for Costa Rica’s low slave prices, the fact that slave prices were consistently low there is beyond dispute. Between 1607 and 1700, black male slaves between the prime ages of sixteen and twenty-five sold in Cartago at a

mean price of 350 pesos ($n = 20$), with a maximum price of 540 pesos paid for Juan, a black creole, in 1660. During the same period, in Lima the average price of black male slaves of the same ages never fell below 480 pesos, and rose to a high of 588 pesos in 1620.³⁴ In the highlands, African slaves cost much more. Twenty-seven black males between sixteen and twenty-five years of age sold in one Cuzco parish between 1655 and 1682 brought an average price of 640 pesos.³⁵ Furthermore, in Costa Rica, a province chronically short of silver currency, sellers often had to settle for payment in local produce (*géneros de la tierra*). For example, in 1632, a passenger on an incoming ship exchanged an African man from the Bight of Biafra (*carabali*) for 250 pesos' worth of tallow, tobacco, and indigo that he loaded at La Caldera.³⁶ By the eighteenth century, Costa Ricans usually paid for slaves, as they paid for everything else, in sacks of cacao. Although Costa Rican whites coveted African slaves no less than their wealthier counterparts in Peru, they never developed a trade commodity that could compete successfully with Peruvian silver.

Nevertheless, a small proportion of the Africans sold in Panama City were taken north, and La Caldera, Costa Rica's Pacific coast port near Esparza, came to function as a center of the small regional slave trade. Costa Rican slavemasters wishing to sell their slaves also embarked them at La Caldera to be sold abroad, or sent them to the port and tried to sell them on the spot.³⁷ For slaves as well as other imported commodities, La Caldera sometimes served as a stopover between Panama and Nicaragua. As earlier, most of the few Africans who reached Nicaragua probably came from Panama by way of Costa Rica.³⁸ In 1716, for example, Captain don José Antonio de Espinoza disembarked

at La Caldera with two slaves – Agustín, a ten-year-old *mina* boy, and María, an eighteen-year-old *mandinga* -- whom he had purchased from the Royal Asiento in Panama City, and had arranged to bring overland to a buyer in Granada, Nicaragua. Agustín died before he could complete the trip north.³⁹

On rare occasions, slave merchants from other provinces travelled to Costa Rica specifically to sell captives, usually in small numbers – a circumstance that increased the likelihood of ethnic diversity among them and accentuated the importance of shared experiences of bondage in the relationships between them. For example, Fernando de Luna, a resident of Los Remedios, Panama, arrived in Cartago in 1613 to sell five Africans for a total of 2,000 pesos. From four widely separated regions of Africa – Upper Guinea (*bañón*), the Bight of Biafra (two *carabalies*), the Bight of Benin (*lucumí*), and West Central Africa (*angola*) – these two women and three men had already experienced the horrors of the Atlantic crossing, the holding pens of Portobello, and shared the trek to Costa Rica.⁴⁰ Between 1639 and 1643, Cartago's royal treasurer noted that slaves arrived regularly at La Caldera on the Pacific and Punta Blanca, on the Atlantic coast, from Panama City, Portobello, and Cartagena.⁴¹ Very rarely, slave traders brought sizeable shipments of slaves to Costa Rica. Guatemalan merchant Pedro Ortiz de Mendoza, for example, brought forty-seven African men and women from Panama City to the Pacific region's Valley of Landecho in July 1673.⁴² Again, they came from widely separated parts of Africa, including West Africans of Gold Coast or Upper Slave Coast origin (*minas*) as well as West Central Africans (*congos*). Ortiz remained in Cartago selling slaves well into the following year.⁴³

Much more commonly, merchants and travellers sold a slave or two while in Cartago on other business, or empowered an agent to sell slaves on their behalf. Cartago too served as a center of the small-scale regional slave trade, uniting buyers and sellers from various parts of Central America. In February 1607, Juan de Orozco, a notary in Chiapas, granted power of attorney to Costa Rican *encomendero* García de Quirós to sell a black slave in Cartago on his account.⁴⁴ In March 1638, Juan Francisco de Zambrano, acting as agent for a Portobello slaveowner, sold an *angola* man named Antón to Juan Alvarez Pereira, a resident of Esparza. Two months later, Zambrano, a resident of Granada, Nicaragua, purchased a young mulata woman named Juana de Bohorques. Juana had previously been purchased from a Granada slaveowner by a Cartago resident and was now headed back to Nicaragua.⁴⁵ In 1688, Pedro, a black man belonging to a slaveowner in Chame, Panama, was sent by his mistress to be sold in Cartago. There, he was purchased on behalf of Captain don Melchor de la Cerda of Granada and remitted to Nicaragua.⁴⁶ In 1706, Captain Juan Agustín Ruiz de Meza, a resident of Natá, Panama, bought a twenty-year-old *congo* man named Domingo in Panama City. Ruiz then travelled to Cartago, where he sold Domingo to Captain Diego Miguel González de Algarín, a resident of León, Nicaragua.⁴⁷

Local buyers who wanted slaves more urgently than the haphazard supply of slaves to Costa Rica could provide often contracted travellers to Panama City and Portobello to purchase slaves on their behalf. For example, in 1638, Diego de Ocampo Figueroa undertook to buy one male and one female slave for Alonso Gómez Macotella when he sailed from La Caldera to Panama City.⁴⁸ In 1665, *Alférez* Sebastián de Aguirre, about to

leave on a trip to Panama City, accepted 200 pesos from Domingo Jiménez Maldonado and his wife doña Juana de Sojo to purchase an enslaved black girl for the couple. Aguirre stipulated that if the girl died on the return trip, Maldonado and Sojo would not attempt to hold him responsible for the loss.⁴⁹ Don Lorenzo de Arburola y Ribarén purchased slaves on several occasions for Cartago residents while in Portobello, qualifying him as a local slave trader. In October 1689, Arburola purchased seven *congo* slaves for Cartago buyers from the Asiento in Portobello.⁵⁰ In addition, Arburola returned to Costa Rica on that occasion with Juan de Acevedo, a black creole, whom he sold in Matina, remitting the proceeds to Juan's former owner in Portobello.⁵¹ Such arrangements were not always successful. For example, doña Isabel de Estrada had entrusted six mules to Nicolás de Bochelo, which he was to trade for a ten-year-old black girl in Panama City. By 1699, doña Isabel had not received the girl, and sought to collect the value of the mules.⁵²

Most slaves acquired legally entered Costa Rica alone, in pairs, or small groups. On the way, they passed through several points at which the fragile bonds they had formed with other captives were severed. Separated from their homelands upon enslavement, the relationships they formed in the coffles, barracoons, and slave ships proved transitory. Costa Rican colonists often travelled personally to Panama to procure slaves and brought them back to the province by boat or overland, beginning unusually close relationships with their slaves as they navigated the ocean in small craft or drove their captives through dense forests populated by hostile Indians and wild animals. Although the experience did not necessarily reduce slaves to a "childlike dependence," their masters did come to

occupy a central place in their lives.⁵³ In contrast to plantation slave societies, on the small properties in Costa Rica, many slaves -- especially females -- lived in intimate contact with their masters and enjoyed only limited opportunities to interact with countrymen and shipmates. The fact of birth in Africa and the shared experience of the Middle Passage could not be entirely erased, however, and provided a basis for slaves to form new identities in Costa Rica[R22].

The Illegal Slave Trade

With the decline of legal commerce between Costa Rica and other Spanish colonies, smuggling linked the province to the wider world, including the Atlantic slave trade.⁵⁴ Unlike the legal slave trade, which virtually guaranteed that Africans arrived in Costa Rica only in small numbers, at least on occasion, Africans smuggled into the province arrived by the boatload. The illegal slave trade to Costa Rica accounted for a substantial number of the Africans imported to the province. Although the extent of the contraband trade will never be known with certainty, some historians have suggested that as many Africans entered Costa Rica illegally as legally.⁵⁵ But in a small society such as Costa Rica, the illegal arrival of a large shipment of Africans was unlikely to pass unnoticed. As one slavemistress accused of smuggling pointed out, “a slave is not an ornament that can be carried in the pocket.”⁵⁶ For the smuggling of Africans and other contraband merchandise to succeed, government officials had to collude in the trade. The illegal slave trade brought a political impact to Costa Rica far greater than the number of slaves

imported seemed to suggest. When the judges of the Audiencia of Guatemala heard rumors that colonists were smuggling Africans into the province to the south, they launched investigations that turned contraband trade into the most important political issue in early eighteenth-century Costa Rica. No fewer than three Costa Rican governors faced criminal charges for their disregard of imperial laws regulating the human traffic.

Although the proceedings of criminal prosecutions of smuggling provide invaluable documentation of the arrival of Africans in Costa Rica, Africans generally appear in these records only as objects. In these cases, the law considered them goods no different from clothing or iron tools. Representatives of the Spanish Crown intervened in the slave trade derived not from any concern for the well-being of Africans, but from their claim to tax the human commerce. High taxes encouraged slave traders to maximize their profits through smuggling. By the first decades of the seventeenth century, slave traders routinely arrived in Cartagena and Portobello in overcrowded ships carrying up to five times the number of Africans authorized by their licenses. The Crown cared little for the conditions in which Africans made the Middle Passage; their interest began only with the arrival of the captives and their eligibility for taxation as merchandise. Functionaries at the ports readily accepted bribes to overlook the egregious discrepancies between the declared and actual numbers of Africans imported, and waive the various duties owed to the Crown.⁵⁷ No doubt on a limited scale, this custom occurred at Costa Rica's ports as well. For a few years in the mid-seventeenth century, the slave trade at La Caldera as well as Costa Rica's Atlantic port of the time, Punta Blanca, became brisk enough to attract the attention of royal officials. Costa Rica's treasurer Juan de Morales charged

that between 1639 and 1643, none of the buyers of Africans from Panama City, Portobello, or Cartagena had paid the obligatory sales taxes (*alcabalas*) they owed.⁵⁸ Unfortunately, Morales gave no indication of the volume of the trade, but illegal slave importations continued intermittently throughout the century. Later in the seventeenth century, there is some suggestion that Asiento slave ships made unauthorized stops in Costa Rica. In 1674, the Queen Regent issued a *cédula* referring to the illegal importation of Africans to Costa Rica, warning the governor to prosecute any further incidents.⁵⁹

Like slaves purchased from the Asiento, many of the Africans who arrived in Costa Rica illegally came by way of the Isthmus of Panama. The profits of the contraband slave trade attracted opportunists from every sector of Panamanian society, including wealthy Spaniards, free colored soldiers, mulato fishermen, Indian *caciques*, and even slaves. Low-level military men and royal officials stationed in the Isthmus often participated, taking advantage of their access and connections for quick gain. But despite its notorious pervasiveness, the illegal slave trade carried extraordinary risks. Commerce with enemies of Spain was a capital offense, and relied on fragile, ad hoc networks of self-interested and disreputable individuals. Any one of the collaborators might derail a planned voyage or denounce other accomplices to save his own skin.

An example from the turn of the eighteenth century, the height of the illegal slave trade to Costa Rica, illustrates how Panamanian smugglers assembled slave cargoes for export, as well as some of the complexities and dangers involved in the illegal slave trade of Panama. In 1701, Bernabé Correa, a mulato chocolatier originally from Seville,

formed a partnership with Spaniard don Francisco de los Ríos for what was, according to him, a one-time venture into the illegal slave trade involving a shipment of about twenty-five Africans to a small island off the coast of Panama City. An outlaw who had escaped from jail and was now availing himself of the sanctuary in Panama City's Franciscan convent, Ríos supplied the capital. Correa assumed the risks: buying the slaves, transporting them across the Isthmus, hiding them from authorities, and arranging for their shipment out of Panama.⁶⁰_[R23]

With 1,300 pesos from Ríos and perhaps some other Spanish investors, Correa set out for Portobello, where he began to inquire about purchasing Africans illegally. For a price, two Spanish soldiers took Correa by night to Sabanilla, where a Jamaican slaver lay anchored off the coast. Correa boarded the ship and contracted with its captain, "Rollizo," a renegade Canary Islander, to buy ten West Central Africans (*congos*) for just 145 pesos each.⁶¹ Having learned of the plan, another soldier and a corporal (*cabo*) arranged for Correa to sell two more *congos* for them. After paying off the sentries at El Cascajal and Boquerón, Correa drove the twelve Africans across the isthmus to Panama City with the help of a black creole, Valentín. There he kept them briefly in his house in the El Arrabal neighborhood. Correa_[R25] tried to sell the blacks in Panama City, but could find no buyers because they were all *congos*. At the turn of the eighteenth century, Spanish American masters believed West Central Africans to be lazy and prone to flight; even the Council of the Indies in Madrid knew that they purchased *congos* "only in the last resort."⁶²

Learning of Correa's predicament, Spanish sailor Sebastián de Soto offered to help him hide the blacks and get them out of Panama if Correa would buy five more Africans that Soto had hidden on the small offshore island of Taboga. With Ríos's approval, Correa bought the blacks – more expensive *minas* and *araraes* from the Slave Coast and possibly the Gold Coast -- for 250 pesos each. Panamanian slave buyers of the time believed that *minas* were healthier, easier to control (“*de mejor ley*”), and harder workers than other Africans, and they were willing to pay more than them.⁶³ Soto had apparently obtained these captives from Juanillo, a black slave who had “stolen” them from the Asiento. Correa then paid eighty pesos to a mulato fisherman, Miguel, to ferry him to Taboga with Soto and the twelve *congos*, where Soto entrusted a one-armed associate, the mulato *Alférez* Miguel de Campos, to guard them with the *minas* and *araraes*.⁶⁴ In the following weeks, Correa and another accomplice, Miguel de la Cunsa, a forbidding zambo who customarily went about “loaded with pistols” and knives, made a number of trips to the island to deliver loads of plantains and coconuts to feed the Africans.⁶⁵ When Correa learned that Sergeant Major don Dionisio de Artunduaga and the Royal Treasurer planned a visit to Taboga, he narrowly avoided detection by sending Soto to the island to hide the blacks in the forest.⁶⁶

With 2,400 pesos more of Ríos's money, Correa next set out to buy more Africans to round out the planned shipment. Like Portobello, Panama City harbored abundant contrabandists offering captives for sale, although prices on the Pacific coast tended to be higher than in the Atlantic port. On the main street of his own neighborhood, Correa found that an *Alférez* Mérida had three blacks for sale, and bought two *araraes* and a

Jamaican creole from him for 240 pesos each – yet another example of captives being thrown together with enslaved people of other origins.⁶⁷ Next, he bought three boys and a girl from Sergeant Major Miguel de Angulo for a total of 600 pesos.⁶⁸ From Gregorio Segundo, a black man, and Faustino, a Spaniard from Cádiz, Correa purchased four Africans at 245 pesos each on Malambro Street. Correa learned then or later that these blacks, too, had been stolen from the Asiento. After first taking them to Taboga, Correa moved the twenty-five Africans to Otoque, another small island where the Indian governor Diego Felipe allowed him to hide the blacks in a plantain field on the south side of the island, within sight of the coast.⁶⁹

Correa and Ríos hit upon another plan to increase the value of the Africans they planned to sell and at the same time reduce their chances of detection, but they needed an artisan's cooperation to carry it off. José Carranza, an impoverished mulato silversmith, had fallen behind on the rent of the house where he lived and worked facing the Plazuela de Santa Ana. All of his belongings, including the tools of his silver shop, were about to be auctioned off to pay his debts when Bernabé Correa, happening by, remarked to Carranza what a shame it was that he had to lose his livelihood. Correa knew a way out of his troubles, he said, if Carranza would agree to a "little job" in his capacity as silversmith.⁷⁰ That night, Correa appeared at Carranza's door with don Francisco de los Ríos, who had slipped out of the convent for the occasion. The Spaniard promised to convince Carranza's landlord to erase his debts – "even if he doesn't want to, we'll make him do it," Ríos promised -- if Carranza would make him two counterfeit silver brands for marking slaves.⁷¹ According to Carranza, he begged off, saying he "didn't want to

get mixed up in it,” but Ríos reminded him of his long reach. The next morning Carranza received a note from his landlord, who promised to forgive his debts and speak with the authorities to return his silverworking tools. Later that day, a messenger brought Carranza a paper showing a crown and two joined letters – the design of the brand that Ríos wanted Carranza to forge. Carranza still refused, in his version of events, tearing up the paper.⁷² When positive incentives failed, Ríos visited Carranza again that night and told him that he would “break his head for him” if he persisted in his refusal to make the brands. Although he always denied it, Carranza must have finally acquiesced.⁷³

Deep in the forest of Otoque where their screams could not be heard, Correa gripped each of the Africans while Soto branded them, “because he knew where to put the marks.”⁷⁴ Some nights later, Correa waited in the forest when a ship hugging the coastline flashed a light as a signal. Then he took the blacks down to the beach where he loaded them onto the *San Francisco de Asís*.⁷⁵ Although Correa had purchased all the blacks in about a week, it took two more for him to arrange their shipment to Peru.⁷⁶ During that time, Soto proved an untrustworthy accomplice. He took four of the blacks from Taboga to Cerro de Cabra^[RL26], where he had arranged to sell them on his own account, but the Africans escaped. Correa recovered three of the Africans, but one eluded him, was recaptured, and managed to tell authorities the story of where he had been held.⁷⁷ In 1701, Bernabé Antonio de Correa was arrested for his principal role in buying and selling blacks stolen from the Royal Asiento. Sebastián de Soto and José de Carranza gave evidence against him, and on 11 August 1702, Correa was executed at La Sabana in Panama City.⁷⁸

Costa Rica's connections to the illegal slave trade of Panama ran deep, and several prominent residents had incidental ties to the Correa case. Initially Bernabé Antonio de Correa accused don Miguel del Ollo y Echavarría of cooperating in his smuggling venture. Ollo y Echavarría's son-in-law, don Diego de la Haya Fernández, served as his defense advocate. Years later, de la Haya became Costa Rica's governor and presided over the largest investigation of the illegal slave trade in the province's history. Don Miguel's uncle, don José de Ollo y Echavarría, became Lieutenant Governor of Esparza, and was appointed by de la Haya to investigate illegal slave imports in the North Pacific region.⁷⁹ José Carranza later moved to Cartago, where he resumed his career as a silversmith and became the owner of several slaves. A few years after his death in 1716, Carranza's widow Ana Micaela Calvo was prosecuted for owning an illegally imported African woman.⁸⁰

By the first decade of the eighteenth century, the smuggling of Africans and other contraband items to Costa Rica's Atlantic Matina coast was an open secret in which the highest provincial officials commonly colluded. The best-documented period of smuggling occurred under Governor don Francisco Serrano de Reyna, who assumed the post in 1695 and held it until he was removed from office in 1704. Trading with smugglers in Matina was so common during his tenure that some claimed not to know it was illegal. Muleteer Severino de Aguilar said in 1703 that he "did not know for certain" whether trading with foreign smugglers was prohibited, because he was "a creole of this land." Aguilar declared that he had bought goods from contrabandists only because "His

Honor the governor of this province has given permission.”⁸¹ Mulato soldier Adjutant Luis de Salazar asserted that three ships had arrived in Matina in 1700, all manned by “pirate corsairs,” including one captained by a man known as “the Greek.” The smugglers set up booths on the beach for weeks at a time, openly selling their wares “as in public shops.” On one occasion that year, Salazar had seen more than thirty Africans at the port of Matina. According to Salazar, Governor Serrano de Reyna allowed the illegal trade to continue in exchange for a 20 percent cut of the value of the items purchased.⁸² Others said that Serrano de Reyna imposed a flat rate of twenty-five pesos on each African smuggled in. Not always content with kickbacks, the governor had sometimes extorted the twenty-five pesos and seized the Africans anyway.⁸³ Furthermore, the governor appropriated smuggled Africans himself. Years later, Pedro Arburola, a *congo*, who had arrived with “the Greek” in 1700, recalled that when he had arrived in Costa Rica, he was first held in the governor’s home in Cartago.⁸⁴ Serrano de Reyna sometimes received the Africans directly, at others resorted to middlemen to “launder” purchases of slaves on his behalf. On Serrano de Reyna’s instructions, for example, Captain don Antonio de la Vega Cabral approached Cartago’s vicar Father don Francisco de Salazar and asked him to buy three slaves on his behalf at auction. Only one of the Africans was for Vega Cabral -- the others were for the governor’s son don Francisco Bruno and his mulato henchman, the Adjutant Lázaro de Robles.⁸⁵

A number of the Africans brought to Matina by “the Greek” remained in Costa Rica twenty years later. Their statements in 1719 and 1720 provide a rare opportunity to investigate the origins of Africans imported illegally to Costa Rica. Like those brought

legally, smuggled Africans came from diverse origins. Pedro Mina, perhaps forty years old in 1720 and a native of the Gold Coast or Upper Slave Coast, asserted that he had been brought from “Guinea” to Jamaica in the same ship as Magdalena, also a *mina*, and Manuel, identified by his master as a *congo*. From Jamaica, the three were brought with many others in an English ship to Matina.⁸⁶ A majority of the Africans who arrived on the ship captained by “the Greek” came originally from West Central Africa. The British planters of Barbados and Jamaica disdained West Central Africans, invariably called *angolas* by British slavers and believed to be lazy and prone to flight. As a result, most were re-exported to Spanish America, where they almost as invariably became known as *congos*.⁸⁷ Despite this umbrella label, the West Central Africans brought by “the Greek” claimed several different ethnic origins. For example, María, although called a *congo* in a 1708 bill of sale, identified herself as “María Angola.”⁸⁸ Similarly, Felipe Cubero, who claimed the *casta congo* as his own, was identified as a *fulupo* when sold in 1711.⁸⁹ Luisa, called by her mistress a *loango*, claimed she did “not know” her *casta* in 1719, but was very likely born in West Central Africa as well.⁹⁰ José Cubero and Antonio de Rosas declared their *casta* as *yaga*, another West Central African group.⁹¹_[RL27] A minority of the captives who arrived with “the Greek” were West Africans. Just as the planters of the British Caribbean rejected West Central Africans as undesirable, they prized natives of the Gold and Slave Coasts. Relatively few, therefore, were sold to Spanish America.⁹² A few of those who were included the *minas* José de Moya and Magdalena, from the Gold Coast or Upper Slave Coast, and the *arará* Luis, from the Slave Coast.⁹³

Two years later, another illegal shipment of slaves arrived in Costa Rica in a bizarre episode. Fray Francisco de San José, a Franciscan friar, had determined to build a mission to the Indians of Talamanca. As a means of raising funds, he decided to enter the slave trading business on a one-time-only basis. In March 1702, the friar sailed to Portobello, where he arranged with ship's captain Andrés de Verroterán for the delivery of about two dozen Africans to Moín on Costa Rica's Matina coast later that year. The friar reasoned that just as the governors of Cartagena and Portobello had purchased African slaves to repair military fortifications, so he was justified in buying slaves, even from foreigners, for so holy an enterprise as building a mission.⁹⁴ Verroterán arrived with two sloops (*balandras*) at Moín in June 1702, reportedly from Jamaica, and turned over the Africans (about whom no ethnic information was recorded) to Fray Francisco. Claiming to have royal authorization for the importation and sale of the Africans, the friar issued a proclamation warning secular officials not to obstruct his plans.⁹⁵ Fray Francisco took the Africans to the cacao hacienda "Madre de Dios," then set about soliciting contributions from the neighbors to pay for the captives.⁹⁶ It took nearly a month for the friar to assemble the cacao, during which time Verroterán remained unmolested in port at Moín, waiting for payment.⁹⁷ With each *zurrón* (a 214-lb./97 kg leather bag) of cacao worth twenty-five pesos, Severino de Aguilar and his nephew, Hipólito de Trejos, needed eight days to haul the cacao to the sloops with their seven mules.⁹⁸

Fray Francisco immediately began distributing the sixteen Africans. After giving an African boy to one Alvaro the Carpenter in remuneration for shipbuilding work, the friar

held an impromptu slave auction. Don Juan Martel, owner of a cacao hacienda in the Barbilla Valley, purchased an African man and woman for 450 pesos. Nine black men and women went to Manuel Pacheco's cacao hacienda. Fray Francisco or his associates also apparently concealed three African boys in a makeshift hut near their encampment. One young black woman escaped, although only briefly; she was soon recaptured in the bush near the Matina River.⁹⁹

Governor don Francisco Serrano de Reyna had other plans for the Africans. He rejected Fray Francisco's claim that superior authorities had authorized the slave purchase, reasoning that "His Majesty (may God keep him) never gives such orders to religious missionaries."¹⁰⁰ The governor issued an order to his protégé Adjutant Lázaro de Robles to go with four other mulato soldiers to establish a checkpoint at the Indian pueblo of Turrialba. Serrano de Reyna stationed other soldiers at the pueblo of Tucurrique, thus covering both approaches to Cartago. Robles's commission specified that he was to search all travellers, seize all contraband goods, arrest the offenders, and send them to Cartago for prosecution.¹⁰¹ Verbally, however, Serrano de Reyna told Robles to target certain individuals for arrest and let others pass.¹⁰² Domingo Guerrero and three other mulato soldiers manned the station, where they seized one African boy from Blas Suárez and another from "Francisco the Carpenter." Captain don Antonio de Soto y Barahona, on the other hand, was allowed to continue unmolested to Cartago carrying a little black girl in his mule train.¹⁰³ Mestizo soldier Juan Ramón de la Cruz went to Cartago where he turned over one of the African boys and the bulk of the confiscated textiles to the waiting governor.¹⁰⁴

The mulato soldiers resented working for the governor's profit while they derived little benefit for themselves. Serrano de Reyna promised the soldiers that they could keep part of the goods they seized, but Adjutant Luis de Salazar waited near Tucurrique for weeks without confiscating anything. Although Lázaro de Robles paid the men with a few yards of cloth, they complained bitterly of "the little" they received for their time. Salazar had suffered a "very great loss." Having left his fields unattended to man the station, when he returned home he found that grazing cattle had destroyed them.¹⁰⁵

False documents formed the stock-in-trade of corrupt officials like Serrano de Reyna. In 1702 the governor compiled records of investigations he supposedly conducted into the illegal commerce. Serrano de Reyna claimed to have searched various homes in Cartago, and sent his lieutenants to the haciendas of Matina to do the same. According to the record of the investigation, the officials "found nothing involving the smuggling of any black."¹⁰⁶ A string of witnesses declared that they "did not know nor had news that such blacks are bought in the Matina Valley."¹⁰⁷ Marcos Hernández, a soldier stationed in Matina, said that while stationed in a watchtower on the coast he had never seen "any resident of Matina buy any black or other article of clothing [sic]."¹⁰⁸ As Lázaro de Robles later explained, Serrano de Reyna fabricated the proceedings to "hide [the fact] that the said governor had known everything that had happened." The governor "allowed the commerce, and [only] pretended to proceed against those who" participated in it, Robles said.¹⁰⁹ Father don Manuel José González Coronel confirmed that the smuggling "could not have occurred" without the complicity of Serrano de Reyna.¹¹⁰

Subsequent governors enthusiastically participated in the illegal slave trade, adopting the local customs established by their predecessors. In 1713, the Audiencia of Guatemala appointed Sergeant Major don José Antonio de Lacayo Briones of Granada, Nicaragua as Governor of Costa Rica.¹¹¹ Contraband thrived during his tenure; Captain Juan Gómez de Ocón y Trillo alleged that “there has not been a year in which there was not” illegal commerce in Matina since Lacayo Briones assumed the governorship.¹¹² Francisco Alejandro Bonilla said that “a number of times (*repetidas veces*)” Englishmen from Jamaica had come in ships “loaded with clothing and blacks” to conduct a trade “fair” on the beaches of Matina.¹¹³ Like Serrano de Reyna, Lacayo Briones demanded kickbacks on the illegal trade, generally imposing a tax of twenty *reales* for each *zurrón* of cacao traded to foreign ships. Again like Serrano de Reyna, he favored mulatto militia officers as his accomplices. Adjutant José de Chavarría of the pardo militia routinely travelled to Matina to oversee the commerce and collect Lacayo’s cut, which he sometimes accepted in trade such as clothing.¹¹⁴

Lacayo Briones preferred to be paid in African slaves, however, and like Serrano de Reyna devised elaborate schemes to appropriate them. The same year Lacayo Briones assumed office, Captain don Juan de Ibarra y Calvo, already an experienced slave smuggler, welcomed him with a gift of a thirteen-year-old boy from the Upper Slave Coast. Drawing on a network of clients and cronies, Lacayo orchestrated an intricate ruse to conceal the bribe, leaving a spurious paper trail like his predecessor. First he confiscated the boy and had his protégé, pardo militia captain Blas de Ancheta, purchase him at auction for 200 pesos. Ancheta then sold the boy, Juan of *casta popo*, for the

same price to don Diego de Barros y Carvajal on behalf of the latter's cousin, the Licentiate don José Velazco Jiménez de Luna, Sacristan of the Cathedral of Granada. Barros then remitted Juan to the clergyman in Nicaragua to keep him until Lacayo Briones returned to his home in Granada. Whether the sales actually occurred is uncertain; Captain José de Chavarría referred to them as a ruse. There is no doubt, however, that in 1719 Juan was serving don José Lacayo de Briones as a page in his Granada home.¹¹⁵

On another occasion in late 1716, Captain José Felipe Bermúdez and don Dionisio Salmón Pacheco bought three Africans from an English sloop. On their way back to Cartago with the Africans, they found Lacayo Briones waiting in the Pueblo of Ujarrás. Bermúdez turned over two of the Africans to the governor, who allowed him to continue without incident to Cartago with several bags full of imported cloth. Unwilling to allow Lacayo Briones to confiscate his illegal property, Salmón Pacheco managed to hide the third African. In Cartago, Lacayo Briones discovered the trick and demanded that Salmón Pacheco surrender the captive. When Salmón Pacheco refused, the governor threw him in jail. There the prisoner gave a statement implicating the governor. After a few days, Lacayo sent the Guardian of the Franciscan Convent on an errand to Salmón Pacheco. Speaking to him through a barred window, the friar urged Salmón Pacheco to recant the statement and say he had found the African while hunting turtle on the beaches of Moín. If Salmón Pacheco surrendered the African to Lacayo Briones, the governor would confiscate the boy in the name of the Crown and allow Salmón Pacheco to purchase the African at auction at a bargain price. Salmón Pacheco gave a second, made-

to-order statement and was immediately released.¹¹⁶ Colonists pressured into admitting their involvement in contraband trade invariably claimed they had been terrified into silence by a corrupt governor. According to Captain Juan Cayetano Jiménez, Lacayo Briones inspired such fear that “there was not a man who dared to speak [of him] except in his favor.”¹¹⁷

While the illegal arrivals of ships such as “the Greek’s” in 1700 and Verroterán’s in 1702 were exposed by the Audiencia of Guatemala and consequently well-documented, other ships and boats carrying African slaves came and went, leaving only traces in the documentary record. Much like those imported legally, most such Africans arrived in small numbers. Catalina, a West Central African of *casta loango*, had been purchased in Portobello by Fray Agustín Valerino, who brought her by boat to Matina and then sold her to his sister in Cartago.¹¹⁸ In 1706, Captain don Antonio de Soto y Barahona gave don Lorenzo de Arburola y Ribarén money to go to Portobello and buy him an enslaved man trained as a stonemason. Arburola returned with Jacobo, a middle-aged *mandinga* artisan who had previously lived in Martinique.¹¹⁹ Isabel, an enslaved African woman about fifty years old in 1719, had arrived in Costa Rica many years before. “Her master, José de Aguilar, brought her,” she recalled, “but she did not know from where, because it was night when he was walking with her” secretly on the road to the Central Valley.¹²⁰ Although the best-documented cases of illegal slave imports derive from the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, the contraband trade continued to bring a few Africans to Costa Rica well into the eighteenth century. In 1739, Spanish Captain don

Pedro Ricardo de Andrade captured a foreign sloop on the Matina coast and confiscated a single African man from the ship.¹²¹

Although scholars have long recognized that contraband trade furnished a lifeline to colonial Central American colonists at a time of severe economic depression, most have failed to devote adequate attention to the crucial impact of the illicit slave trade, especially at the local level, even in peripheral areas of the Spanish Empire.¹²² With only one legal market for cacao, their only viable export, impoverished Costa Rican colonists turned to extensive trade with foreign smugglers. Africans were the single most valuable “item” they acquired, representing both labor and capital that planters reinvested in the cacao economy. Responsible for regulating commerce, colonial officials occupied positions ideally suited to profit from the illicit imports. They both accepted bribes to ignore illegal trading in slaves and appropriated contraband Africans for themselves and their cronies. Investigations of the illegal slave in the peripheral province of Costa Rica drew the attention of the Audiencia of Guatemala, the Royal Asiento of Panama, and ultimately the Council of the Indies. A 1674 royal *cédula* directed against small-scale illegal commerce in Costa Rica, a remote province that can hardly be considered of more than negligible import to the Royal Treasury, suggests a Habsburg monarchy more active in colonial economic affairs than has previously been appreciated. Similarly, investigations launched in 1703 and 1719 indicate far-reaching Bourbon efforts at commercial and fiscal reform early in the eighteenth century. Although it certainly represented just one aspect of the more widespread problem of contraband trade, in absolute terms, the smuggling of slaves implied much greater losses of revenue to the

Crown than trade in such goods such as textiles or iron. It was the illegal slave trade and no other that led to indictments at the highest political levels in Costa Rica. All three of the first governors of the eighteenth century -- don Francisco Serrano de Reyna (1693-1704), don Lorenzo Antonio de la Granda y Balvín (1703-1712), and don José Antonio Lacayo de Briones (1712-1717) – faced charges related to the illegal slave trade and all three re-exported slaves outside the province, extending the ramifications of the illegal Costa Rican slave trade far beyond its borders.

In addition to those imported by the Asiento or by smugglers, in the early eighteenth century, hundreds of Africans arrived in Costa Rica by accident. On at least two occasions, ships carrying Africans elsewhere were forced by storm or other mishap to Costa Rican shores. More than fifty Africans arrived in La Caldera on the *Nuestra Señora de la Soledad* in 1700. Royal officials recorded the *castas* of thirty-six of these men and women: thirty were West Central Africans of *casta congo*, three were *carabalíes* from the Bight of Biafra, one was a *mina* from the Gold Coast, and one *arará* and one *popo* were from the Slave Coast.¹²³ In a province where Africans usually trickled in by ones, twos, and threes, both whites and blacks recalled these memorable occasions for decades afterward. More importantly, these incidents contributed to a “re-Africanization” of Costa Rica’s enslaved population. While the Africans of earlier generations arrived alone or in small groups and were quickly absorbed into the heterogeneous community of slaves and servants, these infusions made possible the formation of African-based identities.¹²⁴ In addition, these forced immigrants became the

objects of controversies that impacted all levels of Costa Rican society. As the newly arrived Africans changed the face of the slave community, their masters concealed and falsified their origins to avoid paying import taxes. Willingly or unwillingly, people from all social and racial groups of Costa Rican society joined in the cover-up. Provincial governors, titled Spanish ladies, mestizo muleteers, pueblo Indians, and slaves gave testimony in the investigations that eventually brought down a Costa Rican governor and resulted in charges against two more.

In October 1700, a ship arrived unexpectedly at Costa Rica's Pacific port of La Caldera, near Esparza.¹²⁵ According to its captain, the *Nuestra Señora de la Soledad y Santa Isabel* had been bound from Panama City's port of Perico to Paita, Peru, when a storm forced it north to Costa Rica. Inspecting the ship's papers, Esparza's lieutenant governor don Gregorio Caamaño found that the captain had no license to transport merchandise.¹²⁶ In the middle of the night, an anonymous member of the ship's crew came to Caamaño's home and notified him that the ship had arrived with an illegal cargo. Although the *Nuestra Señora* carried a bill of lading for some of the merchandise it was taking to Peru, the informant had seen a number of African captives secretly loaded aboard at a small island off the coast of Panama City: certainly a plausible story. The ship's captain had now disembarked them at a hiding-place near La Caldera, planning to sell the blacks illegally in Costa Rica.¹²⁷ Questioned later, boatswain Felipe de la Cruz confirmed that the captain had illegally loaded many of the Africans on the ship in order to avoid paying duties to the Crown.¹²⁸ Following up on the tip, Caamaño and Juan Antonio Bogarín, Lieutenant of Royal Officials in Esparza, went down to the coast and

found forty-one Africans hidden in the bush near the port. In addition to the Africans, the *Nuestra Señora* carried a wide array of imported goods including several varieties of luxurious cloth, leather, shotguns, a copper kettle, and ship's anchors. Caamaño and Bogarín confiscated the Africans and merchandise in the name of His Majesty, and over the next five months, sold the blacks at public auctions in Esparza.¹²⁹ In March 1701, Caamaño and Bogarín divided the proceeds of the sales to date into thirds according to their understanding of imperial law, designating a total of 2,809 pesos for the Crown and equal amounts for themselves, as the presiding judges of the case, and for the anonymous informant. They remitted the Crown's share to Governor don Francisco de Reyna Serrano in Cartago.¹³⁰

That was the story Caamaño and Bogarín recorded in the official proceedings relating to the confiscation of the cargo of the *Nuestra Señora*, compiled more than two months after the events described. A few years later, Bogarín confessed that the account had been fabricated to cover his own misconduct, that of Lieutenant Governor Caamaño, and that of Governor Serrano de Reyna. Bogarín claimed that he had been persuaded to sign the false documents when Caamaño began "threatening him that he would have to cut off his head if he did not do it."¹³¹ As Bogarín later related, the frigate arrived at La Caldera during a storm, taking in water and badly damaged. Although smugglers often claimed necessity as a pretext to enter Spanish ports for illegal trade, in this case the ship faced real danger.¹³² Upon hearing of the *Nuestra Señora*'s arrival, Caamaño summoned some mulatto soldiers and went to the port to investigate. Looking over the cargo, Caamaño immediately perceived the potential for profit afforded by the emergency. According to

Fernando de la Torre, owner of the *Nuestra Señora*, the Africans and other merchandise it carried would have sold for 30,000 pesos in Panama and up to 80,000 pesos in Peru. Inspecting the ship's license, Caamaño found some irregularities and confiscated the blacks it carried, removing them from the port to Esparza. The owners of the ship and merchandise pleaded with Caamaño to return the Africans, offering him a bribe of 1,500 pesos to reconsider. A lengthy round of negotiations ensued, Caamaño finally accepting 3,000 pesos' worth of clothing and returning the Africans to the ship.¹³³

Most of them, anyway. Although the official records Caamaño and Bogarín wrote referred to forty-one blacks, in reality the *Nuestra Señora* had brought fifty-four. According to one of the Peruvian owners of the Africans, the human cargo was worth more than 13,000 pesos.¹³⁴ Around midnight, Caamaño sent "twelve blacks, the best of the batch" to don José de la Haya Bolívar's estancia in the Valley of Landecho, about six to seven leagues (33 to 39 km/21 to 24 miles) from Esparza.¹³⁵ Caamaño sent two more Africans to Governor don Francisco Serrano de Reyna in Cartago – the cost of doing illegal business. When Captain Francisco de los Reyes asked about the expensive payoff, Caamaño replied, "Friend, I am not doing anything by giving a wing to someone who has given me a [whole] chicken."¹³⁶ And Caamaño had already decided to profit even more from the shipment. "That money has to stay among us and in the province," he confided to Reyes.¹³⁷

Notwithstanding the bribe he had accepted, Caamaño confiscated the cargo of Africans and merchandise. He then proceeded to stage a series of auctions at which he enlisted proxies to buy slaves on his own behalf and for his partner, Governor Serrano de

Reyna. Bogus records of the auctions described the Africans as sickly children, but their purchasers later admitted that most were healthy young men and women. Caamaño and Serrano de Reyna exaggerated the illnesses of the Africans in the proceedings to justify the rock-bottom prices for which they sold. Africans worth up to 400 pesos sold for a quarter of their value, while Serrano de Reyna protested to his superiors that the captives were “so broken-down (*estropeados*) and sick that not even in Panama could they have sold for more.”¹³⁸ Alberto Pérez de Parga, for example, purchased six young black men and women for 650 pesos. They were described in the documents as eight to nine years old, “very thin and full of sores, four of them with bursting ulcers (*bubas reventadas*) all over their bodies.”¹³⁹ In reality, Bogarín later said, the Africans “were neither boys and girls (*muleques*), nor were they sick, but rather full-grown and well-made blacks (*negros hechos y buenos*).” Pérez’s name was listed on the sale, but the end buyer was don Gregorio Caamaño.¹⁴⁰ Don José de Casasola y Córdoba later admitted that the *congo* boys and girls he had purchased in December 1700 had not been for himself, but for Governor Serrano de Reyna. All had been healthy, and not sick and maltreated, as the documents claimed.¹⁴¹ Serrano de Reyna had ordered public notary José de Prado to purchase two young black men and a woman on his behalf, paid him through an intermediary, and later remitted the Africans to an associate in Guatemala City. Only two of the sales were recorded in the proceedings.¹⁴² Caamaño noted a payment to the anonymous informer who had alerted him to the smuggling in the official records, but in reality no such person existed and he and Bogarín pocketed the nearly three thousand pesos themselves.¹⁴³

Suspensions about how Costa Rica's governor and his lieutenant in Esparza had handled the seizure of the *Nuestra Señora* spread beyond the province within a few weeks of the ship's arrival. In January 1701 the governor of Nicaragua penned a letter to the Audiencia about the incident that piqued the judges' curiosity.¹⁴⁴ One of them, the Licentiate don Francisco de Carmona, went to Costa Rica to investigate. His findings ultimately put an end to Serrano de Reyna's career of profiteering. As Carmona uncovered more and more evidence of malfeasance, the President and Oidores of the Audiencia ordered Caamaño to repay the 8,405 pesos and 4 reales earned from the auction of the Africans and other merchandise confiscated from the *Nuestra Señora* to the Royal Treasury in August 1701.¹⁴⁵ In response, Caamaño packed up his belongings and fled the province. Governor Serrano de Reyna had countenanced Caamaño's hasty departure, citing what Carmona called "frivolous pretexts."¹⁴⁶ The President of the Audiencia agreed and in January 1702 ordered Serrano de Reyna to repay the proceeds from the sales.¹⁴⁷

Serrano de Reyna dodged responsibility for months, but in 1704 Carmona arrested the governor, confiscated his property, and put him in the Cartago jail. After making a statement, Serrano de Reyna was taken under guard to Guatemala City. Once there, however, he slipped away from his captors and took refuge in the city's Augustinian convent. Initially, the Audiencia meted out a stern punishment. In September 1705, the President and Oidores of the Audiencia condemned Serrano de Reyna in absentia to be perpetually barred from political, military, and administrative office; to two terms of service at the military fortress in Ceuta, North Africa; to a fine of 6,000 pesos; and to

repay 1,217 pesos he had received for his role in prosecuting cases of smuggling.¹⁴⁸ But a year later they relented, removing Serrano de Reyna's disqualification from service and commuting his fine to 3,000 pesos.¹⁴⁹ His career in colonial administration was finished, however, and the disgraced governor returned to Spain in 1709.¹⁵⁰

Early in his investigation, Carmona had complained of the obstacles he faced in a letter to the President of the Audiencia. On learning of his presence in the province, "all" Cartago slaveholders had taken their slaves out of the city and "hidden" them. "Nobles and plebeians" alike participated in the illegal slave trade; Carmona believed in the Costa Ricans' "almost universal guilt." Witnesses were reluctant to speak with him because of "the fear they generally have of [Serrano de Reyna] in the province." Carmona was certain that the governor "has made threats."¹⁵¹ Adjutant Lázaro de Robles, for example, who executed many of the governor's illegal directives, told Carmona that he was "so terrorized that he would have left the country and gone to another province had he not found himself with family obligations" in Costa Rica.¹⁵² It might ultimately be possible to locate the Africans and prosecute their owners, Carmona believed, but investigation of trade in contraband merchandise was bound to fail because most purchases were of small items that left no paper trail.¹⁵³ As for Fray San José, Carmona believed no good could come of prosecuting him; although his "means were always in error," the friar's intentions were irreproachable. For risking his life in establishing a mission to the Talamancas, Carmona believed that San José's "greatness will always keep him in good credit."¹⁵⁴ In fact, colonists apparently continued to trade with foreign ships at Moín, like Fray San José insisting that they purchased goods to fund the construction of a mission.

Governor don Diego de Herrera Campuzano, appointed after Serrano de Reyna's removal, issued an order in 1704 reiterating that colonists could not trade with foreign ships "even under the ill-founded pretext of the mission, which is the one they customarily use" to justify the illegal purchases.¹⁵⁵ In light of the difficulties of prosecuting smugglers, Carmona proposed that the Audiencia issue a pardon (*indulto*) to offenders upon payment of a fine to the Crown. The President and Oidores firmly rejected this suggestion.¹⁵⁶ Although he capably prosecuted Serrano de Reyna's corruption, Carmona soon turned around and indulged in it himself. Ignoring the Audiencia's decree, Carmona offered the pardons on his own initiative, ultimately pocketing more than 4,000 pesos from Cartago slaveowners. The ultimate fate of the money remained a mystery.¹⁵⁷ In the end, the profits deriving from the illegal slave trade lured an otherwise diligent investigator from the Audiencia to look the other way.

"Carabelas": Shipmates

Patterns in the trans-Atlantic slave trade as a whole as well as the piecemeal nature of the trade to Central America contributed to the ethnic heterogeneity of Costa Rica's African population. Africans were re-divided and resold at each slaving port, each time increasing the likelihood that they would be separated from people of similar origins. By the time they reached Costa Rica, most African men and women – especially those imported legally -- had been sold and re-sold a number of times. Chances for contact with people of similar background diminished at every stage. Most African men and

women who had been purchased through legal channels arrived in Costa Rica alone. In contrast to areas with more regular access to the slave trade, only exceptionally did Africans arrive in Costa Rica with countrymen, even in small groups. Initially, they understood their new experiences in their own cultural terms, but to communicate with their fellow captives, they immediately had to translate their needs, thoughts, and emotions into new meanings that could be shared by others.

Identification with specific African ethnicities might fade, but the fact of birth in Africa and relationships formed in the course of the Middle Passage and “seasoning” remained important. In a classic essay, anthropologists Sidney Mintz and Richard Price argued that relationships between shipmates emerged as some of the earliest and most enduring institutions among enslaved Africans.¹⁵⁸ After years or even decades in slavery in Costa Rica, Africans typically knew the whereabouts of their shipmates, whom they called *carabelas* (“caravels”), despite separation by time and distance.¹⁵⁹ In Costa Rica, a colony where the arrival of a shipload of Africans constituted a memorable occasion and slaveholdings were limited, the shipmate bond transcended boundaries of estate and ethnicity, and for Africans, meant a broader web of relationships than either of those groupings allowed. Stated bluntly, the Africans who arrived in Costa Rica in a single large shipment outnumbered those of any single ethnic or linguistic origin already in the colony. This did not mean, however, that the shipmate relationship simply supplanted African identities. If the shipmate bond could help Africans constitute new identities, it could also help them to maintain old ones. Shipmates and slaves on the same estate could help reinforce ethnic identity in those who had arrived too young to remember

Africa, and contribute to the formation of new “diasporic ethnicities” in Costa Rica.

Ultimately, the shipmate relationship served to bridge Old World and New World identities.

¹ Thomas Phillips, “A Journal of a Voyage Made in the *Hannibal* of London, 1693-1694,” in *A Collection of Voyages and Travels*, ed. Awnsham Churchill and John Churchill (London: By Assignment for Messrs. Churchill, 1732), 6:230-232; William Bosman, *A New and Accurate Description of the Coast of Guinea, Divided into the Gold, the Slave and the Ivory Coasts* (London: James Knapton, 1705; rpt. ed., London: Frank Cass, 1967), 399-400, 413; Georg Nørregård, “Forliset ved Nicaragua 1710,” *Årbog 1948* (Handels- og Søfartsmuseet på Kronborg, Helsingør, Denmark), 76; Clarence J. Munford, *The Black Ordeal of Slavery and Slave Trading in the French West Indies, 1625-1715* (3 vols. Lewiston, N.Y.: Edwin Mellen Press, 1991), 2:275, 277, 302.

² Erick Tilleman, *A Short and Simple Account of the Country Guinea and Its Nature*, trans. and ed. Selena Axelrod Winsnes (Madison, Wis.: African Studies Program, University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1994), 44; Phillips, “Journey of a Voyage,” 6:230-232; Bosman, *New and Accurate Description*, 399-400, 413; Nørregård, “Forliset ved Nicaragua,” 76.

³ Nørregård, “Forliset ved Nicaragua,” 76, 78.

⁴ Ibid., 78.

⁵ Ibid., 86-87.

⁶ Ibid., 78-79.

⁷ David Eltis, David Richardson, Stephen D. Behrendt, and Herbert S. Klein, eds., *The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade: A Database on CD-ROM* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999; hereafter *TSTD*).

⁸ Rina Cáceres, “Costa Rica, en la frontera del comercio de esclavos africanos,” *Reflexiones* (Facultad de Ciencias Sociales, Universidad de Costa Rica), no. 65 (Dec. 1997), 6-7.

⁹ Lutgardo García Fuentes, “Licencias para la introducción de esclavos en Indias y envíos desde Sevilla en el siglo XVI,” *Jahrbuch für Geschichte von Staat, Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft Lateinamerikas* 19 (1982): 1-46.

¹⁰ See Enriqueta Vila Vilar, *Hispanoamérica y el comercio de esclavos: Los asientos portugueses* (Seville: Escuela de Estudios Hispano-Americanos de Sevilla, 1977); Robin Blackburn, *The Making of New World Slavery: From the Baroque to the Modern, 1492-1800* (London: Verso, 1997), 140-141.

¹¹ Philip D. Morgan, “The Cultural Implications of the Atlantic Slave Trade: African Regional Origins, American Destinations and New World Developments,” *Slavery & Abolition* 18, no. 1 (April 1997), 133-134.

¹² Vila Vilar, *Hispanoamérica y el comercio de esclavos*.

¹³ Colin A. Palmer, *Slaves of the White God: Blacks in Mexico, 1570-1650* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1976), ch. 1; Frederick P. Bowser, *The African Slave in Colonial Peru, 1524-1650* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1974), chs. 2-3.

¹⁴ Murdo J. MacLeod, *Spanish Central America: A Socioeconomic History, 1520-1720* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973), 50; María del Carmen Mena García, *La sociedad de Panamá en el siglo XVI* (Seville: Artes Gráficas Padura, 1984), 160.

¹⁵ Vila Vilar, *Hispanoamérica y el comercio de esclavos*, 218-219; Marisa Vega Franco, *El tráfico de esclavos con América (Asientos de Grillo y Lomelin, 1663-1674)* (Seville: Escuela de Estudios Hispano-Americanos de Sevilla, 1984), 156, 185-188, 194-200. See also Arturo Guzmán Navarro, *La trata esclavista en el istmo de Panamá durante el siglo XVIII* (Panama: Editorial Universitaria, 1982).

¹⁶ Colin A. Palmer, *Human Cargoes: The British Slave Trade to Spanish America, 1700-1739* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1981), 110.

¹⁷ Vila Vilar, *Hispanoamérica y el comercio de esclavos*, 169.

¹⁸ See Tables 1-6 in Vila Vilar, *Hispanoamérica y el comercio de esclavos*, 240-278.

¹⁹ Johannes M. Postma, *The Dutch in the Atlantic Slave Trade, 1600-1815* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), ch. 2; Vega Franco, *Tráfico de esclavos*, 194-201; Real cédula, Madrid, 4 June 1706, AGI, Indiferente 2782; Palmer, *Human Cargoes*, 98-99; David Eltis, *The Rise of African Slavery in the Americas* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 207-209.

²⁰ Venta de siete esclavos, Portobello, 12 Oct. 1689, Archivo Nacional de Costa Rica, San José (hereafter ANCR), Protocolos Coloniales de Cartago (hereafter P.C.) 839, fols. 20v-21.

²¹ TSTD, unique id no. 75371; Gastos en Portobelo por el navío *Mercader de Dunwich*, Panama, 1716, Archivo General de Indias, Seville (hereafter AGI), Contaduría 267, leg.5; Colin A. Palmer, *Human Cargoes: The British Slave Trade to Spanish America, 1700-1739* (Urbana, Ill.: University of Illinois Press, 1981), 60.

²² For the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, see Frederick P. Bowser, *The African Slave in Colonial Peru, 1524-1650* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1974), 61-62.

²³ Gastos en Portobello por el navío *Mercader de Dunwich*, Panama, 1716, AGI, Contaduría 267, leg.5.

²⁴ Auto de los Jueces Oficiales de la Real Hacienda, Portobello, 10 June 1666, AGI, Contaduría 264A, ramo 33, fols. 22v-24; Testimonio de los enfermos, Portobello 10 June 1666, AGI, Contaduría 264A, ramo 33, fol. 24v (quoted); Tasación de las 110 piezas de esclavos, Panama, 20 June 1666, AGI, Contaduría 264A, ramo 33, fol. 27; Evaluación, Panama, 18 July 1666, AGI, Contaduría 264A, ramo 33, fol. 46v; Memoria de las medicinas que deben los Señores Factores don Agustín Grillo y el Sr. Justiniani, Panama, AGI, Contaduría 264A, ramo 33, fols. 88ff.

²⁵ TSTD, unique id no. 75371; Gastos en Portobelo por el navío *Mercader de Dunwich*, Panama, 1716; Memoria de los muertos, Panama, 1716; both in AGI, Contaduría 267, leg.5.

²⁶ Gastos de conducir los esclavos a Panamá, Panama, 1716, AGI, Contaduría 267, leg.5; see also Bowser, *African Slave*, 63.

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- ²⁷ Auto de los Jueces Oficiales de la Real Hacienda, Panama, 16 June 1666, AGI, Contaduría 264A, ramo 33, fols. 21v-22v.
- ²⁸ Vila Vilar, *Hispanoamérica y el comercio de esclavos*, 218-219; Bowser, *African Slave*, 55.
- ²⁹ Tasación de las 110 piezas de esclavos que tratan de comprar don Juan de Cevallos el caballero y el Alf. Francisco de Acosta, Panama, 20 June 1666, AGI, Contaduría 264A, ramo 33, fols. 27-27v.
- ³⁰ Venta de esclavos, Panama, 28 June 1666, AGI, Contaduría 264A, ramo 33, fols. 29v-30v.
- ³¹ ANCR, P.C. 815 (1660-1662), 815 bis (1663), 816 (1664), 817 bis (1658, 1661), 818 (1664).
- ³² Bowser, *African Slave*, 344; *Indice de los protocolos de Cartago* (6 vols. San José: Imprenta Nacional, 1909-1930), 1:42.
- ³³ *Indice de los protocolos de Cartago*, 1:86; Bowser, *African Slave*, 344.
- ³⁴ Venta de esclavo, 6 Aug. 1660, ANCR, P.C. 815, fols. 18-19v; Bowser, *African Slave*, 344. Calculations on slave prices use data from the following sources, all in the ANCR: Sección Colonial Cartago (hereafter C) 109 (1700), C 113 (1702), C 187 (1710), C 211 (1713), C 231 (1710), C 233 (1710), C 234 (1710), C 243 (1719), 250 (1719); ANCR, Sección Complementario Colonial (hereafter CC) 3919 (1686), CC 4111 (1718); CC 4121 (1720); ANCR, Sección Colonial Guatemala (hereafter G) 34 (1613), G 55 (1624), G 185 (1710), G 187 (1716), G 188 (1700, 1710); M.CC 774 (1711); P.C. 801 (1607), 802 (1629), 815 (1660-1662), 815 bis (1663), 816 (1664), 817 bis (1658, 1661), 818 (1664), 819 (1670), 820 (1672) through 828 (1681), 830 (1680) through 839 (1690), 841 (1691) through 850 (1698), 853 (1699) through 857 (1703), 860 (1704) through 865 (1708), 867 (1709) through 871 (1712), 873 (1714), 874 (1714), 875 (1715), 877 (1715) through 879 (1716), 881 (1716) through 883 (1717), 885 (1718) through 887 (1715), 889 (1719), 890 (1720), 892 (1720), 893 (1721), 895 (1722) through 904 (1730), 906 (1731) through 910 (1733), 912 (1734), 915 (1736) through 917 (1737), 919 (1738), 921 (1739), 923 (1739), 924 (1740), 926 (1741) through 934 (1746), 927 (1742); Protocolos Coloniales de Heredia (hereafter PH) 573 (1721) through 575 (1724), 577 (1726) through 581 (1730), 583 (1733), 586 (1739), 587 (1741), 589 (1744), 591 (1746); Protocolos Coloniales de San José (hereafter PSJ) 411 (1721), 412 (1723); *Indice de los protocolos de Cartago*, vols. 1-3. See also Lowell Gudmundson Kristjanson, "Mecanismos de movilidad social para la población de procedencia africana en Costa Rica colonial: Manumisión y mestizaje," in Gudmundson, *Estratificación socio-racial y económica de Costa Rica, 1700-1850* (San José: EUNED, 1978), 23.
- ³⁵ Jean-Pierre Tardieu, *El negro en Cusco: Los caminos de la alienación en la segunda mitad del siglo XVII* (Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, 1998), 15, 25, 50.
- ³⁶ *Indice de los protocolos de Cartago*, 1:33; Rina Cáceres, *Negros, mulatos, esclavos y libertos en la Costa Rica del siglo XVII* (Mexico: Instituto Panamericano de Geografía e Historia, 2000), 58; Philip S. MacLeod, "On the Edge of Empire: Costa Rica in the Colonial Era (1561-1800)" (Ph.D. diss., Tulane University, 1999), 153-154.
- ³⁷ El Pbo. Tomás de Colina Ruiz da poder para llevar una partida de mulas y vender a cuatro esclavos, Cartago, 1 Feb. 1661, ANCR, P.C. 817 bis, fol. 307; El Cap. don Francisco Javier de Oreamuno da poder para vender a un esclavo, Cartago, 31 Dec. 1724, ANCR, P.C. 897, fols. 118v-119v.
- ³⁸ Carlos Meléndez, "El negro en Costa Rica durante la colonia," in Meléndez and Quince Duncan, *El negro en Costa Rica* (San José: Editorial Costa Rica, 1972), 27; see also Germán Romero Vargas, *Las estructuras sociales de Nicaragua en el siglo XVIII* (Managua: Editorial Vanguardia, 1988), 293.

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- ³⁹ Declaración del Cap. José Antonio de Espinosa, Cartago, 3 Feb. 1716, ANCR, P.C. 875, fols. 38-39.
- ⁴⁰ Venta de cinco negros, Cartago, 28 Oct. 1613, ANCR, G. 34, fols. 48-50.
- ⁴¹ Auto del Teniente de Contador y Tesorero Juez Oficial Real Juan de Morales, Cartago, 17 Jan. 1643, ANCR, C.C. 3586, fol. 1. Unfortunately, only a few bills of sale survive from those years.
- ⁴² Venta de tres esclavos, Cartago, 20 July 1673, ANCR, P.C. 822, fols. 41-42; Cáceres, *Negros, mulatos*, 50.
- ⁴³ Venta de esclavo, Cartago, 10 April 1674, ANCR, P.C. 822, fols. 33-34v; Venta de esclava, Cartago, 10 April 1674, ANCR, P.C. 822, fols. 36-37v.
- ⁴⁴ Poder para reclamar lo procedido de la venta de un esclavo, Cartago, 24 May 1607, ANCR, P.C. 801, fols. 38-39v; Cáceres, *Negros, mulatos*, 48.
- ⁴⁵ *Indice de los protocolos de Cartago*, 1:47, 48; Cáceres, *Negros, mulatos*, 48.
- ⁴⁶ Venta de esclavo, Cartago, 22 Nov. 1688, ANCR, P.C. 837, fols. 94v-95v.
- ⁴⁷ Venta de esclavo, Cartago, 28 Sept. 1706, ANCR, P.C. 862, fols. 61v-63v.
- ⁴⁸ Cáceres, *Negros, mulatos*, 50. For other examples, see Obligación del Alf. Sebastián de Aguirre y de su mujer doña Petronila de Grado y Moreno, Cartago, 22 Sept. 1665, ANCR, P.C. 817, fols. 72v-74v; Doña Eugenia Gertrudis de Abarca dona a su hijo el Cap. Miguel Calvo una negrita esclava que se ha de traer de Panamá, Cartago, 9 July 1689, ANCR, P.C. 838, fols. 85v-87v; Doña María Ramírez, mujer del Alf. Juan Albo, da poder a éste para que compre en Esparza algunos esclavos o esclavas, Cartago, 15 July 1692, ANCR, P.C. 842, fols. 78-80v.
- ⁴⁹ Obligación del Alf. Sebastián de Aguirre, Cartago, 22 Sept. 1665, ANCR, P.C. 817, fols. 72v-74v.
- ⁵⁰ Venta de siete esclavos, Portobello, 12 Oct. 1689, ANCR, P.C. 839, fols. 20v-21.
- ⁵¹ Venta de esclavo, Cartago, 22 Feb. 1690, ANCR, P.C. 839, fols. 22-24; Cáceres, *Negros, mulatos*, 51.
- ⁵² *Indice de los protocolos de Cartago*, 1:445.
- ⁵³ Joseph C. Miller, "Retention, Reinvention, and Remembering: Restoring Identities through Enslavement in Africa and under Slavery in Brazil," in *Enslaving Connections: Changing Cultures of Africa and Brazil during the Era of Slavery*, ed. José Curto and Paul E. Lovejoy (New York: Humanity Books, 2004), 88 (quoted); Stanley M. Elkins, *Slavery: A Problem in American Institutional and Intellectual Life*, 3rd ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1976; first published 1959).
- ⁵⁴ MacLeod, *Spanish Central America*, ch. 18.
- ⁵⁵ Aguilar Bulgarelli and Alfaro A., *Esclavitud negra*, 86, 182-183; Mauricio Meléndez Obando, "Contrabando de esclavos," in Tatiana Lobo Wiehoff and Meléndez Obando, *Negros y blancos: Todo mezclado* (San José: Editorial de la Universidad de Costa Rica, 1997), 102.
- ⁵⁶ Declaración de doña Agueda Pérez de Muro, Cartago, 15 July 1720, ANCR, C. 240, fol. 27v.

⁵⁷ Bowser, *African Slave*, 56.

⁵⁸ Auto del Teniente de Contador y Tesorero Juez Oficial Real Juan de Morales, Cartago, 17 Jan. 1643, ANCR, C.C. 3586, fol. 1.

⁵⁹ MacLeod, *Spanish Central America*, 366, 464 n. 40.

⁶⁰ Declaración de Sebastián de Soto, Panama, 11 July 1701, AGI, Escribanía (hereafter Esc.) 473A, pieza 10, fol. 39; Confesión de Bernabé Correa, Panama, 2 March 1702, AGI, Esc. 473A, pieza 10, fols. 105v.

⁶¹ Confesión de Bernabé Correa, Panama, 2 March 1702, AGI, Esc. 473A, pieza 10, fols. 105v-106.

⁶² Confesión de Bernabé Correa, Panama, 2 March 1702, AGI, Esc. 473A, pieza 10, fols. 105v-107; Memorial de la Compañía Real de Guinea, Madrid, 7 Aug. 1703, AGI, Indiferente 2783; Memorial de la Compañía Real al Consejo de Indias, contestado por el Fiscal en Madrid, 31 May 1703, AGI, Indiferente 2783.

⁶³ Confesión de Bernabé Correa, Panama, 2 March 1702, AGI, Esc. 473A, pieza 10, fols. 107-108; Memoria de los vecinos de la Ciudad de Panamá a S.M., Panama, 6 Feb. 1703, AGI, Indiferente 2783 (quoted).

⁶⁴ Confesión de Bernabé Correa, Panama, 4 March 1702, AGI, Esc. 473A, pieza 10, fols. 121v, 124v, 125; Declaración de Sebastián de Soto, Panama, 26 June 1701, AGI, Esc. 473A, pieza 10, fol. 7; Declaración de Sebastián de Soto, Panama, 11 July 1701, AGI, Esc. 473A, pieza 10, fol. 40.

⁶⁵ Declaración del Cap. José de Carranza, Panama, 25 June 1701, AGI, Esc. 473A, pieza 10, fols. 2v-5, quoting fol. 3.

⁶⁶ Declaración de Sebastián de Soto, Panama, 26 June 1701, AGI, Esc. 473A, pieza 10, fols. 7v-8.

⁶⁷ Confesión de Bernabé Correa, Panama, 2 March 1702, AGI, Esc. 473A, pieza 10, fols. 108v-109.

⁶⁸ Confesión de Bernabé Correa, Panama, 2 March 1702, AGI, Esc. 473A, pieza 10, fols. 109-109v.

⁶⁹ Confesión de Bernabé Correa, Panama, 2 March 1702, AGI, Esc. 473A, pieza 10, fols. 109v-110; Declaración de Sebastián de Soto, Panama, 11 July 1701, AGI, Esc. 473A, pieza 10, fol. 40; Declaración del Cap. José de Carranza, Panama, 25 June 1701, AGI, Esc. 473A, pieza 10, fol. 3.

⁷⁰ Declaración del Cap. José Carranza, Panama, 14 July 1701, AGI, Esc. 473A, pieza 10, fol. 53v.

⁷¹ Declaración del Cap. José Carranza, Panama, 14 July 1701, AGI, Esc. 473A, pieza 10, fols. 54, 54v (quoted).

⁷² Declaración del Cap. José Carranza, Panama, 14 July 1701, AGI, Esc. 473A, pieza 10, fols. 55v-56, quoting fol. 56.

⁷³ Declaración del Cap. José Carranza, Panama, 14 July 1701, AGI, Esc. 473A, pieza 10, fol. 56v.

⁷⁴ Confesión de Bernabé Correa, Panama, 2 March 1702, AGI, Esc. 473A, pieza 10, fol. 112; Confesión de Bernabé Correa, Panama, 4 March 1702, AGI, Esc. 473A, pieza 10, fol. 121v (quoted).

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- ⁷⁵ Confesión de Bernabé Correa, Panama, 2 March 1702, AGI, Esc. 473A, pieza 10, fols. 112-112v; Confesión de Bernabé Correa, Panama, 4 March 1702, AGI, Esc. 473A, pieza 10, fol. 122v; Certificación de Francisco de Sierra, Panama, 12 July 1702, AGI, Esc. 473A, pieza 10, fols. 57, 57v (quoted).
- ⁷⁶ Confesión de Bernabé Correa, Panama, 6 March 1702, AGI, Esc. 473A, pieza 10, fols. 139v-140.
- ⁷⁷ Confesión de Bernabé Correa, Panama, 2 March 1702, AGI, Esc. 473A, pieza 10, fols. 110, 111
- ⁷⁸ Sentencia de vista de la causa contra don Miguel de Ollo Chavarria, Madrid, 2 May 1704, AGI, Esc. 473A, pieza 11, fols. 51-51v; AGI, Esc. 964; Declaración que hizo Bernabé Correa en la cárcel, estando para ser ajusticiado, Panama, 11 Aug. 1702, AGI, Esc. 473A, pieza 9, fols. 159-161v.
- ⁷⁹ Causa contra Miguel de Ollo Chavarria por complicidad en diferentes entradas de negros, Panama, AGI; Esc. 473A (11 piezas; 1703-1704); Auto de vista de la causa contra don Miguel de Ollo Chavarria, vecino de Panamá, sobre introducción de negros, Madrid, 2 May 1704, AGI, Esc. 964; Obedecimiento y suplica del Gobernador de Costa Rica . . . , Valle de Barva, 2 Nov. 1724, AGI, Guatemala (hereafter G) 455, fol. 634v.
- ⁸⁰ Testamento del Cap. José Carranza, Cartago, 30 Jan. 1716, ANCR, P.C. 878, fols. 27v, 28, 28v; Información seguida para averiguar si una esclava negra de Ana Micaela Calvo, C 248 (1719).
- ⁸¹ Declaración del Teniente Severino de Aguilar, Cartago, 2 July 1703, AGI, G. 359, pieza 1, fol. 19.
- ⁸² Declaración del Ayu. Luis de Salazar, Cartago, 27 Oct. 1703, AGI, G. 359, pieza 3, fols. 46v, 47 (quoted), 47v.
- ⁸³ Consulta del Juez Comisario al Presidente de la Real Audiencia de Guatemala, Cartago, 20 June 1703, AGI, G. 359, pieza 4, fol. 59.
- ⁸⁴ Declaración de Pedro de Arburola, negro esclavo de doña Josefa de Oses, Matina, 5 Dec. 1719, ANCR, C. 232, fols. 9v-10.
- ⁸⁵ Declaración y reconocimiento del Cap. de Caballos Corazas don Antonio de la Vega Cabral, Cartago, 15 June 1703, AGI, G. 359, pieza 4, fols. 47-47v; Declaración del Ayu. Lázaro de Robles, Cartago, 16 June 1703, AGI, G. 359, pieza 4, fol. 49; Certificación del Lic. don Francisco de Salazar, Cartago, 15 June 1703, AGI, G. 359, pieza 4, fols. 51-51v.
- ⁸⁶ Declaración de Pedro Mina, negro esclavo del Sarg. Mr. Juan Francisco de Ibarra, Cartago, 20 June 1720, ANCR, C. 264, fol. 8; Testamento de don Agustín de Alvarado, Cartago, 28 July 1711, ANCR, P.C. 869, fol. 88.
- ⁸⁷ David Eltis, *The Rise of African Slavery in the Americas* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 246; Joseph C. Miller, "Central Africa during the Era of the Slave Trade, C 1490s-1850s," in *Central Africans and Cultural Transformations in the American Diaspora*, ed. Linda Heywood (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 55.
- ⁸⁸ Venta de esclava, Cartago, 31 July 1708, ANCR, P.C. 865, fols. 66v-67v; Declaración de María Angola, negra esclava del Cap. Manuel García de Argueta, Cartago, 14 Sept. 1719, ANCR, C. 243, fol. 1v.
- ⁸⁹ Declaración de Felipe Cubero, negro esclavo del Cap. Manuel García de Argueta, Matina, 4 Dec. 1719, ANCR, C. 243, fol. 8; Venta de esclavo, Cartago, 21 March 1711, ANCR, P.C. 869, fols. 43v-47.

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- ⁹⁰ Declaración de Luisa, negra esclava de doña Luisa Calvo, Cartago, 11 Sept. 1719, ANCR, C. 245, fol. 1v; Petición de doña Luisa Calvo, presentada en Cartago, 27 May 1720, ANCR, C. 245, fol. 5.
- ⁹¹ Declaración de José Cubero, negro esclavo de doña Catalina González del Camino, Matina, 5 Dec. 1719, ANCR, C. 266, fol. 6; Declaración de Antonio de Rosas, negro esclavo del Cap. Juan Sancho de Castañeda, Matina, 6 Dec. 1719, ANCR, C. 231, fol. 10v.
- ⁹² Eltis, *Rise of African Slavery*, 248.
- ⁹³ Declaración de José Moya, negro esclavo del Cap. don Pedro de Moya, Matina, 17 Dec. 1719, ANCR, C. 237, fol. 7v; Testamento de don Agustín de Alvarado, 28 July 1711, ANCR, P.C. 869, fol. 88; Auto de sentencia sobre el negro Luis, Cartago, 22 Nov. 1720, ANCR, C. 275, fols. 14-15v.
- ⁹⁴ Declaración de José Morales, Cartago, 12 Oct. 1703, AGI, G. 359, pieza 1, fol. 55; Declaración del Cap. Rafael Fajardo, Cartago, 26 June 1703, AGI, G. 359, pieza 1, fols. 5-5v, 8.
- ⁹⁵ Declaración de Severino Aguilar, Cartago, 2 July 1703, AGI, G. 359, pieza 1, fol. 15; Declaración de José Morales, Cartago, 12 Oct. 1703, AGI, G. 359, pieza 1, fol. 55; Declaración de Hipólito Trejos, Cartago, 16 Oct. 1703, AGI, G. 359, pieza 1, fol. 61; Carta del M.R.P. Fray Francisco de San José al Teniente de Jueces Oficiales de la Real Hacienda don José de Guzmán, Matina, 14 Aug. 1702, ANCR, C. 113, fol. 1; also in AGI, G. 359, pieza 2, fols. 40-40v; Certificación del M.R.P. Fray Francisco de San José, Matina, 3 Sept. 1702, AGI, G. 359, pieza 1, fols. 21-21v.
- ⁹⁶ Declaración de José Morales, Cartago, 12 Oct. 1703, AGI, G. 359, pieza 1, fols. 55-56.
- ⁹⁷ Carta del Cap. Andrés Verroterán y Aguirre al Gobernador de Costa Rica don Francisco Serrano de Reyna, Moín, Cartago, 17 July 1702, AGI, G. 359, pieza 2, fols. 2-2v.
- ⁹⁸ Declaración del Teniente Severino de Aguilar, Cartago, 2 July 1703, AGI, G. 359, pieza 1, fols. 14v, 15.
- ⁹⁹ Diligencia del Teniente de Gobernador Cap. Rafael Fajardo, Matina, 22 Aug. 1702, AGI, G. 359, pieza 2, fol. 6v; Declaración del Cap. Rafael Fajardo, Cartago, 26 June 1703, AGI, G. 359, pieza 1, fols. 2v-3v; Declaración del Cap. don Alvaro de Guevara, Cartago, 11 Oct. 1703, AGI, G. 359, pieza 1, fols. 57-59; Orden del Gobernador don Francisco Serrano de Reyna, Cartago, 12 Aug. 1702, AGI, G. 359, pieza 2, fol. 5; Declaración de Cap. don Juan Martel, Valle de Barbilla, 26 Aug. 1702, AGI, G. 359, pieza 2, fol. 8.
- ¹⁰⁰ Respuesta del Gobernador al requerimiento del Teniente de Jueces Oficiales de la Real Hacienda don José Guzmán, Cartago, 9 Sept. 1702, AGI, G. 359, pieza 2, fol. 44.
- ¹⁰¹ Comisión del Gobernador don Francisco Serrano de Reyna al Ayu. Lázaro de Robles, Cartago, 15 Aug. 1702, AGI, G. 359, pieza 1, fols. 23-23v; Declaración de Domingo Guerrero, Cartago, 11 July 1703, AGI, G. 359, pieza 1, fols. 25-28.
- ¹⁰² Declaración del Ayu. Lázaro de Robles, Cartago, 6 Oct. 1703, AGI, G. 359, pieza 1, fols. 41v-42, 47.
- ¹⁰³ Declaración de Domingo Guerrero, Cartago, 11 July 1703, AGI, G. 359, pieza 1, fols. 25-28; Declaración del Ayu. Lázaro de Robles, Cartago, 6 Oct. 1703, AGI, G. 359, pieza 1, fols. 42v, 47v (quoted); Declaración de Manuel de Chavarria, Cartago, 12 July 1703, AGI, G. 359, pieza 1, fols. 31-31v; Declaración de Juan Ramón de la Cruz, Cartago, 13 July 1703, AGI, G. 359, pieza 1, fols. 32-33.
- ¹⁰⁴ Declaración de Domingo Guerrero, Cartago, 11 July 1703, AGI, G. 359, pieza 1, fols. 25-28; Declaración del Ayu. Lázaro de Robles, Cartago, 6 Oct. 1703, AGI, G. 359, pieza 1, fols. 42v, 47v

(quoted); Declaración de Manuel de Chavarria, Cartago, 12 July 1703, AGI, G. 359, pieza 1, fols. 31-31v; Declaración de Juan Ramón de la Cruz, Cartago, 13 July 1703, AGI, G. 359, pieza 1, fols. 32-33.

¹⁰⁵ Declaración del Ayu. Luis de Salazar, Cartago, 4 July 1703, AGI, G. 359, pieza 1, fols. 23v-24v; Declaración del Ayu. Luis de Salazar, Cartago, 9 Oct. 1703, AGI, G. 359, pieza 1, fol. 52v (quoted).

¹⁰⁶ "Criminal contra los compradores de esclavos a los enemigos piratas. Año de 1702 - Criminal de Comiso," *Revista de los Archivos Nacionales* (Costa Rica) 15, nos. 1-3 (Jan.-March 1951), 14.

¹⁰⁷ "Criminal contra los compradores," 15.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 20.

¹⁰⁹ Declaración del Ayu. Lázaro de Robles, Cartago, 6 Oct. 1703, AGI, G. 359, pieza 1, fols. 47, 45v.

¹¹⁰ Petición del Lic. don Manuel José González Coronel, presentada en Cartago, 30 July 1720, ANCR, C. 224, fol. 55v.

¹¹¹ "Título de Gobernador de Costa Rica de don José Antonio Lacayo de Briones – 1713," *Revista de los Archivos Nacionales* (Costa Rica) 15 (Jan.-March 1951), 23.

¹¹² Declaración del Cap. Juan Gómez de Ocón y Trillo, Cartago, 18 March 1717, ANCR, C. 211, fol. 16.

¹¹³ Declaración de Francisco Alejandro Bonilla, Cartago, 19 April 1717, ANCR, C. 211, fols. 42, 42v.

¹¹⁴ Declaración del Sarg. Mr. don Rafael Fajardo, Cartago, 20 March 1717, ANCR, C. 211, fols. 19-20.

¹¹⁵ Venta de esclavo, Cartago, 4 Sept. 1713, ANCR, C. 211, fols. 131-133v; "Autos sobre comercio ilícito en el Valle de Matina y remate de los objetos y negros decomisados (1716)," *Revista de los Archivos Nacionales* (Costa Rica) 14 (July-Dec. 1950), 217; Declaración del Sarg. Mr. don Rafael Fajardo, Cartago, 20 March 1717, ANCR, C. 211, fols. 19-19v; Declaración de Francisco Alejandro Bonilla, Cartago, 19 April 1717, ANCR, C. 211, fol. 42; Diligencia en casa del General don José Lacayo y su respuesta, Granada, Nic., 30 April 1719, ANCR, C. 211, fol. 128; Declaración del Cap. José de Chavarria, Cartago, 30 March 1717, ANCR, C. 211, fol. 25v; Declaración del Lic. don José de Velasco Jiménez, Granada, Nic., C. 211, fol. 129v.

¹¹⁶ Declaración del Cap. Juan Cayetano Jiménez, Cartago, 18 March 1717, ANCR, C. 211, fols. 11v-14.

¹¹⁷ Declaración del Cap. Juan Cayetano Jiménez, Cartago, 18 March 1717, ANCR, C. 211, fol. 11v.

¹¹⁸ Declaración de Catalina, negra esclava de doña Petronila Valerino, Cartago, 13 Nov. 1720, ANCR, C. 244, fol. 6v.

¹¹⁹ Declaración del Cap. Manuel de Arburola, Cartago, 18 June 1720, ANCR, C. 233, fol. 49; Declaración de Jacob, negro de casta mandinga y esclavo del Cap. Antonio de Soto y Barahona, Cartago, 2 Oct. 1719, ANCR, C. 233, fol. 5v; Razón de las declaraciones de la información, Cartago, 20 July 1720, ANCR, C. 232, fol. 43v.

¹²⁰ Declaración de Isabel, negra esclava de María González, Cartago, 23 Sept. 1719, ANCR, C. 253, fol. 1v.

¹²¹ Certificación de don Francisco Vicente García, Contador Oficial de la Real Hacienda de las Reales Cajas de Portobello, 26 April 1739, AGI, Panamá 364, fol. 130.

¹²² Works on smuggling in Central America include Adam Szaszdi Nagy, "El comercio ilícito en la provincia de Honduras," *Revista de Indias* 17 (1967): 271-283; MacLeod, *Spanish Central America*, esp. ch. 20; María Eugenia Brenes Castillo, "Matina, bastión de contrabando en Costa Rica," *Anuario de Estudios Centroamericanos* 4 (1979): 393-450; Barbara Potthast-Jutkeit, "Centroamérica y el contrabando por la costa de Mosquitos en el siglo XVIII," *Mesoamérica*, no. 36 (Dec. 1998): 499-516.

¹²³ ANCR, C. 109, fols. 16v-33. As one of the officials later confessed, however, this count was fraudulent. In reality, the *Nuestra Señora de la Soledad* brought 54 Africans, and unfortunately, ethnic information on some of them was not recorded at the time. Declaración de Juan Antonio Bogarín, Cartago, 21 Aug. 1703, AGI, G. 359, pieza 5, fol. 29v.

¹²⁴ For the concept of "re-Africanization" in another American colony with intermittent access to the slave trade, see Gwendolyn Midlo Hall, *Africans in Colonial Louisiana: The Development of Afro-Creole Culture in the Eighteenth Century* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1992), ch. 9.

¹²⁵ Auto de visita, Puerto de la Caldera, 29 Oct. 1700, ANCR, C. 109, fol. 6v.

¹²⁶ Auto de visita de la fragata *Nuestra Señora de la Soledad y Santa Isabel*, La Caldera, 29 Oct. 1700, ANCR, C. 109, fols. 6v-7; AGI, G. 359, pieza 6, fols. 44v-46v.

¹²⁷ Denunciación de negros de por alto, Esparza, 6 Nov. 1700, ANCR, C. 109, fol. 7.

¹²⁸ Declaración de Felipe de la Cruz, contraamaestre, Esparza, 11 Nov. 1700, ANCR, C. 109, fols. 9v-10; AGI, G. 359, pieza 6, fols. 54-56v.

¹²⁹ Diligencia, Esparza, 6 Nov. 1700, ANCR, C. 109, fol. 7v; Sentencia de comiso, Esparza, 21 Nov. 1700, ANCR, C. 109, fol. 14; Autos de almoneda, Esparza, 30 Nov. 1700, 2 Dec. 1700, 5 Dec. 1700, 12 Dec. 1700, 9 Dec. 1700, 25 Dec. 1700, 24 Feb. 1701, 15 April 1701, ANCR, C. 109, fols. 16v-25v, 28v-29v, 32v-33.

¹³⁰ Partición entre S.M., los jueces y denunciador de lo vendido hasta hoy, Esparza, 2 March 1701, ANCR, C. 109, fol. 31; Requerimiento, Esparza, 30 Sept. 1701, ANCR, C. 109, fol. 57v.

¹³¹ Declaración de Juan Antonio Bogarín, Cartago, 18 Aug. 1703, AGI, G. 359, pieza 5, fol. 21.

¹³² Declaración de Juan Antonio Bogarín, Cartago, 18 Aug. 1703, AGI, G. 359, pieza 5, fol. 26v.

¹³³ Declaración del Cap. Francisco de los Reyes, Cartago, 9 July 1703, AGI, G. 359, pieza 5, fols. 2v-5.

¹³⁴ Carta cuenta de los géneros que se dieron por de comiso de la fragata *Nuestra Señora de la Soledad y Santa Isabel*, N.p., 2 Jan. 1701, AGI, G. 359, pieza 6, fol. 24v; Declaración de Juan Antonio Bogarín, Cartago, 18 Aug. 1703, AGI, G. 359, pieza 5, fols. 28v-29v.

¹³⁵ Declaración del Cap. Francisco de los Reyes, Cartago, 9 July 1703, AGI, G. 359, pieza 5, fols. 5v, 6v; Declaración de Juan Antonio Bogarín, Cartago, 18 Aug. 1703, AGI, G. 359, pieza 5, fol. 25; Declaración de Juan Antonio Bogarín, Cartago, 21 Aug. 1703, AGI, G. 359, pieza 5, fol. 32.

¹³⁶ Declaración del Cap. Francisco de los Reyes, Cartago, 9 July 1703, AGI, G. 359, pieza 5, fol. 9.

¹³⁷ Declaración del Cap. Francisco de los Reyes, Cartago, 9 July 1703, AGI, G. 359, pieza 5, fol. 5.

¹³⁸ Declaración del Cap. Francisco de los Reyes, Cartago, 9 July 1703, AGI, G. 359, pieza 5, fols. 6v, 9-9v; Notificación de auto al Gobernador y su respuesta, Cartago, 12 Jan. 1701, ANCR, C. 109, fol. 51v (quoted).

¹³⁹ Auto de almoneda, Esparza, 23 Nov. 1700, ANCR, 109, fols. 17-17v, quoting fol. 17.

¹⁴⁰ Declaración de Juan Antonio Bogarín, Cartago, 21 Aug. 1703, AGI, G. 359, pieza 5, fols. 31v, 32 (quoted).

¹⁴¹ Declaración del Mre. de Campo don José de Casasola y Córdoba, Cartago, 14 April 1701, AGI, G. 359, pieza 4, fols. 33v-34; Declaración del Mtre. de Campo don José de Casasola y Córdoba, Cartago, 9 Nov. 1703, AGI, G. 359, pieza 5, fol. 54v.

¹⁴² Declaración de José de Prado, Cartago, 6 Nov. 1703, AGI, G. 359, pieza 5, fol. 57; Notificación al Maestre de Campo don José Agustín de Estrada y Aspertia, su respuesta, y reconocimiento de dos esclavos, Guatemala, 2 Feb. 1704, AGI, 359, pieza 1, fols. 88v-89v.

¹⁴³ Partición entre S.M., los jueces y denunciador de lo vendido, Esparza, 2 March 1701, ANCR, C. 109, fol. 31; Declaración de Juan Antonio Bogarín, Cartago, 23 Aug. 1703, AGI, G. 359, pieza 5, fol. 43v; Parecer del Asesor el Lic. don Francisco de Carmona, Guatemala, 5 Dec. 1701, AGI, G. 359, pieza 6, fol. 172; Requerimiento al Teniente de Gobernador don Gregorio de Caamaño y su respuesta, Esparza, 30 Sept. 1701, ANCR, 109, fol. 57v.

¹⁴⁴ Carta del Gobernador de Nicaragua don Pedro Luis de Colmenares al Presidente de la Real Audiencia de Guatemala, Masaya, Nic., 25 Jan. 1702, AGI, G. 359, pieza 6, fol. 1v.

¹⁴⁵ Decreto de la Real Audiencia, Guatemala, 17 Aug. 1701, ANCR, C. 109, fol. 54v.

¹⁴⁶ Auto del Juez Comisario el Lic. don Francisco de Carmona, Cartago, 25 May 1703, AGI, G. 359, pieza 4, fols. 3-3v; Consulta del Juez Comisario al Presidente de la Real Audiencia de Guatemala, Cartago, 20 June 1703, AGI, G. 359, pieza 4, fol. 56 (quoted).

¹⁴⁷ Decreto del Presidente de la Real Audiencia don Gabriel Sánchez de Berrospe, Guatemala, 5 Jan. 1702, ANCR, C. 109, fols. 59v-60.

¹⁴⁸ Sentencia pronunciada contra el Mtre. de Campo don Francisco Serrano de Reyna, Guatemala, 24 Dec. 1705, AGCA, A1.24, exp. 10216, leg.1572, fols. [241-242v].

¹⁴⁹ Sentencia pronunciada contra el Mtre. de Campo don Francisco Serrano de Reyna, Guatemala, 23 Oct. 1706, AGCA, A1.24, exp. 10216, leg.1572, fol. [246v].

¹⁵⁰ Fernández, ed., *Colección de documentos*, 9:64; MacLeod, "On the Edge of Empire," 374-375.

¹⁵¹ Consulta del Juez Comisario al Presidente de la Real Audiencia de Guatemala, Cartago, 20 June 1703, AGI, G. 359, pieza 4, fols. 55-64v, quoting fols. 60v, 57.

¹⁵² Declaración del Ayu. Lázaro de Robles, Cartago, 6 Oct. 1703, AGI, G. 359, pieza 1, fol. 47v.

¹⁵³ Consulta del Juez Comisario al Presidente de la Real Audiencia de Guatemala, Cartago, 20 June 1703, AGI, G. 359, pieza 4, fols. 55-64v, quoting fols. 60v, 57.

¹⁵⁴ Consulta del Juez Comisario al Presidente de la Real Audiencia de Guatemala, Cartago, 20 June 1703, AGI, G. 359, pieza 4, fols. 63-63v, quoting 63v.

¹⁵⁵ Auto del gobernador, Cartago, 1 July 1704, ANCR, C. 127, fol. 1.

¹⁵⁶ Auto de los Sres. Presidente y Oidores de la Real Audiencia, Guatemala, 9 Aug. 1703, AGI, G. 359, pieza 4, fol. 75v. This information was unavailable to Luz Alba Chacón de Umaña, who wrote in her *Don Diego de la Haya Fernández* that the Audiencia accepted Carmona's recommendation. Chacón de Umaña, *Don Diego de la Haya Fernández* (San José: Editorial Costa Rica, 1967), 87.

¹⁵⁷ MacLeod, "On the Edge of Empire," 374; Meléndez Obando, "Contrabando de esclavos," 104.

¹⁵⁸ Sidney W. Mintz and Richard Price, *The Birth of African-American Culture: An Anthropological Perspective* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1992; first published as *An Anthropological Approach to the Afro-American Past* [Philadelphia: Institute for the Study of Human Issues, 1976]), 43, 44, 48. See also Michael A. Gomez's different perspective in *Exchanging Our Country Marks*, 165-166.

¹⁵⁹ E.g. Declaración de Pedro, esclavo del Sarg. Mr. don Juan Francisco de Ibarra y Calvo, Cartago, 7 Nov. 1719, ANCR, G. 187, fols. 12v-13.

CHAPTER 4

BECOMING SLAVES IN COSTA RICA

An Unusual Arrival: The Christianus Quintus and Fredericus Quartus

On 19 February 1710, the *Fredericus Quartus* and *Christianus Quintus* left Santa Catalina. Again they veered off course and were blown 500 nautical miles from Portobello until they landed at “Punta Carreto” on Costa Rica’s Atlantic coast on 2 March 1710.¹ The ships’ provisions completely exhausted, the crews rejoiced to see two English boats fishing nearby. Pfeiff urged the sailors of the *Fredericus Quartus* to have patience; amazingly, he insisted they continue on to Portobello. The crew absolutely refused, afraid they would starve if they found the sea calm; they demanded their pay on the spot and that the Africans be put ashore to spare what provisions remained for themselves. Pfeiff protested that he had no money to pay them, nor did he have authority to break open the Company’s gold chest. At this, seaman Peder Laursen Møn announced that the sailors would help themselves to the gold and board the English barks. Disregarding Pfeiff’s warnings, the crew disembarked the captives on 4 March, who immediately ran into the bush. The sailors then broke open the Company chest, divided the gold amongst themselves, hurled the empty chest into the sea, and boarded the English barks to carry them to Portobelo. A Danish boy later testified that during the night of 7 March he saw a fire start on the quarterdeck in a pile of tar, pitch, and refuse; by midnight, the *Fredericus Quartus* was completely ablaze.²

The *Christianus Quintus* was also abandoned. According to the later testimony of the crew members, Captain Anders Wærøe himself distributed thirty-two rixdollars of gold among the crew. After putting the captives ashore, the boatswain cut the ship's anchor cable; it ran aground and was splintered in the surf. A group of Danish sailors then boarded the English boats and sailed with them to Portobello, bringing to ballast gold, clothing, iron, a weapon, ammunition, twenty adult male slaves, and one boy slave. Most likely, the Africans so dubiously favored were Akan who had boarded the ships at Cape Three Points and worked as "guardians" over the other captives, perhaps even joining the Danes in putting down the shipboard rebellion.³ Some of the Englishmen stayed in Costa Rica to search for the escaped Africans, while Captains Pfeiff and Wærøe made for Portobello with the rest of the Danish sailors in a boat and two barges that the crew had saved before destroying the ships.⁴

On the way, an armed Spanish coast guard vessel intercepted the two barges. Faced with a choice, Captain Jean d'Abadi elected to seize the larger of the Danish barges, escorting it to Portobello under heavy guard. In Panama, Governor of Portobello don Pedro Martínez de Salazar quickly decided to send a reconnaissance party back to "Punta Carreto" to search for the Africans, which sailed on 21 March. According to one source, the Spanish force from Panama seized a group of Africans from the Englishmen who had remained on the coast.⁵

Recapture: The Miskitos

European slave traders and slave-selling African rulers came together in their joint enterprise of reducing women and men to commodities.⁶ Enslavement and deportation involved little “negotiation” between slavers and their victims. To be sure, the newly enslaved men and women imposed limitations on the power of their enslavers through the constant threat of flight and rebellion, but during transport violence formed the most important, if not the only, means of communication between captors and captives. When enslavers became aware of captive resistance, they sought not to understand, ameliorate, or pacify it, but only to repress it with intensified savagery.

Enslavement, whether by Africans or Europeans, made captives increasingly aware of both common languages, customs, and values grounded in their homelands – building blocks of ethnic identities -- and the common suffering they experienced in Diaspora. The Akwamu *siccadinger* or Dahomean warriors who seized them in battles or raids, the Danish soldiers or Ouidah royal officers who held them in the prisons of the coastal slaving forts, or the Danish crew members aboard the trans-Atlantic slavers all held over them the power of life and death. In Africa and America, the captives embarked on the *Christianus Quintus* and *Fredericus Quartus* had already encountered scores of men and women of different ethnic, linguistic, and cultural origins. These relationships – now structured, shaped, and distorted by the power captors exercised over the captives in enslavement and sale -- could intensify bonds of ethnicity between the captives and/or

cause them to forge new relationships with captives of different origins. Their shared suffering, however, encouraged both reliance on old bonds and the development of new ones between the captives. When they encountered the Danes, enslaved African women and men confronted a new element in their domination: racism would create their new identity as “blacks.”⁷

When they reached the shores of Caribbean Costa Rica, the women and men brought on the *Christianus Quintus* and *Fredericus Quartus* entered a violently contested area. Although Columbus had claimed the Caribbean coast for Spain in 1502, the Spaniards never achieved complete control of the Atlantic region at any time during the colonial period. In 1710, people of diverse origins – Talamanca Indians, African and creole blacks, mulatos, mestizos, European- and American-born Spaniards, Miskito Indians and Zambos, Englishmen – interacted frequently in the Atlantic zone, often on violent terms. All but the indigenous Talamanca, some of whom preserved their independence until the twentieth century, were allied with one of two major world powers. All held ideas about the meanings of dark skin combined with “African” features, which they attributed to all the women and men of diverse origins who arrived on the Danish slavers.

Soon after they escaped their Danish captors on the coast of Costa Rica, the just-arrived Africans fell prey to other enslavers. North of Matina, the Miskito Indians and Zambos, some of whom were descended from Africans shipwrecked on Central America’s Caribbean coast in the early seventeenth century, lived in dispersed villages spread along the coast of Honduras and Nicaragua. In the seventeenth century, British colonists entered into a long-lasting alliance with the Miskitos and began to establish

scattered settlements in Belize and along the part of the Central American coast they called the “Mosquito Shore.”⁸ Scholars disagree on the extent to which that relationship altered Miskito society, but by the end of the seventeenth century, the Miskitos had combined their traditional annual hunt of the sea turtle along the shores of Costa Rica and Panama with the new activity of raiding the region’s native peoples for slaves to sell to their British allies on the Mosquito Shore and in Jamaica.⁹ According to Costa Rican Governor don Diego de la Haya Fernández, the Miskitos seized at least 2,000 Indians from Talamanca between 1710 and 1721, a practice they had begun decades earlier.¹⁰ In addition, the Miskitos began capturing Spanish-owned black and mulato slaves from Matina by 1705 if not earlier.¹¹ Less well-known, British “Shoremen” and Jamaican privateers also made occasional forays into Costa Rica to hunt turtle and seize slaves.



Map 10. Detail of a 1697 map by William Dampier, showing the Mosquito Shore (“Moskitos”), Jamaica, Costa Rica, and the Isthmus of Panama

Source: Athena Review Image Archive
<http://www.athenapub.com/mpdamp.htm>

Like the Danes and the English, the Miskitos lumped Africans together as “blacks.”

Taken prisoner and brought to Cartago, two Miskito Indians later related how they and their British allies had recaptured hundreds of the Africans on the Matina coast. On 2 May 1710, Antonio de Chávez, fluent in their language because he had been “for many years” a prisoner of the Miskitos, questioned two Miskito prisoners, “Suyntin” (Quentin?), age 21, and Antonio, 18. Suyntin and Antonio said they were natives of the pueblo of Sambranquí, adjacent to the “island of the Mosquitos,” who ruled over their people. Each described his trade as to “sail the seas as a corsair.” Suyntin and Antonio had been at home in the Miskito country when two English sloops arrived, seeking

provisions and men. The Englishmen explained that they had left many blacks at the mouth of the Estrella River, after having “fought with two other [ships] going to Portobello”; they needed men to guard the blacks while they sailed to Jamaica for another ship.¹² While supplying additional details, Suyntin and Antonio’s account essentially corroborated that offered by the Danes. Suyntin, Antonio, and twenty-three other young “Mosquitomen” agreed to help their English allies, and went with them in the ship to Costa Rica, planning to raid for Talamanca Indian slaves while they awaited the Englishmen’s return.¹³ After “four months” (probably a mistranslation by the interpreter), the Englishmen had not returned with the ship as they had promised. Having had no more luck in hunting Talamanca Indians than to kidnap “one head” (*una chupa*), a little Indian girl (*indiezuela chiquita*), the Miskitos decided to march with the blacks by land back to their country. Because many of the Africans were weak from hunger and in no condition to march, the Miskitos decided to leave about thirty of them at Moín, bringing seventy-five to Mosquitia, where they would “hold them in their service” until the Englishmen returned.¹⁴ Asked how many blacks there had been, Antonio “signalled the hairs of his head.”¹⁵

A Note on Blacks and Miskitos

All eighteenth-century sources differentiate between “Mosquito Indians” and “Mosquito Zambos,” and attribute the origins of the “Zambos” to mixture between the African survivors of a shipwreck and local indigenous women the century before.¹⁶

Some modern observers have assumed that the villages of the so-called Mosquito Zambos, some of whom were descended from African *cimarrones*, formed a natural pole of attraction for fugitive slaves from Costa Rica. In the 1930s, Nicaraguan nationalist historian José Dolores Gámez depicted the Miskitos as vicious mongrels who combined the worst traits of Africans and Indians. Just a few years after the Mosquitia had provided a haven for Augusto César Sandino's guerrillas, Gámez contended that the treacherous Miskitos had undermined Nicaragua during the colonial period by encouraging the flight of African slaves.¹⁷ With no such axe to grind, anthropologist Michael Olien alleged in his 1969 dissertation that among Costa Ricans of mixed African ancestry, mulatos of partially European descent identified with Spaniards, while zambos of partially indigenous descent identified with the Miskitos.¹⁸ Both writers seemed to suggest that the Miskitos welcomed runaways because the groups shared a African ancestry. This intentionally (Gámez) or inadvertently (Olien) racist view needs to be amended to reflect a changing historical context.

Large numbers of Africans, many descended from the seventeenth-century shipwreck, began to assimilate to Miskito culture in the seventeenth century, but it is not at all clear that these processes occurred peacefully. All contemporary observers recorded that the Miskito Zambos and Indians, although allied in military operations, always lived in separate villages under separate leadership.¹⁹ In 1699, a British visitor observed that "Garret a Guiney negroe (who escap'd thither from a *Guiney* ship that was lost 60 years since)" lived near the mouth of the Wanks River, apparently as head of a Zambo community.²⁰ Some Europeans of the early eighteenth century asserted a strong mutual

hostility between the Miskito Indians and Zambos, suggesting that the Africans took their place in Miskito society by force.²¹

The testimony of former slaves of the Miskitos provides direct corroboration of the Miskitos' negative attitudes toward black people. True, there is evidence to indicate that a few slaves and free men of African descent fled from Spanish masters to the Miskitos and aided them as guides in their invasions of Matina. Former prisoners of the Miskitos declared in the late 1720s that an ex-slave of a Costa Rican master had fled to the Miskitos and "facilitated the entry to this Province to [the Mosquitos]."²² Regardless of a shared African biological inheritance, the Miskitos perceived no common interest with Africans or Spanish-speaking people of African descent. As is well-known, Miskito warriors helped the British suppress a maroon uprising in Jamaica in the 1720s.²³ By that time, they pointedly distinguished themselves from both blacks and Indians. Fundamentally, they considered these groups subject to enslavement, while "Mosquitomen," like "Englishmen" and "Frenchmen," were not.²⁴ In 1737, Inocencio de la Puebla, a free black man who had been prisoner of the Miskitos for sixteen years, said that the Miskitos referred to "blacks and Indian slaves" as "*broza*" (rubbish, trash).²⁵

By the early eighteenth century, the Miskitos incorporated black men and women into their communities more often as slaves than as equals. When the Miskitos kidnapped "Spaniards" of different racial groups, they treated them differently according to color. For example, when the Miskitos sacked the Matina Valley in March 1705, they took several Spaniards prisoner as well as some black slaves. Although they promptly released the Spaniards, they continued to hold the blacks, demanding a ransom of "some

tools and other things” for their release.²⁶ In part, this practice reflected the pre-Columbian practice the Spaniards called *rescate*, whereby prisoners of war were held as hostages pending the payment of a ransom. But the Miskitos had also evidently incorporated European racial prejudices into their slaving practices: they traded black and Indian slaves to the British in exchange for goods, but exempted Europeans from ransom or sale.

In addition to holding blacks and mulatos for ransom, by the early eighteenth century, the Miskitos kept people of African descent as well as other Central American Indians as agricultural slaves. The Miskitos grew crops only on a limited scale, sea turtle forming the staple of their diet.²⁷ But with the transformation of their economy by slaving, the Miskitos began to maintain significant numbers of slaves to cultivate food, as well as selling much larger numbers of Indians to the British. According to several former prisoners of the Miskitos, for diplomatic reasons, the British generally refused to purchase Spanish-speaking blacks and mulatos from their Miskito allies, although a few may ultimately have been sold in such places as Jamaica and Curaçao.²⁸ Despite the British reluctance to purchase free and enslaved blacks and mulatos, however, the Miskitos continued to capture them during their raids on Spanish settlements, employing them as enslaved farm workers in Miskito villages.

The Miskitos kidnapped Micaela Gómez, a free mulata, and her two young children from her home in Nueva Segovia, Nicaragua, around 1707. Unable to sell her to their British allies, who reportedly “did not want to receive dark-skinned people (*gente parda*), saying they did not want to buy Christians,” they kept Micaela as a slave for their own

use. She never saw her daughter and son again.²⁹ In 1725, a group of twelve slaves and twenty-one freemen (nineteen of them mulatos) returned from a year as prisoners of the Miskitos. They described work cultivating and preparing food for the Miskitos – consisting mainly of yuca, plantains, sea turtle, and fish – in fact, they claimed the Miskitos were so dependent on their slaves that they doubted the Miskitos could survive long without them.³⁰ Melchor de los Reyes, a free black man from Granada, Nicaragua, was part of the crew of a small boat (*chata*) owned by merchant Teodoro de Casares sailing from Granada to Portobello in 1730. When the Miskitos seized the boat on the San Juan River, they released the rest of the crew but held Reyes, “believing he was a slave of the said don Teodoro because of his dark color (*color moreno*).”³¹ Francisco de la Riva, a free black man kidnapped by the Miskitos, confirmed in 1737 that the Miskitos neither sold, nor did the British buy, mestizos, mulatos, or Spanish-speaking blacks.³² Instead, they maintained them as agricultural slaves. As Diego de Bonilla, a mulato who had been a prisoner of the Miskitos for twelve years, expressed it, those “who work most in cultivating are the *ladino* people [i.e., Spanish-speaking mulatos and blacks] and the Indians [that the Miskitos] capture.”³³

If the work they performed was not particularly demanding, former slaves of the Miskitos described harsh treatment, close supervision, and constant threats of violence at the hands of the Miskitos. “There is no Mosquito who doesn’t have his pistol,” Inocencio de la Puebla noted in 1737.³⁴ Micaela Gómez asserted that each Miskito Zambo in the town of “Crabo” kept two or three shotguns. Having been stabbed and wounded repeatedly with a lance, she finally succeeded in fleeing after learning that her master

intended to “marry” and rape her.³⁵ Manuel García, kidnapped from Matina around 1700, said that one of his fellow slaves had been shot and killed by his Miskito master after refusing to do the work demanded of him. Miskito religion – in whose efficacy at least some of their African slaves believed -- also played a role in terrorizing slaves into submission. Manuel explained that he had always longed to escape the Miskitos, but that their “witches” (*brujos*) employed a powerful magic to track fugitives, and invariably killed runaways upon finding them.³⁶

Recapture: The Spaniards

According to the information supplied by the Danes in Portobello, 671 Africans remained alive on the ships when they reached the shores of Costa Rica. Spanish officials at Portobello later seized twenty men and a boy with the rest of the Danes’ property.³⁷ Of the remaining 650 Africans, nothing is known with certainty of the vast majority. Historical linguist John Holm has speculated that many of them were assimilated by the Miskito Indians of Nicaragua’s Atlantic coast.³⁸ Many certainly did meet with the Miskitos, but if they went to Mosquitia they were probably sold to the British or enslaved in Miskito villages, not granted a warm welcome.

For more than 100 of the Africans put ashore, relatively detailed knowledge of their fate in America can be reconstructed. On 10 March 1710, six days after the Africans were put ashore at “Punta Carreto,” Alfonso Ramírez at the watchtower at Matina, Costa Rica made out “two shapes” running on the beach below. The next day, soldiers

Lieutenant Juan Bautista Retana, José Ortega, Isidro de Acosta and several others captured two young African women.³⁹ Matina's lieutenant governor Captain de Acosta Arévalo dispatched additional soldiers to search the beach for ships, and meanwhile sent to the neighboring cacao haciendas for African slaves who could serve as interpreters. On 13 March, Juan Bautista Retana reported finding two small shelters (*ranchos*) at the Moín River, and inside them the remnants of some pieces of smoked fish and lizards. From the black women, the Spaniards learned that there were other Africans further south on the coast near Portete. They had been put ashore by a ship and a canoe belonging to it; starving to death, the Africans had come to fish where the *ranchos* had been discovered, and from there had fled. At this news, Acosta set out with six men to Portete, some ten leagues (55 km/34 miles) from Matina over beaches and reefs, to continue the search. Upon reaching the beach at Portete three days later, Acosta sent soldier Diego Oviedo to reconnoiter. Oviedo saw a canoe offshore with six men inside, who appeared to be guarding a group of black men and women on the beach. Acosta and his men advanced on the canoe, drawing their arms and ordering its occupants to "Give themselves up by the King of Spain." One of the men on board pointed a shotgun at the Spaniards before the canoe took to sea. Eight African women threw themselves at the feet of the Spaniards, signalling their great hunger and gesturing that there were more of them along the beach and reefs. Acosta sent one of the black women with three soldiers to search, and returned four days later with a group of twenty-four black men and women whom they had found between Portete and Punta Blanca. Acosta sent word of the capture to Cartago, the provincial capital, and learned from an African slave interpreter

that there were still more blacks at Portete. A second search produced two men and six women. One man died shortly after arriving at Matina; eleven of the Africans remained there, too sick to travel; and twenty-two made the journey to Cartago.⁴⁰ Upon their arrival on 14 April 1710, they were counted, inspected, and their value assessed. All of the seven men and fifteen women were described as “sick and maltreated”; one man was not expected to live and was not evaluated with the others.⁴¹ The Africans were classified by ethnicity as follows: Five men and thirteen women of *casta arará*; two women of *casta mina*; and two men of *casta carabalí*.⁴² The last identification, referring to the Bight of Biafra, was clearly an error. The Africans were “deposited” with Juan López de la Rea y Soto, who assumed responsibility for their care and security.⁴³ On 2 May 1710, Gaspar de Acosta Arévalo returned to Cartago with a group of ten slaves who had been recovering in Matina; one remained too ill to travel. This second group of Africans had been captured near Portete shortly after the first, and consisted of three men and seven women, all described as of *casta arará*. Along with the first group of twenty-two, they were “deposited” with Juan López de la Rea y Soto.⁴⁴

Around the same time, a party of Spanish officers in Matina captured another group of forty-five Africans, seizing them from the Miskito Zambos on the beach near the mouth of the Moín river. On the night of 20 April 1710, Lieutenant Governor Juan Bautista Retana received word from Domingo de la Puerta, an officer at the watchtower of Matina, that he had seen firelight on the beach toward Moín. Gathering together six men including Jacinto Rivera and Faustino, a “mulato of the service of Captain don Antonio de la Vega Cabral,” Retana left for the coast. Arriving at the watchtower, de la Puerta

told him that while crossing the Moín river in a canoe, he had seen a man on the shore near the bush bordering the beach. When he called out to him, the man disappeared into the bush.⁴⁵

Retana sent a soldier to pursue the man, who found some pieces of burnt sticks in the sand and saw three or four people in the distance. The six men who had accompanied Retana searched the beach, where they found a small shelter (*rancho*) and heard the murmur of people inside. The men waited until the moon came out, when they saw some people exit the hut and began following them. By the time they arrived at Moín, they determined that there were five blacks and “many people that they could not determine what color they were.” With this news, Retana returned to the Valley of Matina, where on 22 April he notified Captain Antonio de Soto y Barahona, Captain Juan Francisco de Ibarra y Calvo, and fourteen other men.⁴⁶ Barahona immediately assembled his servants and slaves (*los criados de su servicio*), joined the party, and set out for the coast.⁴⁷

Arriving at Moín the next day, Barahona dispatched two men as sentinels, who returned shortly, having seen “many people on the beach marching toward Matina.” Barahona sent his servant (*criado*) Lázaro de Aguilar ahead to reconnoiter the group. If they were Miskitos, he instructed, Lázaro should tie a white cloth to his lance and wave it like a flag as a signal. Barahona and the rest of his men followed at a short distance, concealing themselves in the bush. Barahona scaled a tree to observe, and recognized the group as Miskitos just as they seized Lázaro and disarmed him. “Gentlemen, we are already upon them,” Barahona called out. His men replied, “Victory or death!” and Captains Barahona, Juan Francisco de Ibarra, Bernardo Pacheco, and Juan Bautista de

Retana broke cover to confront the Miskitos. “Surrender your arms, by the King of Spain,” Barahona called out to the them. Unimpressed, the “captain” of the Miskitos rejoined, “You and all your people, surrender yours, by me.”⁴⁸

Barahona signalled to his people still concealed in the bush by calling out, “In the name of Most Holy Mary.” After a brief struggle in which Barahona and Captain Juan Francisco de Ibarra were struck by lances, they disarmed the Miskitos of the four shotguns and various lances they carried, then turned their attention to a larger group of people approaching along on the beach. Ascertaining that they were blacks, Jacinto de Rivera and two other men began collecting the Africans. Barahona and the rest of the men took custody of the Miskito prisoners, marching them along the beach toward the watchtower at the mouth of the Matina River. At the delta, three of the Miskitos jumped out of the canoe transporting them and attempted to escape. Two soldiers fell upon one of the men, stabbing him to death with their lances; Barahona himself killed a second man with his shotgun.⁴⁹

That night around 10 p.m., Jacinto de Rivera arrived at the watchtower with a group of forty-five Africans. Reporting that he had seen a pirogue on the sea earlier in the afternoon, Barahona immediately ordered Rivera to take the blacks to the Matina Valley, where they would be safer should the Miskitos attack and attempt to recapture them. Juan Bautista de Retana received forty of the Africans at his cacao hacienda in Matina to “care for” them. The next day, at Andrés Chacón’s hacienda at Matina, interpreters took statements from the Miskitos and Africans, and the Spaniards learned that yet more blacks were hiding near Moín. Captains Juan Francisco de Ibarra and José de Bonilla

returned to Moín to search for them. Then Barahona and a group of eight men set out for Cartago with their Miskito prisoners and five of the Africans, leaving the others to recuperate at his hacienda in Matina. Captain Antonio de Soto y Barahona arrived with the Miskitos and five Africans in Cartago on 1 May 1710 – three men and two women of *casta mina*.⁵⁰[RL31]

Interrogated by an interpreter in Cartago, Suyntin and Antonio offered accounts that had little in common with Barahona's heroic narrative. On the way back to Mosquitia with the captured Africans, Suyntin saw a Spaniard up ahead on the beach. Approaching him, he indicated that they came in peace on the way to their country. The Spaniard replied that "they could pass, that they were friends (*camaradas*), that they would sleep that night in the watchtower and the next day they would go." Suyntin returned to his companions and presented them with the offer. They agreed and approached, "offering their hands to the Spaniards as a sign of friendship." The Spaniards then took out a bottle of liquor (*aguardiente*) and passed it between Suyntin and four of his companions, there not being enough for all. Sending one of their number into the bush to cut plantains for the Miskitos' journey, the Spaniards "put white cloths on some sticks and waved them like flags, and threw their hats in the air as a sign of peace" – a clear reference to Lázaro's signal to his master, Captain Antonio de Soto y Barahona. The Spaniards ferried the Miskitos by canoe in groups to the watchtower, but when the last of the group saw their companions already tied up on the other side of the river, two of them jumped overboard and were killed by the Spaniards while trying to escape. Bound and marched first to Matina and then to Cartago, Suyntin and his friends asked the Spaniards bitterly,

“if that was friendship.”⁵¹ On the way to Cartago, one of the Miskito prisoners broke loose and fled. The Spaniards released their dogs and went after him. They soon came back, saying they had been unable to find the man -- which Suyntin and Antonio took to mean that they had killed him.⁵²

On 11 May, Juan Bautista de Retana arrived in Cartago with a second group of thirty-eight Africans – thirteen males and twenty-one females, again, all described as of *casta mina*. The remainder of the group of forty-five captured by Retana and Captain Antonio de Soto y Barahona, the males of the group ranged in age from twenty-six at the oldest to eight or nine at the youngest; the females from about forty to eight. One African had drowned and another, ill, had stayed behind in Matina, Retana explained.⁵³

Another group of Spaniards apprehended a third group of Africans on 24 April 1710. Having received word the previous day about the Africans at Moín, Captain Juan Francisco de Ibarra y Calvo assembled a group of twenty-four male residents in the Valley of Matina, and went down to the beach to search for them, reportedly “professing the interest of His Majesty.” They arrived at the beach of Moín that night and began to search by candlelight. The next morning at 5 a.m., Ibarra and his men found a group of twenty-six Africans “walking together” – nine black men and seventeen black women. Ibarra returned with the Africans to his hacienda in Matina, where he left them to recover, as some were “very maltreated.” He then went back to Moín, where he continued to search. Ibarra pleaded with the officials that there were no provisions in Matina to feed the Africans, who were in danger of starving to death.⁵⁴ Were he to bring the blacks to Cartago, Ibarra noted, he would proceed by the main road (*camino real*).⁵⁵

In the event, Ibarra did not bring the blacks to Cartago for more than five weeks, arriving with four African men and twelve women on 11 June 1710, all described as of *casta nangu*. One black man had died in Matina, Ibarra explained, and nine others had drowned while crossing the Reventazón River in a canoe.⁵⁶ As the canoe reached the middle of the raging river, Ibarra testified, one of the blacks stood up. He shouted at him to sit down, but “being *bozales*, others stood up” and the canoe capsized. All the blacks drowned, and Salvador Picado and the canoeman barely escaped with their lives.⁵⁷

Bernardo Pacheco offered a more detailed account of the accident, although he was careful to state that being “distracted” at the critical moment, he had not actually seen the blacks drown. On leaving Matina with the twenty-six Africans they had captured, the party reached the Reventazón and found the river too high to cross safely. After waiting four days for the river to recede, they decided to take their chances. First they improvised some fiber stretchers or packs (*motetes*) and, with great care, successfully passed the supplies across the river. Next they turned to the task of transporting the captives, loading nine into a canoe. Pacheco turned away for a moment, then immediately heard shouts and looked up to see the blacks rapidly disappear downstream. The canoeman, Manuel de Bonilla, was able to swim, but Pacheco and Captain Ibarra had to wade into the swirling river up to their chests in order to extract Salvador Picado, who suffered a badly mangled leg. After this fatal mishap, the Spaniards decided to abandon the *camino real* for the inland road (*camino de tierra adentro*) passing through the territory of the Talamanca Indians.⁵⁸

In fact, no such accident occurred, as authorities suspected at the time, and the nine young Africans remained very much alive in Costa Rica. Despite persistent inquiries backed by threats of torture, no incriminating evidence could be amassed against Ibarra for almost a decade.⁵⁹ But in 1719, these Africans themselves testified how Ibarra had selected them for his own use, or to sell to other interested parties.

Table 4.1

**Gender and Imputed Ethnic Designations of Africans
Captured from the *Christianus Quintus* and *Fredericus Quartus***

<i>Casta</i> as Noted in First References	Females	Males	Total
<i>Captured by Cap. Gaspar de Acosta Arévalo et al.</i>			
Mina	2	--	2
Arará	18	8	26
Carabalí (sic)	--	2	2
Unknown	--	2	2
Total	20	12	32
<i>Captured by Cap. don Antonio de Soto y Barahona et al.</i>			
Mina	27	16	43
Unknown	--	2	2
Total	27	18	45
<i>Captured by Cap. don Juan Francisco de Ibarra y Calvo et al.</i>			
Nangu	12	4	16
Aná	4	3	7
Mina	--	1	1
Popo	1	--	1
Unknown	--	1	1
Total	17	9	26
<i>Total</i>			
Mina	29	16	45
Arará	18	8	24
Nangu	12	4	16
Aná	4	3	7
Popo	1	--	1
Carabalí (sic)	--	2	2
Unknown	--	4	2
Total	64	39	103

Sources: ANCR, C. 187, fols. 12-13v, 97-100v, 147-149; G. 185, fols. 25-25v.

An Illuminating Flash of Lightning: An African Account of the Middle Passage

On 16 April 1710, about a month after they arrived at Punta Cahuita, several of the Africans recaptured near Moín were interviewed in Cartago by Francisco, a Slave Coast native of *casta arará*, who served as interpreter.⁶⁰ Among the questions Francisco posed was an unusual request for an African account of the Middle Passage. He spoke first to an African man called Juan, who explained that he had been given that name on the beaches of Matina.⁶¹ Juan's narrative suggests contemporary Slave Coast attitudes toward the morality of the trans-Atlantic slave trade, constituting a rare account of the Middle Passage from the perspective of the Africans enslaved.

"Juan," described as a black man of *casta arará*, explained that he was more than forty years old, a native of "Guinea," and that "they stole him from his country and put him with many others of his *casta* in one of three ships that were anchored" offshore.⁶² One of the ships, he said, burned at sea, killing all on board; the other two ships wandered at sea for a long time, when one of them was lost. The remaining ship, Juan related, was taken by "the people," and having sighted land, was making for it when they met with "a great storm, [and] many bolts of lightning struck the ship, killing the captain and many people."⁶³ The ship was badly damaged and without food because the storm had wet and ruined it. Those commanding the ship ordered that the blacks be put ashore in two canoes they had brought. Juan was brought ashore with "thirty companions, twelve men and twenty-two women," who immediately set about searching the beach for something to eat, as they were starving and had been given nothing. After putting the Africans

ashore, the crew sailed off in two canoes. The Africans saw no one else until seven men captured them and took them to a place Juan learned was called Matina, where one of them died.⁶⁴ With a few slight differences, two more African men called Nicolás and Miguel repeated Juan's testimony almost verbatim.⁶⁵

Despite some points in common, the narratives of Juan, Nicolás, and Miguel differed strikingly from the accounts offered by the Danish sailors. Juan, Nicolás, and Miguel spoke of three ships "that had anchored, and from there they went to sea."⁶⁶ Their claim that a third ship was burned at sea, and that all on board perished, finds no echo in the Danish account – the Danes mentioned neither a third ship nor such a holocaust. At some point in the crossing, the Africans said, a second ship was "lost"; again, the Danes recalled no such mishap, and according to their account, the two ships remained together.⁶⁷ The most dramatic divergence in the African and Danish accounts emerged in the Africans' description of the fate of the last remaining ship. Juan alleged that it had been struck by "many bolts of lightning, . . . killing the captain and many people." The Danes also recalled a severe storm, which had blown them off their intended course to Cahuita. But according to the Danes, the ships had been destroyed by mutineers, not by a storm. They mentioned no lightning strikes; those Danish crew members who perished died from starvation and disease; and neither Captain Diedrich Pfeiff of the *Fredericus Quartus*, nor Captain Anders Wærøe of the *Christianus Quintus* had been killed or even injured – indeed, both eventually returned to Europe.⁶⁸

Some of these discrepancies may be plausibly explained. The sources make no mention of the specific language in which Francisco conducted his interviews; it is

possible that he misunderstood, and very likely that he embellished, some of what was told him. The translated testimony as it was preserved can only faintly echo what the Africans said, and what they intended by what they said. For example, “Juan” almost certainly never said that he was from “Guinea,” and it is unlikely he claimed to be of “*casta arará*” – Francisco offered these glosses as a translator seeking to distill and convey the sense of what he heard in terms comprehensible to his Spanish-speaking audience.

In the brief accounts they narrated to Francisco, Juan, Nicolás, and Miguel summarized, edited, and recast the horrific events of the past several months. They conspicuously omitted the shipboard slave rebellion, which the crew had punished with execution and torture; they made no mention of the hundreds of Africans who died of disease and starvation; nor did they refer to the many stops the ships made on their wayward journey to Cahuita. But the Africans not only failed to relate all they had seen; they related things they had not seen. The captives almost certainly could not have witnessed the destruction of the ships, as they took flight on 4 March, and the ships were not destroyed until three days later. It seems unlikely that they witnessed the burning of a first ship, nor the “loss” of a second ship at sea, even the existence of which cannot be verified. I suggest that in the accounts they offered to Francisco, these Africans meant to tell another story based in their own cultural values and understandings.

By 1710, Francisco had been a slave in Costa Rica for at least eight years, serving two masters in the dangerous work of pearl diving.⁶⁹ As a “*ladino* in our Castilian language,” he was beyond doubt conversant in Spanish and understood the connotations of the words

he chose in translation.⁷⁰ Slaves in Costa Rica, even Africans, almost never used words such as “stolen” (*hurtado*) or “taken” (*cogido*) to describe their enslavement. When they did, it was in specific reference to seizure by force. For example, “congo” slave Felipe Cubero, a West Central African, claimed to have been brought to Costa Rica by Spaniards who seized him (*lo cogieron*) on the beach near Cartagena, Colombia, after he ventured outside the city to hunt iguanas.⁷¹ Antonio Civitola, also a “congo,” said he had been captured (*lo cogieron*) by Miskito Indians in Matina, who later sold him to his Costa Rican master.⁷² Micaela, a Yoruba of *casta aná*, recalled that Don Juan Francisco de Ibarra had captured her with many of her shipmates (*los cogieron*) on the Matina coast.⁷³ These descriptions all referred to unusual situations in which the Africans had been seized through overpowering force.⁷⁴

The word “stolen” (*hurtado*) was used yet more rarely; in fact, apart from its usage by Juan, Nicolás, and Miguel, I have found only one other case in which an African used the word to refer to his enslavement. In 1720, Miguel Largo, probably from the Upper Slave Coast, testified in broken Spanish that he had been “stolen [when he was] little in the Mina country” (*lo hurtaron chiquito en la tierra de mina*).⁷⁵ Without implying that enslaved Africans were content with their condition in either Africa or America, they came overwhelmingly from societies which recognized the legitimacy and legality of slaveholding in prescribed circumstances.⁷⁶ Africans in Costa Rica may have emphasized that they were “stolen” when referring to circumstances in which their enslavement occurred outside the usual mechanisms such as sale or pawnship by kin members, judicial enslavement, or even capture in war, which would have been better

translated as “being seized” (*ser cogido*). When Africans claimed to have been “stolen,” I suspect that they meant to say something especially pointed by the word: They were free people who had been “stolen” by “thieves” who had no right to hold them as slaves – in this case, the Danes.⁷⁷

Around 1715, an anonymous French observer described the worship of a thunder god by natives of the Slave Coast kingdom of Ouidah, who was said to punish thieves by hurling lightning bolts.⁷⁸ This figures among the first documentary references to So, the Slave Coast god (*vodun*) of thunder and lightning, who is also frequently known as Hevieso due to his original association with the town Hevié.⁷⁹ Among the most powerful and feared of all *vodun*, Hevieso visits his vengeance on wrongdoers by hurling his double-edged axes in the form of lightning bolts. When lightning flashes, Hevieso strikes down a victim with his unerring axe. Trees felled by lightning were believed to be the gathering places of witches, which Hevieso destroyed in order to deny them cover for their evil workings. Hevieso never missed his target; if lightning was sighted but no victim or damage could be found, he had simply struck down a guilty party somewhere else.⁸⁰

Hevieso, the thunder *vodun* of the Ewe, Aja, and Fon pantheons, is explicitly linked to Shango, the thunder god (*orisha*) of the Yoruba.⁸¹ Indeed, the two share many identical attributes including the double-edged axe, the hurling of lightning bolts as stone celts which must be retrieved by priests, and the special vengeance visited on thieves.⁸² Although the origins of the relationship between the Slave Coast cults of Hevieso and the Yoruba cults of Shango have not yet been established, by the early eighteenth century,

cultural exchange, including of religious elements, between the Slave Coast peoples and the Yoruba was well-cemented and perhaps many centuries old.⁸³ The same anonymous Frenchman who described the worship of the thunder god noted the prominence of Yoruba priests in Ouidah around 1715.⁸⁴ Although ultimately the most widely celebrated, Shango was only one of the thunder gods revered by Yoruba-speaking peoples. Jakuta, identified with both Shango and Hevieso by the twentieth century, may once have presided over an older, independent cult. Among western Yoruba in what is now Benin, Ara reigned as the local thunder god before later becoming associated with Shango. Both shared a complex of mythic qualities with Shango and Hevieso, including their punishment of thieves by lightning.⁸⁵

By 1710, thunder gods such as Hevieso, Shango, Jakuta, and Ara were widely venerated and similarly conceived throughout the Slave Coast and western Yorubaland. The thunder god controlled a fearful natural force which he unleashed not at random, but directed at his enemies who violated earthly laws. I have suggested that Africans in Costa Rica claimed they were “stolen” when they wanted to emphasize that they had been wrongfully enslaved by “thieves” who had no right to their persons. Without any traditionally sanctioned authority, the Danes tore kinspeople from the lineages to which they belonged. Like witches, for their own selfish and greedy motives, they fomented chaos in society, disordering sacred bonds of kinship and community. The Danes’ malicious ability to twist supernatural forces to their own ends became evident in their navigation of the open sea, another world to Slave Coast and Yoruba peoples without seafaring traditions.⁸⁶ But other awesome powers existed to meet them. The thunder god

avenged such crimes by hurling lightning bolts at thieves and witches who violated the moral order.

In the religious worldview of the Slave Coast and Yorubaland, the Danes who stole the Africans from their country had incurred the predictable result of a violent thunderstorm. Because they knew the lightning of the thunder god never missed its target, the Africans assured their interviewer that the captain and his crew of manstealers had been struck down in a great storm that restored a measure of justice to the earth.⁸⁷ Lightning also destroyed their slave ships, as it felled the trees that sheltered witches, and for the same reasons: they harbored evil. The narrative offered by the *ararás* Juan, Nicolás, and Miguel would have made perfect sense to the *aná* Agustina and other Yoruba on board. Hidden in its confusing details were traces of the cultural understandings which gave meaning to the shared and particular experiences of enslavement and the Middle Passage that had brought them to Costa Rica.

First Sales

On Friday, 25 April 1710 and again on Monday the 28th and Thursday 1 May, the *ladino* Indian Baltasar Calvo, a crier (*pregonero*) employed by the town cabildo, filled Cartago's central plaza with his voice. "*A la almoneda y con moneda* (to the auction and with money)," he shouted. Calvo pointed to the Africans standing at the doors of the cabildo, inviting "gentlemen who wish to make a bid on the black men and women present." Officials tried to hold public auctions on Sundays and feast days after Mass, to

guarantee maximum attendance. The sight of the African captives in the public square attracted “a concourse of people” to observe the spectacle, including the merely curious as well as seriously interested potential buyers.⁸⁸ Before convening the sales, officials recorded the approximate ages and physical characteristics of the captives during an “inventory and evaluation,” and selected experts (*péritos*) to estimate the captives’ value. In the case of the survivors of the *Christianus Quartus* put on sale in April 1710, Royal Treasurer Blas González Coronel and his lieutenant selected two men, including don Lorenzo de Arburola y Ribarén.⁸⁹ Swearing to perform his duty objectively, Arburola had considerable qualifications for the task, having bought and sold at least nine slaves over the past thirty years. In 1690, he had made a trip to Portobello, purchased seven Africans from the Asiento, and returned with them to sell in Cartago.⁹⁰

On those occasions, no buyers stepped forward.⁹¹ For prospective Costa Rican slave buyers, purchasing a slave was no easy decision; many Africans cost more than the cacao haciendas they would soon work, and slaves often formed the most valuable “items” of *vecinos*’ property. They meticulously examined the captives so they would choose the best investments, considered the uses to which they would put them, debated with themselves if they really needed them, whether they could afford them, and at last silently agreed with themselves on the bottom line of how much they were willing to spend[R32]. On the other hand, in several cases in the early eighteenth century, Costa Rican officials sweetened the deals by selling the captives at discounted prices much cheaper than could be had in Panama, sometimes incurring the wrath of their superiors in Nicaragua and Guatemala for cheating His Majesty’s interests.⁹² Costa Rican colonists with inside

information alerted friends and relatives elsewhere in Central America to take advantage of the bargains. On Friday, 2 May, Captain Antonio de la Vega Cabral, a wealthy Portuguese immigrant, outbid Enrique Faro to purchase a twenty-year-old woman of *casta arará* for 230 pesos in cash. Vega Cabral announced that he had made the purchase in the name of Don Nicolás de Carrión, Dean of the Cathedral of León, Nicaragua. On Sunday, 18 May 1710, Captain Juan de Astúa purchased an eighteen-year-old woman of *casta arará* for 208 pesos.⁹³ A month later, Father don Juan Antonio de Moya bought a nine-year-old boy at the price of 130 pesos on 22 June.⁹⁴ Large auctions such as those held in early 1710 stood out in the memories of masters and slaves for years afterward. Even in the case of the captives brought by the *Christianus Quintus* and *Fredericus Quartus*, one-on-one transactions were far more common means of acquiring slaves.

Captives understood that the moment of sale decided their futures for a long time to come. As Walter Johnson, an expert on antebellum New Orleans slave market, has pointed out, slave traders had to convince prospective buyers that captives would prove good investments, and by departing from “carefully scripted roles,” slaves could ruin the deals.⁹⁵ In most cases, the formulaic language of legal documents only hinted at the ways slaves influenced their futures at the moment of sale. For example, in 1706, Captain Diego Miguel González de Algarín bought Diego, a twenty-year-old *congo* man recently arrived from Africa, for 450 pesos. “For certain causes and motives,” González soon repented the purchase, and returned Diego to the seller. He accepted Francisco, a creole black of the same age, as a substitute.⁹⁶ Although Diego had initially seemed

satisfactory, within a few days, he managed to convince González that he would not suit him as a slave. His would-be master had failed to “break” him.

Violence

Violence lay at the heart of slavery, beginning with the moment of enslavement in Africa. Slave traders used it maintain control of the captives on the march to the African coast, the Middle Passage, in the holding pens of the British and Dutch Caribbean, Cartagena, Portobello, Panama, on the other Middle Passages of the sea voyage and forced march overland to Cartago. When Africans arrived at the homes of their new masters in Costa Rica, initially there could be only rudimentary communication between them. Violence, therefore, formed a kind of substitute, shorthand language, the most direct means available to masters to “teach” African captives that they had become slaves. Obedience formed the indispensable first lesson; when masters secured it, they could convince themselves of their superiority to the captives.⁹⁷ They conveyed their most immediate, unmistakable instructions by inflicting pain. They continued to use violence after slaves became acculturated; it remained part of their permanent vocabulary and ultimately formed the only means by which masters could secure slave labor and the products of slave labor.⁹⁸ Ten years after he arrived on the *Christianus Quintus* or *Fredericus Quartus*, doña Josefa de Oses explained that she had chained her slave Francisco Caracata to a barred window “because she could not subject him.”⁹⁹ Masters

saw violence as constituting a natural part of what they believed was their necessary and legitimate dominance over their inferiors.

Unlike slaves in large plantation societies, some of whom might see their masters only once or twice in a lifetime, virtually all slaves knew their masters personally, and most in Costa Rica experienced direct, intimate, and often brutal contact at their hands. The survivors of the *Chistianus Quintus* and *Fredericus Quartus* immediately began especially close relationships with their new Costa Rican masters, as in some cases their masters had literally captured them. When Captain don Juan Francisco de Ibarra captured the Yoruba (*aná*) Micaela and Agustina, they were both about twenty years old. Ibarra kept a pair of shackles in his home; having once served as the *Alcalde* of the *Santa Hermandad* (sheriff of the rural constabulary), he certainly used them in a professional capacity, perhaps also on his slaves. Micaela and Agustina remained Ibarra's slaves for almost thirty years, until his death in 1737; Ibarra's daughter then inherited Micaela, and freed her in 1746.¹⁰⁰

Direct documentary evidence of the physical abuse of slaves, however, is rare, suggesting that authorities rarely intervened in masters' "punishment" of their slaves. Significantly, one of the only criminal cases brought against a Costa Rican master for violence against a slave was prosecuted not in Costa Rica, but in León, Nicaragua. In 1722, while on a trip to León, fourteen-year-old don Tomás del Corral ordered his slave Miguel, a *mina* man of about twenty-five, to stay and watch some mules while he attended to an errand. Miguel left the mules unsupervised when his other young master, don Manuel del Corral, summoned him to bring a horse. When Tomás returned and

found the mules unattended he exploded in a violent tantrum, attacking Miguel with a sword and permanently disabling him.¹⁰¹ Although such direct evidence of master violence is scant, on the other hand, documents often mentioned slaves' wounds. It is often impossible, however, to know whether these were caused by torture or by accidents. Lázaro, Juan, and Isabel were all described as "one-eyed."¹⁰² Josefa, a middle-aged *arará* woman, was scarred with "an old burn from the top of her throat to below the navel."¹⁰³ Other slaves had clearly suffered their wounds as the result of vicious brutality. Rita, a *mulata*, for example, had a "broken throat."¹⁰⁴

Sexual violence, too, was inherent to slavery -- systemic if not always systematic. Adding a dimension to their domination of female captives, slavers raped girls and women from the first moments they captured them.¹⁰⁵ For many African women, purchased for their reproductive as well as productive capacities, sexual exploitation formed a familiar aspect of slavery. Crew members and male captives continued the rapes on the Middle Passage. Slave trader Jean Barbot mentioned casually that on Atlantic crossings, African women "often made us pastime . . . [and] afforded us abundance of recreation."¹⁰⁶ In the Americas, masters regarded sexual domination of female slaves as part of their property rights. Some purchased female captives, particularly adolescent girls, specifically to serve them as sexual partners[RL33].¹⁰⁷ Like cases of physical abuse, masters' sexual victimization of slave women rarely made it into official records. In general, masters' sexual relationships with their slaves became "problems" only when they reached the level of public scandal. Doña María Trejos of Cartago, for example, tolerated the "illicit friendship" of her husband with a *mulata* slave

for more than twelve years before demanding “the punishment of these public sins” in 1771.¹⁰⁸

Although she was not a slave, the experience of Felipa Arias, a twelve-year-old servant (*criada*) of don Miguel de la Haya Bolívar in the Bagaces Valley, was surely shared by enslaved girls and women. In early 1724, Felipa went to the brother of her master, pleading “for the love of God and of his mother Most Holy Mary and by the honor of God, that her master had violated her.”¹⁰⁹ Recognizing his intentions, Felipa had previously told her mistress that “her master was pursuing her, to which she paid no attention and for which reason her mistress punished her.” As so often happened in other slave and slaveholding societies, Felipa’s mistress blamed the victim of her husband’s unwanted attentions.¹¹⁰ One night, Haya Bolívar took Felipa from her bed in the house to a nearby plantain field, where he stuffed a handkerchief in her mouth and raped her. Between her master’s threats and promises, Felipa kept silent the next day, but when she realized that he intended to continue raping her every night, she determined to flee. Having no one else to turn to, she went to her master’s brother, don Gabriel de la Haya Bolívar.¹¹¹ Extraordinarily, Gabriel de la Haya notified the authorities of his brother’s crime, and they left a record of the incident.

Contrary to the wishful thinking of some early nationalistic historians, there is little reason to believe that slaves in Costa Rica were “more gently treated” or experienced less physical abuse than did captives in other parts of the Americas.¹¹² First, the physical “punishment” of dependents, including slaves, formed an integral and accepted part of daily life in colonial Latin America. The patriarchal ideology that guided Spanish

American (and other) colonial societies held that just as God sometimes chastised his creatures and the king disciplined his subjects, so the father's authority over his wife, children, servants, and slaves sometimes required physical punishment. According to this ideal, masters could beat, whip, or otherwise "punish" slaves as long as they did so in a corrective, dispassionate, and exemplary manner without giving way to passion, malice, or caprice.¹¹³ Girls and women, especially slaves who were supposed never to question their masters, were unlikely publicly to report sexual abuse in societies where law and convention held them partially responsible even for their own rapes.¹¹⁴ There was thus no reason that routine abuse of a slave should merit written comment.

Second, the absence of references to violence against slaves should also be accepted as evidence that in Costa Rica, the colonial state seldom intervened between master and slave. In a small city like Cartago where face-to-face interactions were the predominant form of social intercourse, slaves personally knew the officials to whom they legally had the right to appeal for protection. In theory, Spanish "absolutism" tempered master-slave relations throughout Latin America.¹¹⁵ But in practice, slaves knew that the interests of slavemasters and Spanish absolutism (on this issue, at least) were often identical because in Costa Rica, slavemasters often *were* the colonial state: "a group of persons who ruled, who commanded, who dominated and for the maintenance of their power possessed an apparatus of physical coercion, an apparatus of violence, of . . . weapons . . ."¹¹⁶

Cabildo members, governors, civil and ecclesiastical judges, and other officials figured among the colony's slaveholders. In 1700, for example, the Cartago cabildo included *Alcalde Ordinario de Primer Voto y Teniente de Gobernador en lo Político* Nicolás de

Céspedes, *Alcalde Ordinario* don Francisco Bruno Serrano de Reyna, *Alférez Mayor* don José de Casasola y Córdoba, *Alcalde de la Santa Hermandad* Blas González Coronel, and *Depositario* don Cristóbal Martín Cubero. All were slaveowners, and at least three were large cacao planters. Nor, at that time, could slaves hope to exploit a conflict between the locally elected cabildo and the governor appointed by the Crown: Governor don Francisco Serrano de Reyna was not only a slaveholder, but an enthusiastic participant in the contraband slave trade.¹¹⁷ Slaves had little hope of assistance from these men who inflicted violence on them personally, as slaveowners, and potentially with the shackles, jails, whips, garrotes, gallows, and armed troops available to them as representatives of the state. Omitting the violence they inflicted from the documents, masters and the state that served them together conspired to condemn the slaves to suffer forever in silence.

“Seasoning”

After arrival in Costa Rica, enslaved Africans began what planters in British America called “seasoning.” This brutal process involved adaptation to a new disease environment, exposure to new ethnic groups, sale, the beginnings of a relationship with a new master, the imposition of a new name, learning unfamiliar work, an introduction to a new religion, and more.¹¹⁸ “Seasoning” marked the critical step during which masters hoped to reduce African women and men to “things” who would act as perfect extensions of their will. On the Middle Passage, captains and crews made little if any attempt to instruct the captives in the norms of European culture. Concerned only with delivering

their merchandise to port, they maintained discipline through naked violence, and everyone knew it.¹¹⁹ Slave traders made no pretense of and had no interest in acculturating the Africans; simply controlling the captives formed their main objective during transport.

Masters had more complicated concerns. Once the captive arrived on his or her new master's property, the emphasis shifted from mere physical control to adapting the captive to a new social relationship and to her or his place in a new productive system. Control remained imperative, but was no longer sufficient; it now became prerequisite to the goal of appropriating the surplus product created by the enslaved worker.¹²⁰ Masters expected slaves to be not just fearful but obedient, not only in work but in a host of ways in daily life. Obedience – which need have nothing to do with consent -- required that slaves understand what masters expected of them, and involved a whole complex of cultural norms of which Africans initially knew little or nothing. To make a slave of a free woman or man – that is, to make her or him into a productive enslaved worker in a particular relationship to a master – ultimately required a more sophisticated blend of physical and ideological forms of domination.¹²¹

Inevitably, African captives arrived in the Americas malnourished and sick. At least one man from the *Christianus Quintus* or *Fredericus Quartus* died just a few days after after reaching Matina.¹²² At this early stage, the Spaniards attempted to provide the valuable captives with healthy food: *Alférez* Jacinto de Rivera travelled to the Barbilla Valley, where he purchased plantains and meat for the captives, hiring mules to carry the sickest to the capital.¹²³ The march from the humid lowlands of Matina to the cool

mountains of Cartago also took a toll on the new arrivals.¹²⁴ Another African man drowned in one of the rushing rivers on the way to the Central Valley.¹²⁵ Thirty-two Africans arrived at the Cartago home of Captain Juan López de la Rea in April 1710. All were sick, some with little hope of survival. Four of them died in the following three months. Twenty-two Africans were held in the home of Captain Antonio de la Vega Cabral in Cartago for almost two months between May and July 1710. Cabral invested in two blankets to warm the sick and his wife applied “unguents” to cure them. Even these rudimentary measures appear to have had some effect, as none of the Africans died during those first fifty-seven days in Cabral’s home.¹²⁶ Compared to recent arrivals from Africa elsewhere in the Americas, these survivors of the *Christianus Quintus* and *Fredericus Quartus* fared remarkably well. In the French Caribbean during the same period, on average at least one-quarter of captives died soon after disembarkation.¹²⁷

Although some masters preferred creoles because they had already adapted to the rules of American slavery, others believed that this familiarity made them potentially more rebellious, and preferred *bozales* precisely because they knew nothing about European culture.¹²⁸ This ignorance, slaveholders believed, made the Africans pliable and docile, ready to carry out all their masters’ wishes as soon as they learned what they were. Like some early historians of slavery, most masters cared about the “Guinea” origins of the captives primarily because these might affect their ambition of turning captives into slaves.¹²⁹ At this stage, masters began the process of indoctrinating the recent arrivals. Africans began to learn the dimensions of their servitude, a process that

included the attempted replacement of their previous identities with new ones defined solely by their status as slaves.¹³⁰

The Slave Name

As one of the first steps in reducing African men and women to American slaves, masters labelled them with new names.¹³¹ Within minutes of capturing them on the beach near Moín in 1710, Captain Gaspar de Acosta Arévalo and Lieutenant Juan Bautista de Retana named each of more than thirty Gold Coast and Slave Coast men and women, presumably to tell them apart. “The black men and women had no names at all” when he found them, Gaspar de Acosta claimed ignorantly.¹³² Acosta’s view was not original, but consonant with prevailing stereotypes held by even the best-educated Spaniards. The Crown Attorney (*fiscal*) for the Council of the Indies, for example, believed in 1708 that the “barbarians” of the African interior “do not know each other by name because they have none, but only tell each other apart by the outward signs of their bodies.”¹³³

On the contrary, Africans believed that names held extraordinary power and did not assign them arbitrarily or whimsically. In all of the societies from which the men, women, and children of the *Christianus Quintus* and *Fredericus Quartus* came – including Ga, Akan, Mina, Ewe, Yoruba, and Bariba – names held strong significance. As in other cultures, some names immediately identified a person as a member of a particular family group, clan, or lineage, and naming ceremonies served to introduce the

newborn to the community.¹³⁴ According to a modern Ga writer, a Ga from the Accra region of the Gold Coast could tell from the name of another “to which family he belongs as soon as he hears the name of that person.” A family name was only one of several, however. Ga children also inherited their father’s name and received a personal name.¹³⁵ Akan children, including the Kwawu, received names reflecting matrilineage, day of birth, another day-name dedicated to the child’s “destiny-soul” (*kra*), and a name chosen by their father, typically for an admired person who would, it was hoped, bestow some of his or her good qualities on the child.¹³⁶ For the Mina of the Upper Slave Coast, to be named after an ancestor meant to inherit all of his or her defects as well as virtues. Names connected their bearers to the visible and invisible worlds, and a secret name conferred through divination could not be spoken aloud without risking death.¹³⁷ Among the Fon of Dahomey, a mother gave her child a personal name at birth, always kept secret thereafter. Like the Mina, both the Fon and the Bariba of northern Togo and Benin believed it essential to keep a child’s birth name secret in order to prevent ill-wishers from using it for occult purposes. The Fon bestowed an array of names on their children according to an exceedingly complex system. A host of considerations determined the choice of a name, including whether one’s older siblings were twins; whether one was born with his or her eyes facing the sky, at the market, or while his mother was travelling; and the gods into whose cults the child’s parents were initiated.¹³⁸ Names not only introduced West Africans as individuals, but established them as family members, natives of homelands, devotees of gods, and heirs to a past.

Spanish slavemasters knew nothing of these vital traditions. Most of the time, they were utterly unconcerned with recording any aspects of African cultures, which they viewed as barbarous when they bothered to consider them at all.¹³⁹ For masters, the African backgrounds of their captives assumed relevance only insofar as they hindered or facilitated assimilation to slave status. Spanish slavemasters might not have given much thought to the implications of uprooting Africans from their pasts, but they certainly intended to remake them as Hispanicized slaves. Africans understood that receiving a new name marked an essential step in their debasement from free people to slaves. Like their European counterparts in the Americas, West and West Central African masters renamed captives to mark them as slaves; indeed, in his encyclopedic comparative study Orlando Patterson argues that renaming constitutes “one of the first acts of the master” in “every slave society.”¹⁴⁰ Spaniards almost invariably renamed Africans immediately; in Spanish America, therefore, first names are of limited help in suggesting the extent to which Africans became acculturated to their new societies.¹⁴¹ Because Spaniards hardly ever recorded Africans’ original names, invaluable information about the captives has been lost to historians – not only obvious data such as the identification of ethnic origins, but clues to the individual personalities of these men and women and the lives they left behind in their homelands.¹⁴² Renaming marked a further removal from the home societies that the Africans had been forced to leave.

Who named the Africans? When newly arrived Africans were sold at auction, notaries recorded physical descriptions and sometimes ethnic origins, but not names.¹⁴³ With the possible exception of some West Central Africans who might already have

borne Portuguese names, new arrivals were clearly named by their masters, often before they learned anything else of Spanish culture.¹⁴⁴ The Slave Coast men subsequently known as Juan, Miguel, and Nicolás memorized their new names moments after being captured by the Spaniards on the coast near Moín, surprising their interrogators with them when they told their stories in their native language just a few days after arrival.¹⁴⁵ Not uncommonly, masters named slaves after themselves. Soon after purchasing a *congo* boy who arrived in La Caldera in 1700, Father don Diego de Angulo Gascón named him Diego de Angulo Gascón.¹⁴⁶ In 1710, *Alférez* don Antonio de la Riva y Agüero purchased a young *mina* man who had been captured from the survivors of the *Christianus Quintus* and *Fredericus Quartus*, naming him Antonio de la Riva y Agüero.¹⁴⁷ Captain Manuel García de Argueta likewise named one of his slaves Manuel García.¹⁴⁸ Masters chose the names of their *bozal* slaves from a limited repertoire, much the same as those of other Costa Ricans. María and compound variations thereof such as María Josefa, María de la Candelaria, etc., were by far the most common female names, followed by Juana; Juan and its derivatives were most common for males, followed by José, just as in the population at large.¹⁴⁹ Unlike slavemasters in the British and French Caribbean, the Spaniards associated no mocking or degrading names exclusively with slaves, at least on paper.¹⁵⁰

The earliest documents from Costa Rica carefully identified men and women of African descent with their current or past masters, treating their status as property with at least as much importance as their individual identity. The first surviving record from the parish church of Cartago, dating from 1599, lists the mother of a baptized child as “Juana,

slave of Peñaranda.” Slaves were no different in this respect from legally free servants in the early colonial period; the Indians Melchor, Gaspar, and Catalina were described as “Captain Pereira’s native[s] of Chirripó”; another Catalina was simply “of Francisco Ramiro’s service.”¹⁵¹

Although most slaves were known simply by Christian names followed by the formula “slave of . . .,” a minority used or were assigned surnames. Unlike today, Spanish surnames followed no general rule in the colonial period; siblings, for instance, often called themselves by different surnames; people were often known by their second surnames rather than their first. Slaves’ surnames frequently derived from their first master, the master to whom they had been enslaved the longest, or the master or mistress with whom, for whatever reason, they most closely identified.¹⁵² María, a mulata, was born to Agustina, a slave of doña María de Ortega, around 1662. After passing to two more owners, she continued to be associated with her first mistress, however, and was known in 1689 as “María de Ortega.”¹⁵³ Blas González Coronel purchased Lorenza, a *loango*, from a smuggler around 1700. Although he owned her for only about one year, Lorenza was still known as Lorenza González in 1719.¹⁵⁴ Antonio Granda, a *congo* slave of Governor don Lorenzo Antonio de la Granda y Balvín until the latter’s death in 1712, always kept the governor’s surname, although he was owned by the family of Captain Juan Sancho de Castañeda for thirty-six years afterward.¹⁵⁵

Slaves owned by married couples might use the surname of either spouse or both. José Manuel de Paniagua was most frequently called after his mistress, doña Baltasara Escalante y Paniagua, but sometimes called José Manuel Bermúdez after her deceased

husband, don José Antonio Bermúdez.¹⁵⁶ The young black man usually known as Santiago de Amazárez (elsewhere Amasare, Llamazárez), about fifteen years old when he married in 1742, was a slave of José Antonio de Oreamuno and his wife doña María Catalina de Ibarra. Over the next decade, other documents referred to him both as Santiago Oreamuno and Santiago Ibarra.¹⁵⁷ Tomás del Camino, as he preferred to be called, a mulato who earned his freedom in 1724, was usually known as Tomás Cubero after his first master, Cristóbal Martín Cubero. Tomás himself used the surname of his mistress doña Catalina González del Camino, however, even learning to sign his name “Thomas del Camyno.” Several documents referred to him as Tomás Cubero in the text despite his clear signature as Thomas del Camyno at the end. In the end, Tomás gave in and began signing his name “Thomas Cubero.”¹⁵⁸ Slaves belonging to the same couple sometimes used the surnames of different spouses. In 1657, the mulato known as Nicolás de Figueroa was the slave of don Juan de Senabria Maldonado, the husband of doña Juana de Moscoso y Figueroa. Another slave of the couple, however, was known as José Maldonado.¹⁵⁹

To complicate the issue further, the names of slaves could change in the course of a lifetime.¹⁶⁰ The *cabo verde* who called himself Diego García was also called Diego de Casasola. Once a slave of don José de Casasola y Córdoba, he was sold to Manuel García de Argueta in 1705, but continued to be known as (and to call himself, at least occasionally) Diego de Casasola for at least nineteen more years.¹⁶¹ In 1696, Eugenia, a mulata then about nineteen years old, was a slave of Francisco Ramírez Rodado and doña Jerónima de Retes. The couple contributed Eugenia to the dowry of their daughter, doña

Lorenza Vanegas, when the latter married Francisco Martínez in 1702. In 1709, a document named Eugenia as Eugenia de Retes. When Martínez died, don Juan Francisco de Ibarra y Calvo purchased Eugenia at auction. A 1720 document referred to her as Eugenia Vanegas. Ibarra gave Eugenia to his daughter doña Francisca for her dowry in 1728. When doña Francisca and her husband sold Eugenia in 1730, they again called her Eugenia de Retes.¹⁶²

Masters also regarded ethnic origins as important in distinguishing African slaves. In the first decades of the seventeenth century, for example, Francisco Angola's and Melchor Carabalí's surnames pointed to origins in West Central Africa and the Bight of Biafra region respectively.¹⁶³ Common throughout the colonial Americas, this practice continued in Costa Rica as long as Africans continued to arrive there. Like many African names that identified people with particular lineages and places, these *casta* surnames recalled distinct origins. American slavemasters, however, used the ethnic surnames to serve as further identifiers of slave status, employing nomenclature inherited from slave traders. In time, however, such names also came to reflect the slaves' own identification with Africans of similar background and a diasporic ethnicity recognized in Costa Rica.¹⁶⁴ Africans continued to be called by these ethnonyms even after they attained their freedom. A West Central African woman, apparently free by the early eighteenth century, was known locally as "Juana la Conga"; a Slave Coast-born freedman, Pedro Arará, kept his ethnonymic surname when he served in the free colored militia of Matina in 1718.¹⁶⁵ Presumably, these were the surnames by which Juana and Pedro were already best-known; they may also have used them to maintain identification with their diasporic

ethnicity. A few freedmen and women passed ethnic names on to their descendants, such as Diego Bran, a militiaman, and José Bran, both free mulatos who lived in the North Pacific region in the mid-eighteenth century[R34].¹⁶⁶ Rarely, notaries recorded only ethnic markers, as in the case of “Angola,” a male slave of doña Catalina Ortega.¹⁶⁷ Slaves might be referred to alternatively by ethnic surnames or the names of their masters. The Yoruba man Francisco Aná, for example, was also known as Francisco Calvo and Francisco Maroto, after his current mistress and deceased master.¹⁶⁸

African slaves probably continued to use African names among themselves, although there is scant evidence of this in Costa Rica or indeed in Spanish America generally. The lack of documentation of African names probably relates to the Spaniards’ ostensible concern with baptizing slaves as well as to their indifference to African cultures.¹⁶⁹ In 1710, Captain don Juan Francisco de Ibarra y Calvo brought a group of nine Africans to his country house soon after their arrival in Matina on the *Christianus Quintus* and *Fredericus Quartus*. Among them were two young women of Yoruba origin and a young man from the Gold Coast or Upper Slave Coast. A decade later, renamed Petrona and María, the women met the young man again, now called Manuel. Petrona revealed that “in her language, he was called Papaligua,” perhaps a tin-eared notary’s version of the Yoruba *Baba Elegba* (“father”).¹⁷⁰ Papaligua was almost certainly not “Manuel’s” original name; rather, it was a Yoruba name granted by his new companions. Like the European name imposed by his masters, “Manuel’s” new African name signified his membership into a new community of captives.

An Alien Language

In much of Spanish America and Brazil, masters used the word *bozal* (*boçal*) to refer to unacculturated Africans with no knowledge of Spanish, just as slavemasters colonial British America spoke of *outlandish* Africans, *new negroes*, and *salt-water negroes*.¹⁷¹ A simple fact, too often ignored by historians and probably seldom even considered by the masters of the past, is that the literal translation of “*bozal*” is “muzzle.” Enslavement in the Americas meant stripping Africans of their native languages, in effect muffling and distorting their voices by forcing them to express themselves in a new language. It would take time before Africans could adequately translate their thoughts and emotions into Spanish, and not simply because the language was new to them. Spanish as spoken in Costa Rica expressed a reality essentially different from the ones Africans knew when they arrived.

Ladinos had acquired some fluency in Spanish. Costa Ricans used both words to refer to Indians as well as Africans, and recognized a continuum between a total inability to speak Spanish and a confident mastery of it. When Governor don Diego de la Haya Fernández asked in 1719 if two Guaymí Indian women were *ladinas*, their *cacique* told the governor that they were “very *bozal*, and do not understand the Spanish language.”¹⁷² On the other hand, any African-born slave might be called a *bozal*. Slaves who became fluent in Spanish were referred to as *ladinos*, but becoming *ladino* did not necessarily mean that a slave was no longer *bozal*. For example, in 1723, the slave Miguel was

described as a “*bozal* black of *casta mina*, *ladino* in the Castilian language, which he speaks and understands.”¹⁷³

In the early eighteenth century, African-born slaves continued to speak several of their native languages in Costa Rica, almost certainly including Kikongo and/or Kimbundu. There is little evidence, however, that they passed their languages on to their children or other young captives. Antonia de Aguilar had arrived from Africa at a young age. In 1720, she stated that she was African-born but did “not know her *casta* because she [did] not understand any language” spoken by other Africans.¹⁷⁴

As a rule, Africans in Costa Rica must have had to learn Spanish quickly, as they soon had to learn to communicate with their masters and others.¹⁷⁵ Many apparently spoke with strong accents all their lives; to contrast the point, the *Alférez* José de Guevara insisted that his slave Juan José could not be African-born because he was “so *ladino* that he seemed to be a creole.”¹⁷⁶ A few never learned more than enough for rudimentary communication. Ten years after arriving in Matina on the *Christianus Quintus* or *Fredericus Quartus*, Miguel Largo had difficulty making himself understood in Spanish. Although Miguel was described variously as a *mina* or *popo*, none of the enslaved *mina* or *popo* men and women in his immediate vicinity could speak or understand his Slave Coast language.¹⁷⁷ Twenty years after arriving on one of the same ships, a document described *mina* Miguel Maroto as “between *bozal* and *ladino*.”¹⁷⁸ There is no reason to assume, however, that a lack of fluency in Spanish signified a “profoundly political” resistance to enslavement, nor that learning to think in a European language represented a “veritable ‘colonization of the mind,’ ” as Michael A. Gomez argues occurred in colonial

British Mainland America. On the contrary, as Gomez also recognizes, communication in a European language made communication possible between women and men of different ethnic origins, and could provide a basis for solidarity and sometimes resistance.¹⁷⁹

Learning Slave Labor

Masters viewed acculturation as necessary because Africans needed to understand what was expected in their new roles as slaves. Above all, slaves had to work, and to work within a determined set of social relations. Masters in the Caribbean or British North America called this transitional period of adaptation “seasoning,” and in the islands it sometimes lasted up to three years. Masters frequently introduced the captives to plantation work gradually, initially putting them to work at light tasks before sending them to the fields. Some masters, especially in the Caribbean, assigned slaves to diverse jobs depending on physical ability and age. In Costa Rica, masters tended to purchase slaves for specific needs and immediately put them to work. Apart from a brief period of convalescence, most seem to have made no special effort to acclimatize recently arrived Africans or ease their transition to slavery. Don Juan Francisco de Ibarra put nine young Africans, young women as well as men, to work in a corn planting at his house in the countryside soon after their arrival in Matina in 1710 -- no different from the work some of them continued to carry out later.¹⁸⁰ Natives of the Gold Coast, Slave Coast, and western Yorubaland, they were probably all familiar with the crop, and some or all might

have already had experience in agricultural work.¹⁸¹ For these young women and men, now Ibarra's slaves, the rules of slavery and the strange words in which they were expressed -- not the work itself -- were new.

Others learned completely unfamiliar work. Immediately after they arrived on the *Nuestra Señora de la Soledad* in 1700, don Gregorio Caamaño sent twelve African men to the estancia of don José de la Haya Bolívar in the Valley of Landecho, "six or seven leagues" away. Within days, he sent them to the South Pacific in a boat with Captain Francisco Conejo to learn to dive for pearls and dye thread. It is improbable that any had done the work before. Three of the men, for example, came from the Slave Coast (three *popos* and one *arará*), whose peoples had no tradition of sea travel.¹⁸² Three more from West Central Africa (*congos*) might have known of the extensive shell-diving industry near Luanda, but that work was carried out exclusively by women.¹⁸³ To aid in the transition to slave labor, Caribbean masters often assigned acculturated Africans or creoles to train the new arrivals in the plantation régime.¹⁸⁴ Similarly, Caamaño sent his creole slave Lorenzo to the Pacific with the African men, where he must have instructed them in Spanish as well as the dangerous work of diving. They were gone more than a year, their "seasoning" surely complete by then.¹⁸⁵

A Spiritual Conquest?

No less than learning Spanish or learning new methods of work, entering the Christian community formed an essential part of reducing free men and women to slavery.

Unfortunately, existing sources cannot provide a sufficient basis to assess the thoroughness or superficiality of Africans' indoctrination in Christianity, nor do they contain much information on Africans' practice of other religions. What little evidence directly addresses the religious practices of slaves in Costa Rica pertains overwhelmingly to Christianity. Commissaries and Visitors of the Holy Office of the Inquisition, so important in documenting African-derived religions in places such as Brazil, Colombia, and Mexico, were comparatively inactive in Costa Rica and likely to alert the Tribunal in faraway Mexico City only to grave offenses. Although Guatemalan historian Ernesto Chinchilla noted that the Inquisition investigated a "great quantity of denunciations" in Cartago, the Inquisitors in Mexico City rarely troubled to respond to the cases occasionally forwarded from the remote backwater province to the south. Locally, Costa Rican priests usually preferred to "paternally reprimand" the faithful for heterodoxies they deemed "of small importance," as long as they were "not very notable or scandalous," as the creole priest Baltasar de Grado remarked in the early seventeenth century.¹⁸⁶

There is nothing to suggest that either local priests or masters worried particularly about the religious practices of slaves. Unlike in other areas of the Americas, Costa Ricans rarely if ever singled out slaves as especially lax in their faith – a fact that can be interpreted as proof of ecclesiastical inattention or even as evidence of the successful evangelization of the slaves. On the other hand, Africans were baptized in numbers far smaller than their numbers would suggest, and neither is there any reason to believe that they did not preserve and recreate African-derived religions in Costa Rica as they did

everywhere else in the New World. Travel to other provinces and no doubt the continued forced immigration of countrymen allowed some Africans to re-connect with the spirituality of their homelands. On the other hand, scholarly assertions that the practice of African-derived religions in the Americas necessarily constituted “resistance” need to be re-examined.¹⁸⁷ Limited evidence from Costa Rica shows that some Africans sincerely embraced Christianity, devoutly practicing their faith after winning their freedom. Not surprisingly, creoles and especially mulatos seem to have been more fully integrated into Costa Rica’s spiritual life, demonstrating a conversance with both official and popular varieties of Christianity.

Christianity

Because Iberian laws officially prohibited the importation of Muslim or “heathen” slaves, Africans with little exposure to Christianity legally had to be instructed in Catholic doctrine and baptized before embarking on the Middle Passage. In Kongo, some African rulers prohibited the deportation of captives who had not received the sacrament.¹⁸⁸ Although some priests in Africa attempted to comply sincerely with these requirements, others showered water indifferently on crowds of captives. Some priests in the Americas, denying the adequacy of such instruction, baptized Africans a second time.¹⁸⁹ For example, in 1637, parish priest of Cartago Father Baltasar de Grado baptized Dominga, his own slave, a second time, although she had already been baptized “in her country.” Two years later, he baptized Agustín, a slave of Costa Rican Governor don Gregorio de Sandoval, although Agustín, too, reported having been baptized previously

in “Guinea.”¹⁹⁰ If death seemed imminent, priests or laymen in Costa Rica sometimes baptized newly arrived Africans just after arrival, before they had received any religious education whatsoever. In mid-March 1710, while Captain Gaspar de Acosta Arévalo and his party of slave catchers were driving a group of survivors from the *Christianus Quintus* and *Fredericus Quartus* to Cartago, it became clear that one of the African men was mortally ill. Jerónimo Pacheco hastily baptized him before he expired.¹⁹¹ After arriving at the home of Captain Juan López de la Rea on 14 April, an unnamed African woman was buried in a shroud on 6 May, her funeral officiated by a priest and sacristan.¹⁹² Had she recovered, she would likely have been baptized again, this time after religious instruction.

Slaves’ knowledge of Christianity, and their ability to practice that religion if they so chose, depended above all on the attitudes of their masters. The religion of their slaves probably caused little concern to most Costa Rican slaveholders. From Cartago’s surviving baptismal registers, it is clear that only a minority of masters complied with their duty to baptize their slaves. Only about thirty-eight men and women identified as adult Africans were baptized in the parish church of Cartago between 1595 and 1750, more than two-thirds of them between 1679 and 1706. In the 1690s and 1720s -- among the decades when civil notaries recorded the largest numbers of transactions involving African-born slaves -- none of the slaves baptized in the Cartago church were noted as Africans.¹⁹³ María and Petrona, the Yoruba women sold to doña Cecilia Vásquez de Coronado in 1711, are the only slaves who can be conclusively identified as African to have been baptized in Esparza’s parish church between 1708 (the first year for which

records survive) and 1750.¹⁹⁴ In most cases, masters probably took the initiative in seeking baptism for their slaves, as suggested by several cases in which Africans received the sacrament collectively. For example, five adult Africans, at least four of whom were *angolas*, were baptized together on 15 November 1679; four adult African slaves of don José Pérez de Muro were baptized on 13 July 1705. The participation of friends or relatives of the master as godparents reinforces the sense that masters choreographed the baptisms of adult Africans. Don Rafael de Echavarría and don Gabriel de Echavarría Navarro stood as godfathers to all the *angolas*. The degree of catechization that the slaves underwent depended on the scrupulousness of the celebrating priests, in America as well as Africa. Father don Agustín de Torres, who officiated at the baptisms described above, made no note that he had instructed the slaves, nor that they had professed the Catholic faith, as Church law required of adult baptismal candidates.¹⁹⁵ When don José Pérez de Muro brought five of his slaves to the church for baptism in 1705, the more conscientious Father Cosme Damián Juárez noted that he baptized them only after they “confessed the true catechism of Our Holy Mother Church with express, clear, and distinct words at the door of the parish church of this city of Cartago, and . . . [after] the ceremonies of the Roman Ritual.”¹⁹⁶ Whether or not he really communicated the doctrine as successfully as he claimed, Juárez dutifully transcribed the same words when he baptized six other adult Africans in 1705 and 1706.¹⁹⁷

Table 4.2

Baptisms of Adult Africans by Decade, Cartago, 1595-1750

Decade	No. of Baptisms	Decade as Percentage of Total
1630	2	5.3
1640	2	5.3
1650	0	0
1660	0	0
1670	8	21.1
1680	8	21.1
1690	0	0
1700	13	34.2
1710	4	10.5
1720	0	0
1730	1	3
1740	0	0
Total	38	100

Sources: ACMSJ, Libros de Bautizos de Cartago, nos. 1-6 (1595-1738)/ FHL, VAULT INTL film 1219701, items 1-5, VAULT INTL film 1219702, item 1.

At least in theory, the Church and public opinion charged masters with overseeing the spiritual instruction of “all those in their charge,” including their slaves and servants as well as their families. In 1725, the Licentiate don Miguel López Conejo investigated slaveowner Juan Delgado, a member of a Catholic brotherhood who lived in the isolated western Valley of Escazú. López Conejo concerned himself as much with Delgado’s solicitude of the religious practice of the members of his household as with the seemingly more serious charge that he had committed incest with his daughter Juana. Delgado affirmed that he knew that the Church bound “the fathers of families” to ensure that “all those in their charge” attended mass on Sundays and feast days and complied with their

obligation to confess and take communion every year. Delgado insisted that he had scrupulously fulfilled his duty.¹⁹⁸ His black slave Antonio de Casasola, however, declared that “neither Juan Delgado nor his family hear mass, much less confess, according to what he has seen in the six years since [Delgado] bought him and he has lived in his service.”¹⁹⁹ Father Fray José de Suazo concurred disapprovingly that he knew that “none of [Delgado’s] family nor his domestics have confessed” in the eight years he had served as priest in Escazú, notwithstanding that his church was near Delgado’s home.²⁰⁰

Given the opacity of the sources, there is little firm evidence to indicate whether most Africans embraced or resisted conversion. For Africans, indoctrination in Christianity formed an essential component of their reduction to slavery in Costa Rica – and they recognized as much. When asked who had been his first master more than twenty years after he had arrived in Costa Rica, Pedro Mina, a native of the Gold Coast or Upper Slave Coast, recalled “that he came to the Port of Matina in an English sloop, and that Juan Fernández el Montañés bought him, and taught him to pray.”²⁰¹ Colonial authorities envisioned prayer as an essential part of the daily regimen of slave life on the cacao haciendas, to be imposed by force if necessary. In the late 1730s, Governor don Francisco Carrandi y Menán charged his lieutenant in the Matina Valley with ensuring that “the slaves and overseers of the haciendas and the rest of the servants” attend Mass on feast days and “pray the rosary of Most Holy Mary every night before they lie down in their beds.”²⁰²

Some Africans balked at conversion, and others were left to believe or not believe as they chose. When María, a *congo* slave, died suddenly around 1717, her master Sergeant José Damián de Molina attempted to have her buried in the Cartago church. Father Diego de Angulo Gascón denied her body a Christian burial, however, because she had not been baptized. A previous owner, don Nicolás de Guevara, said that María was “too thick (*ruda*) to learn the Christian doctrine.”²⁰³ The religious traditions in which Africans had been raised often militated against easy conversion. With few exceptions, by the early eighteenth century Christianity had failed to make inroads in Africa outside Kongo and Angola; most natives of the Gold Coast or Slave Coast, where Christianity was little-known beyond slave-trading port cities, would initially have found the religion completely alien.²⁰⁴ Although to object overtly would be to invite the repression of the Inquisition, privately, Muslims from Upper Guinea might have found the “idoltrous” trappings of baroque Catholicism offensive and vehemently rejected its tenets, as several scholars have suggested they did in other areas of the Americas.²⁰⁵

On the other hand, some Africans who arrived in Costa Rica already professed Catholicism, and many others had some knowledge of Christianity. West Central Africans not only comprised the largest ethnic contingent among enslaved Africans in Costa Rica, but women and men from Kongo and Angola had had the most sustained and thorough exposure to Christianity of any of the African peoples. Baptized as João I, the Kongo king Nzinga a Nkuwu converted to Christianity in 1491, well before Columbus sailed for India. In the early sixteenth century, his son Afonso Mvemba a Nzinga declared Christianity the state religion.²⁰⁶ Although earlier historians regarded the

evangelization of Kongo as superficial, affecting “only a slim minority,” more recent studies have emphasized the deep roots of Kongo Christianity.²⁰⁷ In a number of works, leading specialist John K. Thornton has shown how Christianity achieved substantial popularity, in large part because Kongolese viewed its tenets as fundamentally consonant with those of their indigenous religion.²⁰⁸ Kongolese did not abandon their indigenous religion for Christianity, but rather incorporated Christian beliefs and practices into their existing religious framework.²⁰⁹ Although foreign missionaries maintained only a token presence in the kingdom, Kongolese catechists converted and indoctrinated thousands of people. Because many Kongolese carried Christianity with them to the Americas, they did not necessarily associate the Catholic faith with their masters, nor its practice with their own debasement in slavery.²¹⁰

Diego Angulo, a *congo* who arrived in Costa Rica at the age of nine in 1700, was probably enslaved as a result of the civil wars that shook Kongo between 1691 and 1709 and deported by way of Luanda. He might well have already known something of Christianity when he arrived in Cartago. By the time the first Kikongo catechism was published in Lisbon in 1624, Catholicism had spread widely in the Kongo/Angola region. Alonso de Sandoval, the priest who ministered to thousands of newly arrived Africans in Cartagena, asserted just three years later that “there is almost no black . . . among those who come from Luanda who will not,” when questioned from the catechism, “give good account of what he is asked.” The Jesuits wasted no time in instructing them before baptism, as they did other Africans; as Sandoval explained, “we take them for Christians” who had already learned the tenets of Catholicism and received the sacrament.²¹¹ Even

non-Christian Kongolese had their children baptized by the thousands, believing that the sacrament afforded effective protection against witchcraft. In 1701, Diego was purchased by one of Cartago's parish priests, the Licentiate don Diego de Angulo Gascón, who renamed the slave boy after himself.²¹² Diego might easily have recognized some of the Catholic images that adorned his new master's home. He surely knew the crucifix: the manufacture of crucifixes by the lost-wax method formed an accomplished art in Kongo, and virtually all Kongolese respected the cross as a powerful *nkisi* (sacred object). By the early eighteenth century, its use was "ubiquitous" among Kongolese, who frequently wore it as a defense against witchcraft.²¹³ He must also have recognized the engraving of Saint Anthony, whose cult enjoyed enormous popularity in Kongo, including among non-Christians. About five years after Diego's deportation from West Central Africa, Kongo noblewoman Dona Beatriz Kimpa Vita launched a reformist mass movement that spread throughout the kingdom; she based her authority on her claim to be possessed by Saint Anthony.²¹⁴ Perhaps the second most-revered saint in Kongo was Saint Francis, whose devotion was unrivalled in Cartago. As in Europe and America, Kongo Catholicism emphasized the veneration of the Virgin Mary, and Cartago boasted its own sacred image, the Virgin of los Angeles.²¹⁵ Diego would have found much that was familiar to him in the Catholicism practiced in his new surroundings.

But even if he knew nothing of Christianity before his arrival, in his master's home, Diego had every opportunity to pursue a Catholic spiritual life. He now found himself in an environment dominated by religious practice. As a young boy, Diego probably served his master as a body servant, accompanying him on his priestly errands around Cartago.

Father Angulo was probably the best-read man in Costa Rica at the time, with twenty-seven books in his private library -- most on religious themes, including some titles in Latin and Portuguese. The priest frequently received parishioners in his home, dispensing spiritual advice as well as socializing.²¹⁶ Just by listening and observing, Diego must have learned more than his share of Church doctrine; even if he wanted to, he could not avoid doing so. When he became old enough to work on his master's cacao hacienda in Matina, Diego probably knew enough to tell his fellow slaves all about the Catholic faith, although there is no evidence that he did.²¹⁷ Of course, not all of the Africans called *congos* in America came from the kingdom of Kongo, nor had all of those who did been baptized before their enslavement. For example, Antonio, an adult *congo* slave of Sergeant Blas de Abarca, was baptized in Cartago in 1684. María, also a *congo*, died after about fifteen years in Costa Rica, without ever receiving religious instruction or baptism.²¹⁸

Some slaves of devout masters lived surrounded by the trappings of religion, attended church services, and received Christian instruction. Not surprisingly, priests tended their captive flock with particular zeal. In 1625, the bishop of Nicaragua and Costa Rica confirmed Francisco, a black slave of Father Baltasar de Grado from "Guinea."²¹⁹ At his home and sugarmill in the Valley of Barva, Sergeant Major don Francisco de Ocampo Golfín maintained a full chapel with a gilded altarpiece and a statue of Our Lady of the Rosary, where his twelve slaves doubtless attended mass. The devotion to the Virgin of the Rosary had been introduced to Kongo in the mid-sixteenth century, where Ocampo Golfín's *congo* slaves Miguel and Manuel might have known of it.²²⁰ Don Bernardo

García de Miranda and doña Josefa de Casasola y Córdoba owned three slaves. The couple likewise maintained a chapel in their home, fully equipped for the saying of mass and crammed with three statues of the Infant Jesus, one of Saint Anne and the Virgin Mary, and one each of Saint Joseph and Saint Agatha.²²¹ But sometimes even priests were not especially conscientious about their religious duties toward their slaves. Ignacio, the son of Isabel, a *mina*, was baptized by his master Father don Manuel González Coronel in August 1722 when he was in danger of dying (*en caso de necesidad*). He was not formally baptized in the Cartago church until more than a year after that, in October 1723.²²²

Although their sincerity may be open to question, those Africans who were questioned directly seem always to have professed Christianity. Although evidence of slave practice of Christianity is wanting, there is much more of it than there is to indicate that they practiced other faiths. After arriving in Costa Rica in 1710 on the *Fredericus Quartus* or *Christianus Quintus*, Petrona, a Yoruba of *casta aná*, was baptized three years later in the parish church of Esparza near the Pacific coast.²²³ In September 1719, José de Ollo Echavarría asked her whether she was a baptized Christian. She replied that “yes, she was, by the grace of Jesus Christ Our Lord,” an answer that smacked of a Catholic catechism, which Ollo Echavarría found “capable.”²²⁴ After fleeing to Matina from the Miskitos in 1733, Manuel García declared that he was a Christian “by the grace of God and therefore he had come from among the Mosquitos to end his life among Christians.”²²⁵

At least some Africans believed sincerely in Christianity, as demonstrated in their continued devotion to “Holy Mother Church” after they attained their freedom.²²⁶ After his manumission in 1730, Diego Angulo, the *congo* man mentioned above, remained a devout Catholic. Diego kept two religious statues in his home, including one of Saint Anthony.²²⁷ With his family, he actively participated in the social life of Cartago’s free colored neighborhood, which centered around the church of the Virgin of los Angeles. Diego might have known that the Virgin Mary had appeared in Kongo, just as she had on the site of the church he attended in Cartago.²²⁸ In 1742, his “brothers” elected him an officer (*mantenedor*) in the confraternity dedicated to the Virgin. As a black former slave, being elected a *diputado* of the confraternity of the Virgin of los Angeles might have brought Diego a special satisfaction; in Kongo, mulatos and the nobility, not black ex-slaves, dominated the Catholic brotherhoods.²²⁹ Both of Diego’s sons, Gaspar and Juan Manuel, were also elected *diputados* of the confraternity in the 1740s.²³⁰

Diego García, a freed West African known as a *cabo verde*, also demonstrated a Catholic fervor at the end of his life. If García was a *crioulo* from the islands, he would have been a Catholic before deportation from his homeland.²³¹ In 1743 he commended his testament, as was customary, to “My Intecessor and Advocate, Queen of the Ages, Most Holy Mary, Mother of God and Our Lady.” He instructed that his body to be interred in the Cartago parish church with a solemn burial service including a vigil and sung mass. Most significantly, he designated part of his legacy to establish a chantry (*capellanía*) in his name, appointing don José Miguel de Guzmán y Echavarría to sing five masses per year for his soul and the rest in purgatory at a cost of two pesos each.²³²

The following year García's executor presented receipts for the 29 pesos in cacao and 8 pesos in silver paid on funeral, burial, shroud, wax candles, masses, and mandatory donations spent on García's funeral and subtracted from his estate – a sum equal to the cost of a burro, a small house, or even an elderly slave. To establish the chantry her husband had wanted, García's widow Manuela Gutiérrez guaranteed it with a cacao hacienda and designated the rents paid on it in the future to finance the chantry "perpetually and forever more."²³³

Although relatively few slaves, regardless of birthplace, ethnicity, or color, received the Catholic sacraments, creole and mulato slaves were probably more likely than Africans to have been educated in Catholicism. About 90 percent of the slaves baptized in the Cartago parish church and virtually all those baptized in Esparza were American-born. Among enslaved children for whom color was recorded, blacks seem to have been baptized more often than mulatos, and black creole children far more often than Africans of any age.²³⁴ Probably no more than one percent of slaves ever married, although men married about seven times as often as enslaved females and African men married much more frequently than either creoles or mulatos, a situation I discussed in Chapter Seven.²³⁵ In the North Pacific, death without confession or last rites formed the rule rather than the exception, for slaves as everyone else.²³⁶

Table 4.3

Slave Baptisms by Decade, Cartago, 1595-1750

Decade	Black Slaves	Mulato Slaves	Slaves Unidentified by Color	Total Slaves	Decade as Percentage of Total
1590	0	0	3	3	1.0
1600	8	4	5	17	4.7
1610	2	1	4	7	2.0
1620	5	0	0	5	1.4
1630	7	3	1	11	3.1
1640	8	3	5	16	4.5
1660	1	1	1	3	1.0
1670	10	3	14	27	7.5
1680	11	11	16	38	10.6
1690	5	2	5	12	3.4
1700	24	14	9	47	13.1
1710	5	1	14	20	5.6
1720	5	1	15	21	5.9
1730	7	25	35	67	18.7
1740	10	11	43	64	18.1
Total	108	80	170	358	100

Although often excluded from the sacraments, many slaves, particularly mulatos, knew the fundamentals of Christian doctrine, even if they lived in remote areas of the province. But even if they had received religious instruction, their understandings of Christianity could vary widely. In this, they did not differ much from other Costa Ricans, who frequently held beliefs distinct from those of the official Church and whom clergyman constantly decried as woefully ignorant of its precepts.²³⁷ In 1726, Adjutant José Núñez of the west central Valley of Barva questioned fourteen-year-old mulato slave Ramón González. The young slave confessed Christianity, and although many locals considered Ramón to be feeble-minded, Núñez found that he “responded very well” to

queries on “the mysteries of faith.”²³⁸ Father Juan de los Reyes strongly disagreed with that assessment. After hearing his confession, the priest found González “extremely incompetent, inept -- almost an idiot, for which reasons I had to deny him the holy sacrament of the Eucharist.”²³⁹ Whatever remarks González made to lead the priest to that conclusion, the mere fact that Núñez posed theological questions of a “fourteen- or fifteen-” year-old slave in a remote mountainous area shows that such knowledge would not have been surprising.²⁴⁰ Even if they understood only the basics of the catechism, slaves clearly understood the moral consequences of professions of Christianity. Felipe de Oviedo, a mulato slave of eighteen in 1715, denied the sexual impropriety of which he was accused. Oviedo admitted that while he had been tempted, licentious behavior was forbidden to Christians such as himself.²⁴¹

At least one enslaved woman participated in lengthy theological discussions and assumed the role of sometime defender of Catholic orthodoxy. In 1757, María Josefa de Chaves, a twenty-six-year-old mulata slave of doña Josefa Liberata Chacón, denounced José Nicolás López, a free mulato “foreigner,” before Father don Manuel José González Coronel, Commissary of the Inquisition in Cartago. López, María Josefa declared, had expressed heretical beliefs about the creation of the universe and its moral structure. While socializing at the home of the free colored militia officer Juan Solano in the plains near Ujarrás, the friends’ conversation turned to the controversial topic of religion. López began to argue that “God had been formed out of nothing, and for three days was a ball of fire within a cloud, and after three days fell to earth and became a sinner like us. Although it is true that there is a hell,” López continued, “no one is condemned nor are

there any condemned, and if there was no hell, everyone would want to be gods.” Like other Costa Ricans, slaves learned much of their Catholicism from the sermons of Franciscan evangelists. María Josefa knew the teachings she had heard from the friars well, and could not let comments such as López’s pass uncontested. “How [was it that] there were no condemned,” she demanded, “if the missionary fathers preached it every day?” When López alleged that the friars lied, María Josefa went to the Commissary to condemn him.²⁴²

The understandings slaves formed of Christianity varied widely. Slave religious observance, or the lack of it, reflected the relative incorporation or exclusion of slaves from the broader society. In addition to their own spiritual inclinations, slaves’ participation in religious life depended on factors such as their geographical distance to churches, which were closely related to their position in the colonial economy and their relationships with their masters.

Popular Religion and Magic in the Central Valley

As important as their education in official Christianity, in Costa Rica Africans entered a world permeated by a vibrant popular religion of diverse origins. Shared by all members of society, creole magical and religious beliefs assumed special meaning in the culture of servants and slaves.²⁴³ Popular religion and magic, as well as the closely related topic of the Inquisition in Costa Rica, have attracted little attention from historians, no doubt because of the dearth of sources available on the subject in Costa

Rica itself. The records left by the Inquisition in Costa Rica are now housed in the Archivo General de la Nación in Mexico City.²⁴⁴ Although relatively few cases have survived, the Inquisition functioned in Costa Rica from the late sixteenth century, when denunciations began to arrive in Mexico.²⁴⁵

Popular religious practices in Costa Rica's Central Valley derived from several sources. Many probably resembled the contemporary local religious practices of Iberia. Others were contributed by local Indians, and some probably began among African slaves. More important than the specific origins of the practices was their colonial context: the evidence clearly indicates that Spaniards, mestizos, Indians, mulatos, and blacks in Costa Rica all shared the same magical and religious beliefs and practices.²⁴⁶ Because it addressed concerns common to all, popular religion was practiced by members of all social classes and racial groups. Not particular to any social class, it was "popular" in the sense that it was practiced independently, and often incurred the disapproval, of the clergy. Elite and poor Spaniards, Indians, blacks, and mulatos all consulted the same specialists.

In contrast to Mexico, Brazil, and Colombia, in the documentation from Costa Rica surviving in Mexico, no slaves were denounced or tried by the Inquisition.²⁴⁷ They did, however, appear as witnesses and participants in popular religious practices. For example, around 1660, María, a black slave of doña Inés de Figueroa, took several yards of cloth (*cordellate*) to the Indian sorcerer Juan Redondo as payment for a spell against Figueroa's husband, Matías de Ballesteros. The interests of mistress, Indian, and perhaps slave seem all to have coincided in this case: Ballesteros sought to bewitch her husband,

who was then *corregidor* of the pueblo of Barva, and had jailed Redondo on several occasions. On another occasion, Figueroa consulted an Indian sorceress married to a black slave of doña Petronila de Grados. In exchange for some salt and maize, the Indian woman gave Figueroa some herbs, which Figueroa then dissolved in a glass of wine.²⁴⁸ Black and mulato slaves shared quarters with their Spanish masters and mistresses, mestizos, Indians, and free mulatos. Magic flourished in the situations in which Cartago's working poor found themselves every day. The illness of a child, the ire of an exacting mistress, the loss of a lover to a rival, all these problems continued to demand solutions. Mestizas, Indians, mulatas, and no doubt slave women looked for supernatural answers no less than material ones. Although direct evidence is lacking, black and mulato slaves could no more have avoided familiarity with the popular religious practices of the Central Valley than they could with the conditions that ensured their continued vitality.

African Indigenous Religions

The practice of African indigenous religions was closely tied to the question of ethnicity. Traditional African religions could be practiced in Costa Rica only when sufficient numbers of Africans of similar ethnic origins were present to practice them, or when Africans of one ethnic origin initiated others into their belief systems. Such opportunities varied according to factors such as patterns in the ethnic composition of

slaves exported from Africa and imported to Costa Rica, patterns in the residence of Africans in Costa Rica, and the religious proclivities of individual slaves and their masters. Costa Rica lacked the institutions that sometimes allowed slaves to maintain, recreate, or draw upon African religious traditions in other American societies. There is no evidence, for example, that slaves in Costa Rica joined the Catholic confraternities that elsewhere were organized along African ethnic lines (although some ex-slaves did). They did not establish *cabildos de nación* or other associations that could provide cover for religious practices based in the Old World. While it is plausible that groups of Africans met in Cartago, its forested environs, or in Matina for religious purposes, no known evidence proves that they did so, nor is there much to suggest that they passed on African-based traditions to their children or other creoles.

One clear case of the practice of an African religion concerned slaves of Slave Coast origin who called themselves *ararás*. Diego de Ibarra was a wealthy merchant, rancher, and planter of Panamanian origin married to doña Ana de Retes, the creole daughter of a Cartago elite family of encomenderos.²⁴⁹ Over time, the couple came to qualify as some of Costa Rica's largest slaveowners. Retes received several slaves through donations and inheritance, while Ibarra brought others to Costa Rica whom he had purchased in Panama. Ana de Retes owned ten slaves by 1699.²⁵⁰ Like many Costa Rican elites, Ibarra combined a number of economic activities. In 1691, he owned a cacao hacienda of 500 trees in Matina, a livestock ranch in the Valley of Santa Ana with 800 head of cattle, 200 mares, and four burros for breeding mules, as well as a sugarmill that produced about fifty *arrobas* (1,250 lb./567 kg) of sugar annually.²⁵¹

Perhaps on a business trip related to his role in the mule trade, when Ibarra visited Panama City around 1678 or 1679, he found himself suffering from a deterioration of his vision. María Arará, a slave of local resident doña Leonor García, told Ibarra that she believed that a curse was responsible for his health problem, and offered her assistance in seeking a cure from a healer of her country who worked with herbs. The healer was unable or unwilling to visit Ibarra, but suggested that Ibarra send “a person of satisfaction” of the *arará* nation on his behalf. Ibarra sent María, Feliciano, another slave of *casta arará* belonging to doña Leonor, and his own slave from Costa Rica, Antonio Arará, begging them to consult the healer for a cure. The three slaves went to the healer, who took a carved wooden idol from a box and spoke to it in the “*arará* language,” asking it about Ibarra’s illness. All three slaves heard the idol respond in a “thin [high-pitched?] voice” that Ibarra’s poor vision was due to a curse put on him by another of his slaves, Melchora, a “mulata zamba.” As soon as he heard this story, Ibarra took Antonio to don Juan Melgarejo, Commissary of the Inquisition in Panama City, and reported the incident. When he returned to Cartago, Ibarra denounced Melchora to the secular authorities, and had her imprisoned. She escaped from the Cartago jail and was later apprehended and sold to a master in León, Nicaragua.²⁵²

The incident denounced by don Diego de Ibarra shows that religious, as well as economic and social, influences travelled along the extensive commercial circuits between Panama, Costa Rica, and Nicaragua. As a companion of his master, Antonio Arará travelled between Costa Rica and Panama, where he was able to renew social contacts with Africans of his own ethnic, linguistic, and religious background. Yet even

his practice of an African ethnic religion reflected local preoccupations born of slavery in the Americas. As slaves of the same master, Antonio and the “mulata zamba” Melchora inhabited not only the same household, but the same religious universe. The *arará* slaves asserted the efficacy not only of their own magical and religious traditions, but of other traditions such as those that Melchora allegedly practiced, presumably of European and/or American origin.²⁵³ It is unclear why María Arará, a slave of the Panamanian doña Leonor García, offered to intercede to affect a cure for don Diego de Ibarra’s failing eyesight. The answer may have rested in her relationship with her “countryman,” Antonio Arará. Very likely, Antonio had discussed life in Costa Rica with his fellow *ararás* María and Feliciano. It is plausible that his relationship with his fellow slave Melchora was strained, and that Antonio sought to settle a score at the same time as he wished to curry favor with his master by seeking a cure for his affliction. Don Diego de Ibarra’s reaction to the African religious practices suggests the limits of tolerance for popular religion for the Spanish elite. He was willing to consult an enslaved African healer, but when he heard the details of the ceremony, Ibarra became alarmed and reported the incident to the Inquisition.

Islam

Evidence of Islam among slaves in Costa Rica, and indeed of any non-Christian religious practices among slaves, is exceedingly rare. Muslims entered Spanish America as early as the sixteenth century, a significant minority of captives from Senegambia. As

mentioned in Chapter One, the Spanish Crown repeatedly prohibited the importation of *jolofo* captives to the Indies in the sixteenth century, claiming that their Islamic background made them arrogant and rebellious. In fact, Islam held limited sway in the Jolof Empire of the sixteenth century. The spread of the Muslim faith occurred gradually over a period of several centuries; not until the nineteenth century did “the whole Wolof society” profess Islam.²⁵⁴ By the eleventh century, residents of the state of Takru>r on the Middle Senegal River professed Islam, and Muslim holy men (known locally as *marabouts*) steadily extended the faith into Wolof territories to the west. Mande-speaking traders proved even more important in this respect.²⁵⁵ By the fifteenth century, the rulers of Jolof and many of the Wolof states had accepted Islam, in part to gain more consistent access to the lucrative commerce with Muslim merchants. The bulk of the population, however, continued to adhere to traditional religions. Valentim Fernandes wrote around 1508 that the people of Jolof were “all idolaters,” in contrast to the Mandinka kingdoms along the River Gambia, where “many hold to the sect of Mohammed.” The *‘ulama* (Islamic scholars) of the region complained that even the nominally Muslim leadership embraced only superficial trappings of Islam. Wolof states continued to be organized along traditional lines rather than as Islamic states; indigenous law, not the Islamic *Shari’a*, governed most areas; the Wolof nobility and royal slaves openly abused alcohol; and many rulers continued to observe traditional rituals of the indigenous religions to appease their non-Muslim subjects.²⁵⁶ Despite the dubious Muslim credentials of the Wolof rulers, they repeatedly used religion to justify attacks on neighboring non-Muslim polities and to enslave their populations. The predominantly

Sereer, non-Muslim polities of Siin and Saalum resolutely resisted conversion to Islam for centuries, and as the Jolof Empire turned increasingly toward Atlantic trade after the arrival of the Portuguese in 1441, the independent Sereer in Kajoor and Bawol became the main victims of the slave trade, their enslavement justified on the pretext of their rejection of Islam.²⁵⁷

Peaceful proselytization, however, proved more influential than violence in spreading Islamic teachings in the Senegambia for most of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The Jakhanke, for example, an occupational group of Muslim clerics dispersed throughout the region, traced their spiritual descent to al-Hajj Salim Suware, a thirteenth-century holy man who conscientiously and resolutely rejected violent *jihad* as a means of propagating Islam. Instead, he advocated making converts through peaceful preaching on extended journeys among the unbelievers. Salim Suware became the “prototype of all Jakhanke clerics,” inaugurating a Senegambian tradition of pacific coexistence between Muslims and the non-Muslim peoples among whom they travelled and lived.²⁵⁸ The Portuguese Cadamosto, travelling the River Gambia around 1455, referred to the Jakhanke as men “of the sect of Muhammad . . . who wander through the world and the lands of the Moors, not remaining tied to their homeland,” while most people practiced “idolatry in various forms.”²⁵⁹

Even as they rejected most aspects of Islam, non-Muslims of the Senegambia readily embraced Muslim clerics for their literacy and the trade goods they often brought, and for their manufacture of amulets.²⁶⁰ Although many people indigenous to the region remained unimpressed by most Islamic teachings, they recognized Islam’s spiritual

power as reflected in their strong belief in amulets consisting of Qur'anic verses encased in leather. Writing in 1623, English trader Richard Jobson described the "gregories" (*gris-gris*) containing "certaine writings, or spels which they receive from their Mary-buckles (*marabouts*)," believed to be so powerful that no harm could come to the wearer. Convinced of the efficacy of the amulets, the Wolof and Mandinka inhabitants of one area he visited on the north bank of the Gambia went "for the most part bare-head, only bedecked or hang'd over with gregories, as they are likewise over their bodies, legges, and armes."²⁶¹ Two years later, André Donelha wrote with some insight of the itinerant Mandinka clerics throughout the Senegambia who sold "amulets and sheets of paper with writing on them, which they sell as (religious) relics, and while they are selling all this stuff they are spreading the sect of Mohammed in many districts."²⁶²

In the late seventeenth century, not only Muslims but Europeans continued to criticize the form of Islam practiced in Senegambia. Francisco de Lemos Coelho noted around 1669 that the Mandinkas of the Gambia region were "all Mohammedans, though with many corrupt beliefs, more even than the Jalofof."²⁶³ Historian Paul E. Lovejoy concurs that by the mid-seventeenth century, the peoples of the Senegambia and Upper Niger were "Muslims, more or less."²⁶⁴ These contemporary and modern observers, however, seem to miss the point of what one scholar has recently called the "Africanization of Islam," whereby "African groups have created 'Muslim' space or made Islam their own."²⁶⁵ The minimum requirement of any Muslim is to profess that there is no god but Alla>h and that Muhammad is his Prophet; the one unforgiveable sin is to hold another being equal to God (*shirk*). Whatever else they believed or did, all West African women

and men who called themselves Muslims affirmed these beliefs and knew that those beliefs separated them from unbelievers, including Jews and Christians.

Unlike most Africans (with the important exception of those from the Kongo/Angola region), Muslims already knew plenty about Christianity, and the teachings of the holy book from which they recited five times a day did not necessarily predispose them to look favorably upon Costa Rican Catholicism. The Qur'an declared the adoration of statues and other sacred images that Catholic catechists found so useful in instructing indigenous and African neophytes an unpardonable sin. It decried the deification of Jesus as a perversion of monotheism, and specified that one of the reasons for Prophet Muhammad's mission was to correct the Christian worship of Allah's second most-favored prophet. After learning enough Spanish to understand the gist of the Catholic teachings in which Costa Rican priests and masters instructed them, orthodox Muslims among the enslaved would surely have responded to "mysteries of the faith" such as the trinity with silent contempt. On the other hand, many Qur'anic passages spoke of teachings common to the two faiths, and Muslims shared with Christians such beliefs as Jesus's virgin birth and his performance of miracles.²⁶⁶ Furthermore, while some probably adhered to jihadist teachings, especially in the eighteenth century, many Senegambian Muslims would have been brought up in pacifist traditions such as that of the Jakhanke, who avoided religious conflict on principle. For them, Catholic practices would probably have seemed no more strange or offensive than those of non-Muslim Africans.

An incident in Costa Rica brought to the attention of the Inquisition in 1610 hints that at least one enslaved West African man was recognized to come from a Muslim background. In August 1609, some prominent members of the Cartago elite assembled at the Franciscan convent in the Indian pueblo of Pacaca to celebrate the Assumption of the Virgin Mary. Serving them at table was Manuel, a slave of Luis Cascante de Rojas, known to be an African of *tierra jolof*.²⁶⁷ One of the celebrants, Gaspar Pereira Cardoso, had acquired the habit of joking with Manuel in a particular way. Pereira offered Manuel money if he would “forgive *Bujame*.” Manuel replied good-naturedly that even if he were offered a lot of money, he would not do that.²⁶⁸

Pereira found humor in making a game of heresy. *Bujame* undoubtedly represents a corruption of *Muhammad*, and by enticing Manuel to “forgive” the Prophet of Islam, Pereira laughingly tempted him with committing sacrilege. It seems likely that the revellers found special humor (or Pereira thought that they would) in making this preposterous suggestion to an African known to be of Muslim background; the joke would not have resonated as humorously had Manuel been, say, an *angola* or a *carabali*.²⁶⁹ In another version of the incident, Pereira offered Manuel a *real* and a *maravedí* to deny “*Bujame*.” Manuel, a “joker” (*burlón*), rejoined that he wouldn’t do so for less than a peso.²⁷⁰

The incident in Pacaca tells us little about Manuel’s religious sensibilities, and almost nothing about the practice of Islam among enslaved Africans in Cartago, revealing much more about the limits of religious humor in colonial Costa Rica.²⁷¹ Yet it does suggest that Costa Rican slavemasters recognized that Africans were not the interchangeable

“*piezas de Indias*” of slave trade terminology. Even if superficially, the elite revellers in the Convent of San Francisco recognized that Africans came from different peoples with different pasts. In Manuel’s case, they apparently possessed the elementary knowledge that some Africans in the *tierra jolof* were Muslims, whom they in turn associated with stereotypes of “*Bujame*” that more likely derived from the *reconquista* heritage of the Iberian peninsula than from an understanding of West Africa itself.

A growing body of scholarship addresses the practice of Islam by African slaves in the Americas.²⁷² Historian Sylviane Diouf concludes that due to factors such as their importation in small numbers, inability to form religious communities, and theological exclusivity, Muslim Africans in the Americas faced nearly insurmountable difficulties in transmitting or propagating their religion.²⁷³ Her insight applies especially to Costa Rica, where not only Muslims but all Africans confronted extreme challenges in preserving or recreating links to their Old World origins.

Conclusion

Immediately upon arrival in the Americas, masters began the process of forcibly adapting captive Africans to their new status as slaves. In the first and last instance, they used violence to force Africans and creoles into that role. Ideological as well as physical measures, however, soon came to form essential components of the ongoing process. The transformation of free women and men into slaves made them into both labor and

capital. Slavemasters' need to convert Africans into enslaved workers always provided the primary reason for "seasoning" and acculturation. They cared whether Africans learned the Castilian language only insofar as it was necessary to communicate work commands; some Africans never learned it. Of course, the common idiom also allowed Africans to communicate with each other, creole slaves, and free servants as well as masters; it was not, therefore, just the language of the masters. Some masters took their legal and social obligation to indoctrinate Africans in Catholicism seriously, while others apparently cared little about the conversion or religious observance of their slaves. A few Africans maintained ties to the indigenous and Islamic religions of their homelands. Some West Central Africans were already Catholics when they arrived; Catholicism was not, therefore, only a weapon of their oppressors. Members of all racial groups and social classes, however, shared "official" Catholicism and popular magical and religious practices; new cosmologies and rituals permeated their new environment. When Africans came to terms with them, they necessarily changed as a result. The work slaves undertook continued to inform their experience and shape their evolving identities.

¹ Nørregård, "Forliset ved Nicaragua," 81. Although the shipwrecked Danish sailors believed they had landed in Nicaragua – an error repeated by their modern chronicler, Georg Nørregård, in the name of his article – two eighteenth-century maps in the British Museum show 'Pt. Carrett' and 'Point Carata' on the site of modern Punta Cahuita (Cahuita Point), Limón Province, Costa Rica. This location is confirmed by numerous references to the nearby Estrella River in the Costa Rican documents. Holm, "Creole English," 185; Orden de Francisco Palocque, apoderado del Real Asiento de Panamá, Cartago, 5 July 1710, Archivo Nacional de Costa Rica, San José (hereafter ANCR), Sección Colonial Cartago (hereafter C) 182, fol. 10; Declaración de Suyntin, indio mosquito, Cartago, 2 May 1710, ANCR, C. 187, fols. 82v, 83; Declaración de Antonio, indio mosquito, Cartago, 2 May 1710, 87, 88; Segunda declaración de los indios mosquitos Antonio y Suyntin, Cartago, 3 May 1710, ANCR, C. 187, fols. 92, 93v.

² Nørregård, "Forliset ved Nicaragua," 79-83.

³ If so, their fate differed from that of other “guardians,” who were always sold like other captives upon arrival in the Americas. Eltis, *Rise of African Slavery*, 229.

⁴ Nørregård, “Forliset ved Nicaragua,” 83-84, 88-89.

⁵ Anders Wærøe, however, forced to guide the Spanish reconnaissance, declared that they found only an old African woman, some iron bars, and an elephant tusk. *Ibid.*, 85, 88.

⁶ Eltis, *Rise of African Slavery*, 192 (quoted); Thornton, *Africa and Africans*, chapter 2.

⁷ The existence of racism in colonial Latin America (and elsewhere) has been hotly debated by historians, who rightly point out that *raza* was not then used in its modern sense. There can be little doubt, however, that by words such as *nación*, *casta*, *calidad*, and *clase*, colonial Latin Americans referred to biologically transmitted traits that justified the structural position of groups in the social hierarchy. Such views were initially externally imposed and *not* necessarily related to a group’s self-identity, nor self-ascribed *cultural* differences, necessary components of *ethnicity*. See Lara Elizabeth Putnam, “The Construction of Race in Colonial Costa Rica,” paper presented at Reunión Internacional “La Ruta del Esclavo en Hispanoamérica,” San José, 24-26 Feb. 1999.

⁸ Germán Romero Vargas, *Las sociedades del atlántico de Nicaragua en los siglos XVII y XVIII* (Managua: Fondo de Promoción Cultural-BANIC, 1995), 25, 27, 30; Troy S. Floyd, *The Anglo-Spanish Struggle for Mosquitia* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1967), 19.

⁹ Romero Vargas, *Sociedades del atlántico*, 41, 136, 150, 276, 310-311.

¹⁰ Junta de Tenientes Oficiales y Vecinos del Valle de Matina, Cartago, 30 Sept. 1722, ANCR, C. 298, fol. 3.

¹¹ Declaración del Cap. don José Pérez de Muro, Cartago, 12 Nov. 1705, Archivo General de Indias (hereafter AGI), Escribanía 351B, pieza 1, fol. 165v.

¹² Declaración de Suyntin, indio mosquito, Cartago, 2 May 1710, ANCR, C. 187, fols. 82v-83; Declaración de Antonio, indio mosquito, Cartago, 2 May 1710, ANCR, C. 187, fols. 86v-87 (quoting fol. 87).

¹³ For Miskito slaving of the Talamanca and other indigenous peoples, see Mary W. Helms, “Miskito Slaving and Culture Contact: Ethnicity and Opportunity in an Expanding Population,” *Journal of Anthropological Research* 39, no. 2 (1983): 179-197; Romero Vargas, *Sociedades del atlántico*.

¹⁴ Declaración de Suyntin, indio mosquito, Cartago, 2 May 1710, ANCR, C. 187, fols. 82v-83; Declaración de Antonio, indio mosquito, Cartago, 2 May 1710, ANCR, C. 187, fols. 86v-87; Segunda declaración de Suyntin y Antonio, indios mosquitos, Cartago, 3 May 1710, ANCR, C. 187, fols. 91-94.

¹⁵ Declaración de Antonio, indio mosquito, Cartago, 2 May 1710, ANCR, C. 187, fols. 88-88v.

¹⁶ Romero Vargas, *Sociedades del atlántico*, 123-124. The distinction is most fully explored by Karl Henry Offen in “The Sambo and Tawira Miskitu: The Colonial Origins and Geography of Intra-Miskitu Differentiation in Eastern Nicaragua and Honduras,” *Ethnohistory* 49, no. 2 (spring 2002): 319-372.

¹⁷ José Dolores Gámez, *Historia de la costa de los Mosquitos hasta 1894* (Managua: Talleres Nacionales, 1939), 85.

¹⁸Michael D. Olien, "The Negro in Costa Rica: The Ethnohistory of an Ethnic Minority in a Complex Society" (Ph.D. diss., University of Oregon, Eugene, 1967), 85.

¹⁹Romero Vargas, *Sociedades del atlántico*, 160, 163; Troy S. Floyd, *The Anglo-Spanish Struggle for Mosquitia* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1967), 63-64.

²⁰M. W., "The Mosquito Indian and His Golden River," in *A Collection of Voyages and Travels . . . in Six Volumes*, ed. Awnsham Churchill and John Churchill (London: By Assignment for Messrs. Churchill, 1732), 6:289.

²¹Nathaniel Uring, *The Voyages and Travels of Captain Nathaniel Uring* (London: Cassell and Co., 1928; first published, 1726), 154-155.

²²Declaración de José Alejos Fernández, ANCR, Cartago, 19 July 1727; C 325, fol. 14; Declaración de José Monge, Cartago, 12 March 1728, ANCR, C. 325, fol. 27v (quoted).

²³Mavis Campbell, *The Maroons of Jamaica 1655-1796: A History of Resistance, Collaboration, and Betrayal*. (South Hadley, Mass.: Bergin and Garvey, 1988; rpt., Trenton, N.J.: Africa World Press, 1990), 54.

²⁴Offen, "Sambo and Tawira," 323.

²⁵Declaración de Inocencio de la Puebla y Carcamo, negro libre, Cartago, 3 Dec. 1737, AGI, Guatemala (hereafter G) 302, fol. 1029v.

²⁶Declaración del Cap. don José Pérez de Muro, Cartago, 12 Nov. 1705, AGI, Escribanía 351B, pieza 1, fol. 165v.

²⁷Germán Romero Vargas, *Las sociedades del atlántico de Nicaragua en los siglos XVII y XVIII* (Managua: Fondo de Promoción Cultural-BANIC, 1995), 143-146.

²⁸See "Informe del Gobernador don Diego de la Haya Fernández a S.M. – Año de 1719," in Fernández, ed., *Colección de documentos*, 5:476.

²⁹"Relación de una cautividad entre los Mosquitos," in *Costa Rica y costa de Mosquitos: Documentos para la historia de la jurisdicción territorial de Costa Rica y Colombia, publicados* (Paris: Para la Legación de Costa Rica, 1898), ed. M. M. de Peralta, 87-93, quoting 90.

³⁰Declaración de los prisioneros que fueron restituidos al Valle de Matina, Cartago, 19 April 1725, ANCR, C. 313, fol. 65.

³¹Declaración de Melchor de los Reyes, criollo de Granada, Cartago, 8 Feb. 1731, ANCR, C. 325, fol. 165v.

³²Declaración de Francisco de la Riva, negro libre, Cartago, 23 Nov. 1737, AGI, G. 302, fol. 1020.

³³Declaración de Diego de Bonilla, mulato libre, Cartago, 25 Nov. 1737, AGI, G. 302, fol. 1028v.

³⁴Declaración de Inocencio de la Puebla y Carcamo, negro libre, Cartago, 3 Dec. 1737, AGI, G. 302, fol. 1030.

³⁵"Relación de una cautividad entre los Mosquitos," 89, 90, 91.

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- ³⁶ Declaración del negro Manuel García, Cartago, 20 Dec. 1733, ANCR, C. 325, fols. 240-241; Carta del Teniente de Gobernador José Felipe Bermúdez al Gobernador de Costa don Baltasar Francisco de Valderrama, Matina, 29 Dec. 1733, ANCR, C. 325, fol. 239.
- ³⁷ Calculated from *ibid.*, 85.
- ³⁸ John Holm, "The Creole English of Nicaragua's Miskito Coast: Its Sociolinguistic History and a Comparative Study of its Lexicon and Syntax" (Ph.D. diss., University of London, 1978).
- ³⁹ Declaración de Alfonso Ramírez, Cartago, Costa Rica, 19 April 1710, ANCR, C. 187, fols. 38v-42v; Carta de Gaspar de Acosta Arévalo, Matina, 13 March 1710, ANCR, C. 187, fol. 3; Carta de Francisco Martínez, Matina, 13 March 1710, ANCR, C. 187, fol. 5.
- ⁴⁰ Auto de noticia de 24 negros, Cartago, 22 March 1710, ANCR, C. 187, fol. 9; Declaración de Gaspar de Acosta Arévalo, Cartago, 16 April 1710, ANCR, C. 187, fols. 26-30; Declaración de Diego Oviedo, Cartago, 16 April 1710, ANCR, C. 187, fols. 30v-33v.
- ⁴¹ Avalúo de negros, Cartago, 23 April 1710, ANCR, C. 187, fols. 47-49.
- ⁴² Inventario de negros, Cartago, 14 April 1710, ANCR, C. 187, fols. 12-13v.
- ⁴³ Depósito de los negros en Juan López de la Rea y Soto, Cartago, 14 April 1710, ANCR, C. 187, fols. 14-15.
- ⁴⁴ Auto de la entrega de 10 negros por Gaspar de Acosta Arévalo, Cartago, 2 May 1710, ANCR, C. 187, fols. 52-52v; Inventario de los negros y su depósito en Juan López de la Rea y Soto, Cartago, 2 May 1710, ANCR, C. 187, fols. 53-54v.
- ⁴⁵ Declaración de Juan Bautista Retana, Cartago, 11 May 1710, ANCR, C. 187, fols. 103v-104.
- ⁴⁶ Declaración de Juan Bautista Retana, Cartago, 11 May 1710, ANCR, C. 187, fols. 104-105.
- ⁴⁷ Declaración de Antonio de Soto y Barahona, Cartago, 1 May 1710, ANCR, C. 187, fols. 72v-73.
- ⁴⁸ Declaración de Antonio de Soto y Barahona, Cartago, 1 May 1710, ANCR, C. 187, fols. 72-75.
- ⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, fols. 75v-77v.
- ⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, fols. 77-79; Declaración de Juan Bautista Retana, Cartago, 11 May 1710, ANCR, C. 187, fols. 107v; Inventario de negros, Cartago, 1 May 1710, ANCR, C. 187, fols. 69v-70v.
- ⁵¹ Declaración de Suyntin, indio mosquito, Cartago, 2 May 1710, ANCR, C. 187, fols. 84-85.
- ⁵² Segunda declaración de Suyntin y Antonio, indios mosquitos, Cartago, 3 May 1710, ANCR, C. 187, fol. 93v.
- ⁵³ Inventario de negros, Cartago, 11 May 1710, ANCR, C. 187, fols. 97-100v.
- ⁵⁴ Carta de Juan Francisco de Ibarra y Calvo, Moín, 27 April 1710, ANCR, C. 187, fols. 64v-65.

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- ⁵⁵ Carta de Juan Francisco de Ibarra y Calvo, Moín, 27 April 1710, ANCR, C. 187, fols. 64v-65.
- ⁵⁶ Inventario de 16 negros y negras, Cartago, 11 June 1710, ANCR, C. 187, fols. 147-149.
- ⁵⁷ Declaración de Juan Francisco de Ibarra y Calvo, Cartago, 11 June 1710, ANCR, C. 187, fols. 156v (quoted), 157; Declaración de Bernardo Pacheco, Cartago, 17 June 1710, ANCR, C. 187, fol. 186.
- ⁵⁸ Declaración de Bernardo Pacheco, Cartago, 17 June 1710, ANCR, C. 187, fols. 185v-186.
- ⁵⁹ Declaración de Matías Trejos, Cartago, 6 Nov. 1719, ANCR, Sección Colonial Guatemala (hereafter G) 185, fols. 81v-82v.
- ⁶⁰ Nombramiento de Francisco de casta arará, esclavo del Cap. Francisco de la Madriz Linares, como intérprete, Cartago, 14 April 1710, ANCR, C. 187, fol. 17v.
- ⁶¹ Declaración de Juan, negro bozal, Cartago, 16 April 1710, ANCR, C. 187, fol. 18v.
- ⁶² Declaración de Juan, negro bozal, Cartago, 16 April 1710, ANCR, C. 187, fols. 18v-19.
- ⁶³ Declaración de Juan, negro bozal, Cartago, 16 April 1710, ANCR, C. 187, fol. 19.
- ⁶⁴ Declaración de Juan, negro bozal, Cartago, 16 April 1710, ANCR, C. 187, fols. 18v-20v.
- ⁶⁵ Compare Declaración de Nicolás, negro bozal de casta arará, Cartago, 16 April 1710, ANCR, C. 187, fols. 21-23; Declaración de Miguel, negro bozal de casta arará, Cartago, 16 April 1710, ANCR, C. 187, fols. 23v-25v.
- ⁶⁶ Declaración de Juan, negro bozal, Cartago, 16 April 1710, ANCR, C. 187, fol. 19; Declaración de Nicolás, negro bozal de casta arará, Cartago, 16 April 1710, ANCR, C. 187, fol. 21v; Declaración de Miguel, negro bozal de casta arará, Cartago, 16 April 1710, ANCR, C. 187, fol. 24.
- ⁶⁷ Declaración de Juan, negro bozal, Cartago, 16 April 1710, ANCR, C. 187, fol. 19; Declaración de Nicolás, negro bozal de casta arará, Cartago, 16 April 1710, ANCR, C. 187, fol. 21v; Declaración de Miguel, negro bozal de casta arará, Cartago, 16 April 1710, ANCR, C. 187, fol. 24v.
- ⁶⁸ Nørregård, "Forliset ved Nicaragua," 92, 96.
- ⁶⁹ Memoria de los bienes del Cap. Pedro de Ibáñez, Cartago, 16 May 1702, ANCR, Mortuales Coloniales de Cartago (hereafter MCC) 849, fol. 14; Testamento de doña Manuela de Quirós, otorgado por su marido el Sarg. Mr. Francisco de la Madriz Linares, Cartago, 5 June 1716, ANCR, Protocolos Coloniales de Cartago (hereafter P.C.) 878, fol. 85.
- ⁷⁰ Declaración de Juan, negro bozal, Cartago, 16 April 1710, ANCR, C. 187, fol. 19; Declaración de Nicolás, negro bozal de casta arará, Cartago, 16 April 1710, ANCR, C. 187, fol. 18v.
- ⁷¹ Declaración de Felipe Cubero, negro de casta congo, Matina, 4 Dec. 1719, ANCR, C. 243, fol. 8v.
- ⁷² Declaración de Antonio Civitola, negro de casta congo, Cartago, 18 Dec. 1719, ANCR, C. 259, fol. 5v.
- ⁷³ Declaración de Micaela, negra de casta aná, Cartago, 5 Sept. 1719, ANCR, G. 187, fol. 2.

⁷⁴ See also “coger” in Real Academia Española, *Diccionario de autoridades* (6 vols. Madrid: Imprenta de Francisco del Hierro, 1726; facsimile rpt. ed., 6 vols. in 3, Madrid: Editorial Gredos, 1963), 2:397-398 (original pagination)/1:397-398.

⁷⁵ Declaración de Miguel Largo, negro esclavo, Cartago, 30 June 1720, ANCR, C. 240, fol. 21.

⁷⁶ Lovejoy and Trotman, “Enslaved Africans and Their Expectations.”

⁷⁷ See also “hurtar,” “hurtado,” and “hurto” in Real Academia Española, *Diccionario de autoridades*, 4:194-398/2:194.

⁷⁸ Law, *Slave Coast*, 111.

⁷⁹ Ibid., 332; Melville J. Herskovits, *Dahomey: An Ancient West African Kingdom* (New York: J. J. Augustin, 1938), 2:151, 153; P. Mercier, “The Fon of Dahomey,” in *African Worlds: Studies in the Cosmological Ideas and Social Values of African Peoples*, ed. Darryl Forde (London: Oxford University Press, 1954), 213, 214; Geoffrey Parrinder, *West African Religion: A Study of the Beliefs and Practices of Akan, Ewe, Yoruba, Ibo and Kindred Peoples*, 2nd ed. (New York: Barnes & Noble, 1970), 31.

⁸⁰ Albert de Surgy, *Le système religieux des évhè* (Paris: Éditions L'Harmattan, 1988), 111-112; Parrinder, *West African Religion*, 31-32.

⁸¹ Herskovits, *Dahomey*, 2:153; Surgy, *Système religieux*, 118; Parrinder, *West African Religion*, 32.

⁸² J. Omosade Awolalu, *Yoruba Beliefs and Sacrificial Rites* (London: Longman, 1979), 35-36.

⁸³ Dana Lynn Rush provides examples and an interpretation in “Vodun Vortex: Accumulative Arts, Histories, and Religious Consciousnesses along Coastal Benin” (Ph.D. diss., University of Iowa, 1997), chapter 2.

⁸⁴ Law, “Ethnicity and the Slave Trade,” 210.

⁸⁵ Parrinder, *West African Religion*, 32; Awolalu, *Yoruba Beliefs*, 35, 36, 38; Herskovits, *Dahomey*, 2: 164; Marc Schiltz, “Yoruba Thunder Deities and Sovereignty: Ara versus Sango,” *Anthropos* 80 (1985): 67-84, esp. 67, 80.

⁸⁶ Well into the nineteenth century, many European observers remarked on the aversion of Slave Coast peoples to the venture on the ocean. See Robin Law, “Between the Sea and the Lagoons: The Interaction of Maritime and Inland Navigation on the Pre-Colonial Slave Coast,” *Cahiers d'Études Africaines* 29, no. 2 (no. 114) (1989), 209-213.

⁸⁷ Joan Wescott and Peter Morton-Williams wrote of devotees of Shango in twentieth-century Nigeria: “Although the worshippers conform to the conventions of Yoruba behaviour in avoiding violence and destructiveness . . . , there is good evidence that they have fantasies of them and attribute to themselves the magical control of the destructive force of lightning.” Wescott and Morton-Williams, “The Symbolism and Ritual Context of the Yoruba *Laba Shango*,” *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 92 (1962), 25, 27.

⁸⁸ Pregón de negros, Cartago, 4 May 1710, ANCR, C. 187, fols. 58, 58v (quoted); Primer pregón de negros, Cartago, 25 April 1710, ANCR, C. 187, fols. 50-50v; Segundo pregón de negros, Cartago, 28 April 1710, ANCR, C. 187, fols. 51-52v; Tercer pregón de negros, Cartago, 1 May 1710, ANCR, C. 187, fols. 51v-52..

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- ⁸⁹ Nombramiento y juramento de evaluadores, Cartago, 23 April 1710, ANCR, C. 187, fols. 44v-46.
- ⁹⁰ Cesión de 2 esclavos, Cartago, 21 Feb. 1690, ANCR, P.C. 839, fols. 19v-22.
- ⁹¹ Primer pregón de negros, Cartago, 25 April 1710, ANCR, C. 187, fols. 50-50v; Segundo pregón de negros, Cartago, 28 April 1710, ANCR, C. 187, fols. 51-52v; Tercer pregón de negros, Cartago, 1 May 1710, ANCR, C. 187, fols. 51v-52.
- ⁹² Declaración del Cap. Francisco de los Reyes, Cartago, 9 July 1703, AGI, G. 359, pieza 5, fols. 6v, 9-9v; Notificación de auto al Gobernador don Francisco Serrano de Reyna y su respuesta, Cartago, 12 Jan. 1701, ANCR, C. 109, fol. 51v.
- ⁹³ Almoneda de negros, Cartago, 5 May 1710, ANCR, C. 187, fols. 59-60; Almoneda de negros, Cartago, 18 May 1710, ANCR, C. 187, fols. 63-64v.
- ⁹⁴ Venta de esclavo, Cartago, 22 June 1710, ANCR, C. 187, fols. 203v-204.
- ⁹⁵ Walter Johnson, *Soul by Soul: Life inside the Antebellum Slave Market* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2000), 129.
- ⁹⁶ Venta de esclavo, Cartago, 28 Sept. 1706, ANCR, P.C. 862, fols. 61v-63v, quoting fol. 62.
- ⁹⁷ Katia M. de Queirós Mattoso, *To Be a Slave in Brazil, 1550-1888*, trans. Arthur Goldhammer (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1986), 93-97.
- ⁹⁸ Silvia Hunold Lara, *Campos da violência: Escravos e senhores na capitania do Rio de Janeiro 1750-1808* (Rio de Janeiro: Editora Paz e Terra, 1988), 21, 54.
- ⁹⁹ Diligencia, Extramuros de Cartago, Jan. 1720, ANCR, C. 232, fol. 14.
- ¹⁰⁰ Careamiento de negros, Cartago, 2 Oct. 1720, ANCR, C. 267, fols. 55-56; Memoria de las personas que asistieron en la presa de negros, Cartago, 12 Aug. 1710, ANCR, C. 182, fol. 45; Venta de esclavos, Barva, 2 Sept. 1710, ANCR, G. 187, fols. 27-27v; Tercer día de inventarios y avalúos de los bienes del Sarg. Mr. don Juan Francisco de Ibarra y Calvo, Cartago, 15 March 1737, ANCR, MCC 850, fols. 11v, 12v-13; Venta de esclavo, Cartago, 31 Aug. 1736, ANCR, P.C. 915, fols. 78-79; Carta de manumisión, Cartago, 4 Aug. 1746, ANCR, P.C. 934, fols. 59-60.
- ¹⁰¹ Declaración de Miguel, negro bozal de casta mina, León, Nic., 5 May 1722, ANCR, G. 198, fols. 3-3v; Tatiana Lobo Wiehoff, "La travesura de don Tomás," in Lobo Wiehoff and Mauricio Meléndez Obando, *Negros y blancos: Todo mezclado* (San José: Editorial de la Universidad de Costa Rica, 1997), 38-41.
- ¹⁰² Venta de esclavo, Cartago, 26 Jan. 1660, ANCR, P.C. 815, fols. 59-60; Venta de esclavo, Cartago, 19 Sept. 1675, ANCR, P.C. 823, fols. 30-33; Reconocimiento y avalúo de esclava, Cartago, 23 Sept. 1719, ANCR, 253, fol. 2.
- ¹⁰³ Tasación y avalúo de esclavos, Cartago, 5 Sept. 1720, ANCR, C. 277, fol. 5.
- ¹⁰⁴ Inventario y avalúo de bienes, Cartago, 19 Nov. 1745, ANCR, MCC 797, fol. 18.
- ¹⁰⁵ For a recent example, see the autobiography of a young woman captured in Sudan in the 1980s. Mende Nazer, *Slave* (New York: Public Affairs, 2003), ch. 10.

¹⁰⁶ Quoted in Munford, *Black Ordeal*, 2:306.

¹⁰⁷ For a well-known example from the U.S., see Melton A. McLaurin, *Celia, a Slave: A True Story of Violence and Retribution in Antebellum Missouri* (Athens, Ga.: University of Georgia Press, 1991).

¹⁰⁸ Auto del Notario del Santo Oficio de la Inquisición, Cartago, 21 Oct. 1771, Archivo de la Curia Metropolitana de San José (hereafter ACMSJ), (Sección Fondos Antiguos, Serie Documentación Encuadernada (hereafter SFASDE), Caja 27, fol. 324 (quoted); Declaración de Juan Antonio González, Cartago, 28 Oct. 1771, ACMSJ, SFASDE, Caja 27, fol. 325.

¹⁰⁹ Don Gabriel de la Haya y Bolívar al Teniente de Gobernador Cap. don Bernardo Ruiz de Aviles, 1724, ANCR, Sección Complementario Colonial (hereafter C.C.) 5816, fol. 1v.

¹¹⁰ Bush, *Slave Women*, 44; Proctor, "Slavery, Identity, and Culture," 153; Stein, *Vassouras*, 158; Eugene D. Genovese, *Roll, Jordan, Roll: The World the Slaves Made* (New York: Pantheon, 1974), 352-353; Richard H. Steckel, "Miscegenation and the American Slave Schedules," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 11, no. 2 (autumn 1980), 254-255.

¹¹¹ Declaración de Felipa Arias, Bagaces, 10 Feb. 1724, ANCR, C.C. 5816, fol. 7v.

¹¹² Carlos Meléndez, "El negro en Costa Rica durante la colonia," in Meléndez and Quince Duncan, *El negro en Costa Rica*, 9th ed. (San José: Editorial Costa Rica, 1989; first published 1972), 44.

¹¹³ Philip D. Morgan, *Slave Counterpoint: Black Culture in the Eighteenth-Century Chesapeake and Lowcountry* (Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1998), 258-259; Lara, *Campos da violência*, ch. 2; Genovese, *Roll, Jordan, Roll*, 67-69, 124.

¹¹⁴ Asunción Lavrin, "Sexuality in Colonial Mexico: A Church Dilemma," in Lavrin, ed., *Sexuality and Marriage in Colonial Latin America* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1989), 47-92.

¹¹⁵ Herman L. Bennett, *Africans in Colonial Mexico: Absolutism, Christianity, and Afro-Creole Consciousness, 1570-1640* (Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press, 2003).

¹¹⁶ V. I. Lenin, "The State," in *Marx, Engels, Marxism* (Peking: Foreign Languages Press, 1978), 513.

¹¹⁷ Visita de cárcel pública, Cartago, 24 Dec. 1700, ANCR, Municipal 483, fol. 13.

¹¹⁸ Gomez, *Exchanging Our Country Marks*, 168.

¹¹⁹ Eltis, *Rise of African Slavery*, 156-157.

¹²⁰ Ernest Mandel, *An Introduction to Marxist Economic Theory* (New York: Pathfinder Press, 1970), 8.

¹²¹ Jacob Gorender, "Violência, consenso e contratualidade," in *A escravidão reabilitada* (São Paulo: Editora Ática, 1990), 38; Ernest Mandel, *Marxist Economic Theory*, trans. Brian Pearce (London: Merlin Press, 1968), 691.

¹²² Declaración de un negro bozal por medio de Francisco, negro de casta arará quien sirve de intérprete, Cartago, 16 April 1710, ANCR, C. 187, fol. 22v; Inventario de 16 negros y negras, Cartago, 11 June 1710, ANCR, C. 187, fol. 149.

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- ¹²³ Memoria de gastos presentada por el Alf. Juan Bautista Retana, presentada en Cartago, 28 June 1710, ANCR, C. 187, fols. 204v-205.
- ¹²⁴ Memoria de los gastos para la manutención de los negros desde el 14 de abril hasta el 24 de julio de 1710, presentada en Cartago por el Cap. Juan López de la Rea y Soto, July 1710, ANCR, C. 182, fols. 43-43v.
- ¹²⁵ Declaración de Jacinto de Rivera, Cartago, 13 May 1710, ANCR, C. 187, fol. 116;.
- ¹²⁶ Razón y memoria de los gastos para la manutención de los negros desde el 12 de mayo hasta el 17 de julio de 1710, presentada en Cartago por el Cap. don Antonio de la Vega Cabral, 17 July 1710, ANCR, C. 182, fol. 38
- ¹²⁷ Clarence J. Munford, *The Black Ordeal of Slavery and Slave Trading in the French West Indies, 1625-1715* (3 vols. Lewiston, N.Y.: Edwin Mellen Press, 1991), 2:465.
- ¹²⁸ Munford, *Black Ordeal*, 2:465, 474; Ira Berlin, *Many Thousands Gone: The First Two Centuries of Slavery in North America* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press, Harvard University Press, 1998), 24.
- ¹²⁹ E.g. Ulrich Bonnell Phillips, *American Negro Slavery: A Survey of the Supply, Employment and Control of Negro Labor as Determined by the Plantation Regime* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1966; first published 1918).
- ¹³⁰ Mattoso, *To Be a Slave*, ch. 4.
- ¹³¹ Trevor G. Burnard, "Slave Naming Patterns: Onomastics and the Taxonomy of Race in Eighteenth-Century Jamaica," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 31, no. 3 (winter 2001), 329.
- ¹³² Declaración de Gaspar de Acosta Arévalo, Cartago, 16 April 1710, ANCR, C. 187, fol. 29v (quoted).
- ¹³³ Parecer del fiscal, Madrid, 12 March 1708, AGI, Indiferente 2783.
- ¹³⁴ E. Y. Eglewogbe, "Personal Names as a Parameter for the Study of Culture: The Case of the Ghanaian Ewe," in *Peuples du golfe du Bénin*, ed. François de Medeiros (Paris: Karthala, 1984), 209-219; Albert Tingbé-Azalou, "Rites de dation du nom initial de naissance chez les Aja-Fon du Bénin," *Anthropos* 85 (1990), 187-192; Sabine Jell-Bahlsen, "Names and Naming: Instances from the Oru-Igbo," *Dialectical Anthropology* 13 (1988): 199-207.
- ¹³⁵ A. B. Quartey-Papafio, "The Use of Names among the Gas or Accra People of the Gold Coast," *Journal of the African Society* 13 (1913-1914): 167-182; C. C. Reindorf, *The History of the Gold Coast and Asante*, 1st ed. (Basel, Switzerland: The Author, 1895), 23-24.
- ¹³⁶ Barbot, *Barbot on Guinea*, 2:506; Philip Bartle, "The Universe Has Three Souls: Notes on Translating Akan Culture," *Journal of Religion in Africa* 14 (1983), 99, 101.
- ¹³⁷ S. Wilson, "Aperçu historique sur les peuples et cultures dans le golfe du Bénin: Le cas des 'mina' d'Anécho," in *Peuples du golfe du Bénin: Aja-éwé (colloque de Cotonou)*, ed. François de Medeiros (Paris: Karthala, 1984), 148.
- ¹³⁸ Melville J. Herskovits, *Dahomey: An Ancient West African Kingdom* (2 vols. New York: J. J. Augustin, 1938), 1:263; Wendy Schottman, "Baatonu Personal Names from Birth to Death," *Africa* 70, no. 1 (winter 2000), 80.

¹³⁹ For some early eighteenth-century stereotypes about African cultures, see Acuerdo de la Junta de Negros, Madrid (?), 25 July 1707, AGI, Indiferente 2782.

¹⁴⁰ Orlando Patterson, *Slavery and Social Death* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1982), 55. For just two examples, see Martin A. Klein, "Servitude among the Wolof and Sereer of Senegambia," in *Slavery in Africa: Historical and Anthropological Perspectives*, ed. Suzanne Miers and Igor Kopytoff (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1977), 349; Joseph C. Miller, "Imbangala Lineage Slavery (Angola)," in *Slavery in Africa*, ed. Miers and Kopytoff, 211.

¹⁴¹ Cf. John C. Inscoe, "Carolina Slave Names: An Index to Acculturation," *Journal of Southern History* 49, no. 4 (Nov. 1983): 527-554.

¹⁴² Marie-Louise Moreau, "Le marquage des identités ethniques dans le choix des prénoms en Casamance (Sénégal)," *Cahiers d'Études Africaines*, nos. 163-164 (2001): 541-556.

¹⁴³ See, for example, Primera almoneda, Esparza, 30 Nov. 1700, ANCR, 109, fols. 16v-18; Primera almoneda, Cartago, 17 Sept. 1702, ANCR, C. 113, fols. 9-9v.

¹⁴⁴ John K. Thornton, "Central African Names and African-American Naming Patterns," *William & Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser., 50, no. 4 (1993): 727-742.

¹⁴⁵ Declaraciones de tres negros bozales, Cartago, 16 April 1710, ANCR, C. 187, fols. 18v, 21v, 23v.

¹⁴⁶ "Diego" was purchased in Esparza by the priest's brother, Antonio de Angulo Gascón, on 30 Nov. 1700. ANCR, C. 109, fols. 18-18v; AGI, 359, pieza 6, fol. 26.

¹⁴⁷ Venta de esclavo, Cartago, 25 May 1716, ANCR, G. 187, fols. 30v-33; Partida del matrimonio de Antonio de la Riva y Agüero, negro libre, y de Juana Antonia Sánchez, mestiza, Cartago, 18 April 1747, ACMSJ, Libros de Matrimonios de Cartago, no. 4 /FHL, VAULT INTL film 1219727, item 10.

¹⁴⁸ Carta del Teniente General de Matina José Felipe Bermúdez al Gobernador Valderrama, Matina, 29 Dec. 1733, ANCR, C. 325, fol. 239.

¹⁴⁹ I base this assertion on an examination of ANCR, P.C. 801 (1607) through 803 (1629), 815 (1654-1655, 1664-1667) through 850 (1698), 853 (1697, 1699, 1700, 1701) through 865 (1708), 867 (1709) through 871 (1712), 873 (1714) through 917 (1737), 919 (1738) through 924 (1740), 926 (1741) through 934 (1746); ANCR, Protocolos Coloniales de Heredia 573 (1721) through 581 (1730), 583 (1733) through 586 (1739), 588 (1742) through 594 (1749); ANCR, Protocolos Coloniales de San José 411 (1721) through 415 (1738); ACMSJ, SFASDE, Caja 20 (1692, 1696, 1719); *Indices de los protocolos de Cartago*, vols. 1-3; *Indice de los protocolos de Heredia*.

¹⁵⁰ Burnard, "Slave Naming Patterns"; Munford, *Black Ordeal*, 2:471.

¹⁵¹ Partida del bautizo de Bartolomé, Cartago, 11 [Oct.] 1599; Partida del bautizo de Melchor, Cartago, 21 May 1599; Partida del bautizo de Catalina, Cartago, 6 June 1599; all in ACMSJ, Libros de Bautizos de Cartago, no. 1/FHL, VAULT INTL film 1219701, item 1.

¹⁵² R. Douglas Cope writes that "less than 6 percent of slaves used their masters' surnames" seventeenth-century Mexico City, but does not indicate that he researched the slaves' previous owners. Cope, *The Limits of Racial Domination: Plebeian Society in Colonial Mexico City, 1660-1720* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1994), 60-61, quoting 61.

¹⁵³ Codicilio de María de Ortega, Cartago, 1657, ANCR, P.C. 815 bis, fols. 287, 288; Venta de esclava, Cartago, 10 Jan. 1677, ANCR, P.C. 825, fols. 60-61v; Testamento de Juan de la Cruz Fonseca, Cartago, 17 May 1689, ANCR, P.C. 838, fols. 59, 60-60v.

¹⁵⁴ Declaración de Lorenza González, negra esclava del Cap. José Antonio Bermúdez, 10 Sept. 1719, ANCR, C. 241, fols. 1v-2.

¹⁵⁵ Testamento del Mtre. de Campo don Lorenzo Antonio de Granda y Balvín, Cartago, 2 Oct. 1712, ANCR, P.C. 871, fols. 59v.-60; Obligación del Cap. Juan Sancho de Castañeda y de su mujer doña Juana de Alvarado, Cartago, in Jan. 1713, in *Indice de los protocolos de Cartago*, 2:224; Testamento de doña Juana de Alvarado y Jirón, viuda del Cap. don Pedro Ortiz de Rosas y del Cap. don Juan Sancho de Castañeda, Cartago, 6 April 1737, ANCR, P.C. 916, fol. 91v; Venta de esclavo, Cartago, 1748, in *Indice de los protocolos de Cartago*, 3:443.

¹⁵⁶ Partida del bautizo de Lorenza Ramona, hija legítima de José Manuel de Paniagua y de Nicolasa de Paniagua, Cartago, 27 Aug. 1738, ACMSJ, Libros de Bautizos de Cartago, no. 6/FHL, VAULT INTL film 1219702, item 1; Partida del bautizo de Francisco, hijo legítimo de José Manuel Bermúdez y de Nicolasa de Paniagua, Cartago, 1 July 1745, ACMSJ, Libros de Bautizos de Cartago, no. 7/FHL, VAULT INTL film 1219702, item 2.

¹⁵⁷ Partida del matrimonio de Santiago de Amasare y de Antonio Josefa de Ibarra, ambos esclavos del Sarg. Mr. don Antonio de Oreamuno, Cartago, 13 Aug. 1742, ACMSJ, Libros de Matrimonios de Cartago, no. 4 /FHL, VAULT INTL film 1219727, Item 10; Partida del bautizo de José Gregorio, hijo legítimo de Santiago Oreamuno y de Antonia Josefa de Ibarra, Cartago, 15 March 1749; Partida del bautizo de Juana Efigenia, hija legítima de Santiago Ibarra y de Antonia Josefa de Ibarra, Cartago, 27 April 1750; both in ACMSJ, Libros de Bautizos de Cartago, no. 8/FHL, VAULT INTL film 1219702, item 3.

¹⁵⁸ Meléndez Obando, "Nombres y apellidos de los esclavos," in Lobo Wiehoff and Meléndez Obando, *Negros y blancos*, 111-112.

¹⁵⁹ Testamento cerrado de don Juan de Senabria Maldonado, Cartago, 11 July 1657, ANCR, P.C. 815, fol. 7.

¹⁶⁰ Meléndez Obando, "Nombres y apellidos," 111.

¹⁶¹ Venta de esclavo, Cartago, 22 Sept. 1705, ANCR, P.C. 861, fols. 49v-52; Carta provisional de manumisión, Cartago, 31 Aug. 1717, ANCR, P.C. 882, fols. 86-88; Declaración del Cap. Antonio de Soto y Barahona, Cartago, 25 Aug. 1721, ANCR, C.C. 4112, fol. 4; Petición de Diego de Casasola, negro esclavo del Cap. don Miguel de Alvarado, presentada en Cartago, 20 Nov. 1724, ANCR, C.C. 4148, fol. 1; Venta de esclavo, Cartago, 7 May 1726, ANCR, P.C. 899, fols. 45-46v; Testamento del Cap. don Miguel de Alvarado, Cartago, 31 March 1737, ANCR, P.C. 916, fol. 84; Testamento de Diego García, negro libre, N.p., 30 Dec. 1743, ANCR, P.C. 931, fols. 9-11.

¹⁶² Licencia para donar a un esclavo, Cartago, 20 August 1696, ACMSJ, SFASDE, Caja 20, fol. 223v; Carta dote, Cartago, 6 Dec. 1702, ANCR, P.C. 856, fol. 140v; Partida del bautizo de Francisca Josefa, mulata esclava, Cartago, 11 Feb. 1709, ACMSJ, Libros de Bautizos de Cartago, no. 3/FHL, VAULT INTL film 1219701, item 3; Escritura de mancomún, Cartago, 27 July 1719, ANCR, P.C. 887, fols. 52v-54; Declaración de Eugenia, mulata esclava, Cartago, 7 Sept. 1720, ANCR, C. 241, fol. 28; Venta de esclava, Cartago, 1730, P.C. 904, fols. 78v.-80v.

¹⁶³ Partida del bautizo de Isabel, Cartago, 6 April 1622, ACMSJ, Libros de Bautizos de Cartago, no. 1/FHL, VAULT INTL film 1219701, item 1; Testamento del Cap. Pedro de Ochoa Leguizamo, Cartago, 12 Feb. 1611, ANCR, G. 34, fol. 56.

¹⁶⁴ Herman Lee Bennett, "Lovers, Family and Friends: The Formation of Afro-Mexico, 1580-1810" (Ph.D. diss., Duke University, 1993), 39-40.

¹⁶⁵ Defunciones de Cartago y cuentas presentadas por Juan de Chavarría Navarro del dinero a su cargo por concepto de entierros, Cartago, 12 June 1711, ACMSJ, SFASDE, Caja 9, fol. 86v; Concierto de aprendiz, Cartago, 4 Aug. 1730, ANCR, P.C. 904, fols. 44-45; Lista general de gente y armas de Matina, Matina, 23 Jan. 1719, ANCR, C.C. 3797, fol. 25.

¹⁶⁶ Lista de los milicianos negros, pardos, mulatos y mestizos bajos de Esparza, 9 Nov. 1726, ANCR, C.C. 3792, fol. 24v; Lista de las milicias de gente parda, Cartago, 21 Nov. 1734, ANCR, C.C. 3798, fol. 34v; Lista de la compañía de pardos libres de Esparza, 1 July 1740, ANCR, C.C. 3864, fol. 24; Testamento del Cap. José Nicolás de la Haya, Cartago, 2 May 1747, ANCR, M.C.C. 841, fol. 5v.

¹⁶⁷ Carta dote, Cartago, 29 Jan. 1640, in *Indice de los protocolos de Cartago*, 1:73-74.

¹⁶⁸ Declaración de marcas y avalúo de los esclavos, Cartago, 12 Sept. 1719, ANCR, C. 267, fols. 4, 4v; Careamiento de esclavos, Cartago, 2 Oct. 1720, ANCR, C. 267, fols. 56v, 57; Venta de esclavo, Cartago, 20 April 1733, ANCR, P.C. 910, fols. 25-26v.

¹⁶⁹ For the unusual case of colonial Colombia, see Germán de Granda Gutiérrez, "Datos antroponímicos sobre negros esclavos musulmanos en Nueva Granada," *Thesaurus* (Bogotá) 27, no. 1 (1972): 89-103; idem, "Testimonios documentales sobre la preservación del sistema antroponímico twi entre los esclavos negros de la Nueva Granada," *Revista Española de Lingüística* 1, no. 2 (1971): 265-274, esp. 272-274.

¹⁷⁰ Careamiento de esclavos, Cartago, 2 Oct. 1720, ANCR, C. 267, fol. 56v; María de los Angeles Acuña, "Mujeres esclavas en la Costa Rica del siglo XVIII: Estrategias frente a la esclavitud," *Diálogos: Revista Electrónica de Historia* (Costa Rica) 5, nos. 1-2 (April 2004-February 2005), n. 42. Available at: <http://historia.fcs.ucr.acCr/sitio/artic.html>

¹⁷¹ Frederick P. Bowser, *The African Slave in Colonial Peru, 1524 -1650* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1974), 347; Stuart B. Schwartz, *Sugar Plantations in the Formation of Brazilian Society: Bahia, 1550-1835* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 251; Douglas B. Chambers, "'He Is an African but Speaks Plain': Historical Creolization in Eighteenth-Century Virginia," in *The African Diaspora*, ed. Alusine Jalloh and Stephen E. Maizlish, (College Station, Tex.: Texas A&M University Press, 1996), 125 n. 3; Stephanie Ellen Smallwood, "Salt-Water Slaves: African Enslavement, Migration, and Settlement in the Anglo-Atlantic World, 1660-1700" (Ph.D. diss., Duke University, 1999).

¹⁷² Declaración de Cristóbal de Guadalupe, Cap. del Guaymí, Cartago, 9 May 1719, ANCR, C. 223, fol. 10v.

¹⁷³ Declaración de Miguel, negro bozal mina, León, Nic., 12 May 1722, ANCR, G. 198, fol. 9.

¹⁷⁴ Declaración de Antonia, negra esclava de Diego de Aguilar, Cartago, 13 June 1720, ANCR, C. 276, fol. 1v.

¹⁷⁵ Michael D. Olien, "The Negro in Costa Rica: The Ethnohistory of an Ethnic Minority in a Complex Society," (Ph.D. diss., University of Oregon, Eugene, 1967), 64.

¹⁷⁶ Notificación al Alf. José de Guevara y su respuesta, San Francisco del Salto, Valle de Bagaces, 19 Oct. 1719, ANCR, C. 256, fol. 3.

¹⁷⁷ Auto del gobernador, Cartago, 3 Jan. 1720, ANCR, C. 240, fol. 5.

¹⁷⁸ Venta de esclavo, Cartago, 26 Aug. 1730, ANCR, P.C. 904, fols. 45-47v.

¹⁷⁹ Gomez, *Exchanging Our Country Marks*, 170-180, quoting 171.

¹⁸⁰ Declaración de José Feliciano de Acuña, Cartago, 6 Nov. 1720, ANCR, G. 185, fol. 88; Declaración de Matías Quesada, Cartago, 6 Nov. 1720, ANCR, G. 185, fol. 89.

¹⁸¹ Ray A. Kea, *Settlements, Trade, and Politics on the Seventeenth-Century Gold Coast* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1982), 12; Biodun Adediran, *The Frontier States of Western Yorubaland, circa 1600-1889: State Formation and Political Growth in an Ethnic Frontier Zone* (Ibadan, Nigeria: Institut Français de Recherche en Afrique, 1994), 4; Robin Law, *The Oyo Empire, c. 1600- C 1836: A West African Imperialism in the Era of the Atlantic Slave Trade* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1977), 202; idem, *The Slave Coast of West Africa, 1550-1759* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), 38-40.

¹⁸² Robin Law, "Between the Sea and the Lagoons: The Interaction of Maritime and Inland Navigation on the Pre-Colonial Slave Coast," *Cahiers d'Études Africaines* 29, no. 2 (no. 114) (1989), 212-213.

¹⁸³ Adriano Parreira, *Economia e sociedade em Angola na epoca da rainha Jinga (século XVII)* (Lisbon: Editorial Estampa, 1990), 83; Hilton, *Kingdom of Kongo*, 7.

¹⁸⁴ Gomez, *Exchanging Our Country Marks*, 169; Munford, *Black Ordeal*, 2:467.

¹⁸⁵ Declaración del Cap. Francisco de los Reyes, Cartago, 9 July 1703, AGI, 359, pieza 5, fols. 5v, 15v; Declaración de Juan Antonio Bogarín, Cartago, 21 Aug. 1703, AGI, 359, pieza 5, fol. 32; Testimonio de venta de 10 negros, n.d. but ca. 1703, ANCR, C. 265, fol. 3v.

¹⁸⁶ Ernesto Chinchilla Aguilar, *La Inquisición en Guatemala*. Guatemala: Editorial del Ministerio de Educación Pública, 1953), 44-45 (quoted); Carta del P. Baltasar de Grado al Santo Oficio de la Inquisición de México, Cartago, 20 April 1626, Archivo General de la Nación, Mexico City (hereafter AGN), Inquisición, vol. 386, exp. 3, fol. 83 (quoted).

¹⁸⁷ For a recent example, see James H. Sweet, *Recreating Africa: Culture, Kinship, and Religion in the African-Portuguese World, 1441-1770* (Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 2003).

¹⁸⁸ James Barbot and John Casseneuve, "Abstract of a Voyage to the Kongo River and Kabinda in 1700," in Elizabeth Donnan, ed., *Documents Illustrative of the History of the Slave Trade to America* (4 vols. Washington: Carnegie Institute, 1931-1935), 1:452, 459.

¹⁸⁹ Sandoval, *Un tratado sobre la esclavitud*, 382-383, 399, 412-413; T. Bentley Duncan, *Atlantic Islands: Madeira, the Azores and the Cape Verdes in Seventeenth-Century Commerce and Navigation* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1972), 230-231, 233.

¹⁹⁰ Partida de bautizo, Cartago, 15 April 1639, ACMSJ, Libros de Bautizos de Cartago, no. 1/ FHL, VAULT INTL film 1219701, Item 1.

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- ¹⁹¹ Inventario de 22 negros y negras traídos de Matina por el Cap. Gaspar de Acosta Arévalo, Cartago, 14 April 1710, C 187, fols. 12-13v; Declaración de Gaspar Acosta Arévalo, Cartago, 17 April 1710, C 187, fols. 27, 30.
- ¹⁹² Memoria de los gastos para la manutención de los negros desde el 12 de mayo hasta el 14 de abril hasta el 24 de julio de 1710, presentada en Cartago por el Cap. Juan López de la Rea y Soto, July 1710, ANCR, C. 182, fols. 43-43v.
- ¹⁹³ ACMSJ, Libros de Bautizos de Cartago, nos. 1-6 (1595-1738)/FHL, VAULT INTL film 1219701, items 1-5, VAULT INTL film 1219702, item 1. By contrast, it was extremely rare for adult Africans to remain unbaptized in colonial Rio de Janeiro. Mariza de Carvalho Soares, "Mina, Angola e Guiné: Nomes d'África no Rio de Janeiro setecentista," *Tempo* (Brazil) 3, no. 6 (1998), 82-83.
- ¹⁹⁴ Partida del bautizo de Petrona, negra esclava del Cap. Salvador Suárez de Lugo; Partida del bautizo de María, negra bozal esclava del Cap. Salvador Suárez de Lugo, both dated Esparza, 20 Feb. 1713; both in ACMSJ, Libros de Bautizos de Esparza (1706-1819)/FHL, VAULT INTL film 1223548, item 5.
- ¹⁹⁵ Partida del bautizo de Miguel, Nicolás, Diego y Agustín, negros angolas adultos, y de Gabriel, negro adulto, Cartago, 15 Nov. 1679, ACMSJ, Libros de Bautizos de Cartago, no. 1/FHL, VAULT INTL film 1219701, item 1.
- ¹⁹⁶ Partida del bautizo de Francisco, José, Isabel y Juana, negros esclavos adultos del Cap. don José Pérez de Muro, Cartago, 13 July 1705, ACMSJ, Libros de Bautizos de Cartago, no. 3/FHL, VAULT INTL film 1219701, Item 3.
- ¹⁹⁷ Partida del bautizo de José, adulto negro bozal esclavo del Cap. don Francisco Bruno de Reyna, Cartago, 23 April 1705; Partida del bautizo de Antonia, negra bozal esclava adulta de Gabriel Trejos, Cartago, 30 May 1705; Partida del bautizo de Antonio, adulto negro bozal esclavo de Juan Masís, y de María, negra esclava adulta de doña Gertrudis Maroto, Cartago, 3 June 1705; Partida del bautizo de Mateo, negro bozal esclavo adulto del Maestre de Campo don José de Casasola y Córdoba, Cartago, 30 June 1705; Partida del bautizo de María, negra bozal adulta esclava de doña Francisca de Astúa, Cartago, 12 Feb. 1706; all in ACMSJ, Libros de Bautizos de Cartago, no. 3/FHL, VAULT INTL film 1219701, Item 3.
- ¹⁹⁸ Confesión de Juan Delgado, Cartago, 17 Dec. 1725, ACMSJ, SFASDE, Caja 12, fol. 335.
- ¹⁹⁹ Declaración de Antonio Casasola, negro esclavo, Valle de Escazú, 12 Dec. 1725, ACMSJ, SFASDE, Caja 12, fols. 328-328v.
- ²⁰⁰ Declaración del R.P. Predicador Fray José de Suazo, Valle de Escazú, 13 Dec. 1725, ACMSJ, SFASDE, Caja 12, fol. 331.
- ²⁰¹ Declaración de Pedro, esclavo del Sarg. Mr. don Juan Francisco de Ibarra y Calvo, 7 Nov. 1719, ANCR, G. 187, fol. 12.
- ²⁰² Bando de buen gobierno, Cartago, 26 March 1737, ANCR, C. 389, fol. 5v.
- ²⁰³ Fe de muerte de la negra María, Cartago, 28 April 1719, ANCR, C. 211, fol. 113. For "rudo," see Real Academia Española, *Diccionario de autoridades*, 5:650 (original pagination)/3:650.
- ²⁰⁴ For example, see Robin Law, "Religion, Trade and Politics on the 'Slave Coast': Roman Catholic Missions in Allada and Whydah in the Seventeenth Century," *Journal of Religion in Africa* 21 (1991): 43-77.

²⁰⁵ Paul Lovejoy, "Slavery, the Bilad al-Sudan and the Frontiers of the African Diaspora," in Lovejoy, ed., *Slavery on the Frontiers of Islam* (Princeton, N.J.: Markus Wiener, 2004), 6, 7, 8; Sweet, *Recreating Africa*, 94.

²⁰⁶ Anne Hilton, *The Kingdom of Kongo* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985), 51; John K. Thornton, *The Kingdom of Kongo: Civil War and transition, 1641-1718* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1983), xiv.

²⁰⁷ Georges Balandier, *Daily Life in the Kingdom of the Kongo from the 16th to the 18th Century*, trans. Helen Weaver (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1968), 254.

²⁰⁸ Following John Thornton, I use "Kongolese" to refer to subjects of the Kingdom of Kongo, to be distinguished from "Bakongo," a twentieth-century term designating speakers of the Kikongo language.

²⁰⁹ See John K. Thornton, "The Development of an African Catholic Church in the Kingdom of Kongo, 1491-1750," *Journal of African History* 25 (1984): 147-167; idem, "On the Trail of Voodoo: African Christianity in Africa and the Americas," *The Americas* 44, no. 2 (Oct. 1988): 261-278; idem, "Perspectives on African Christianity," in *Race, Discourse and the Origin of the Americas: A New World View*, ed. Vera Hyatt and Rex Nettleford (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1995), 169-198; idem, *Africa and Africans in the Making of the Atlantic World, 1400-1800*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 255-262; idem, *The Kongolese Saint Anthony: Dona Beatriz Kimpa Vita and the Antonian Movement, 1684-1706* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998); idem, "Religious and Ceremonial Life in the Kongo and Mbundu Areas, 1500-1700," in *Central Africans and Cultural Transformations in the American Diaspora*, ed. Linda Heywood (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 83-90.

²¹⁰ Thornton, *Africa and Africans*, 2nd ed., 254; idem, "African Dimensions of the Stono Rebellion," *American Historical Review* 96, no. 4 (Oct. 1991): 1101-1113.

²¹¹ François Bontinck, ed., *Le catéchisme kikongo: Réédition critique* (Brussels: Koninklijke Academie voor Overzee Wetenschappen, 1978); Sandoval, *Un tratado sobre la esclavitud*, 398, 399.

²¹² Hilton, *Kingdom of Kongo*, 102; Sweet, *Recreating Africa: Culture, Kinship, and Religion in the African-Portuguese World, 1441-1770* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003), 195-197. Almoneda de esclavo, Esparza, 30 Nov. 1700, ANCR, C. 109, fols. 18-18v; Respuesta del Lic. don Diego de Angulo Gascón, Cartago, 17 July 1720, ANCR, C. 263, fol. 3v.

²¹³ Inventario de los bienes del difunto Lic. don Diego de Angulo Gascón, Cartago, 18 Jan. 1727, ANCR, M.C.C. 451, fol. 16; Georges Balandier, *Daily Life in the Kingdom of the Kongo from the 16th to the 18th Century*, trans. Helen Weaver (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1968), 112; Hilton, *Kingdom of Kongo*, 94, 102 (quoted).

²¹⁴ Inventario de los bienes del difunto Lic. don Diego de Angulo Gascón, Cartago, 18 Jan. 1727, ANCR, M.C.C. 451, fol. 7; John K. Thornton, *The Kongolese Saint Anthony: Dona Beatriz Kimpa Vita and the Antonian Movement, 1684-1706* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998); Adrian Hastings, "The Christianity of Pedro IV of the Kongo, 'the Pacific,'" *Journal of Religion in Africa* 28, no. 2 (1998), 149-150.

²¹⁵ Hastings, "Christianity of Pedro IV," 149-150; Hilton, *Kingdom of Kongo*, 102; Thornton, *Africa and Africans*, 2nd ed., 257-258.

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- ²¹⁶ Inventario de los bienes del difunto Lic. don Diego de Angulo Gascón, Cartago, 18 Jan. 1727, ANCR, M.C.C. 451, fols. 17-18.
- ²¹⁷ On Kongolese catechists in Saint Domingue/Haiti, see Hein Vanhee, "Central African Popular Christianity and the Making of Haitian Vodou Religion," in *Central Africans and Cultural Transformations in the American Diaspora*, ed. Linda Heywood (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 243-264; Terry Rey, "Kongolese Catholic Influences on Haitian Popular Catholicism: A Sociohistorical Exploration," in *Central Africans and Cultural Transformations*, 265-285.
- ²¹⁸ ACMSJ, Libros de Bautizos de Cartago, no. 2/ FHL, VAULT INTL film 1219701, item 2; Fe de muerte de la negra María, Cartago, 28 April 1719, ANCR, C. 211, fol. 113.
- ²¹⁹ Partidas de confirmación, Cartago, 25 March 1625, ACMSJ, Confirmaciones de Cartago, Libro 1 (1609, 1625)/FHL, VAULT INTL film 1219727, item 2.
- ²²⁰ Testamento del Sarg. Mr. don Francisco de Ocampo Golfín, Cartago, 3 Oct. 1714, ANCR, P.C. 874, fols. 21-21v; Declaración de Miguel, negro de casta congo, Valle de Barva, 12 Nov. 1719, ANCR, G. 188, fol. 5; Declaración de Manuel, negro de casta congo, Valle de Barva, 12 Nov. 1719, ANCR, G. 188, fol. 6; Linda M. Heywood, "The Angolan-Afro-Brazilian Cultural Connections," in *From Slavery to Emancipation in the Atlantic World*, ed. Sylvia R. Frey and Betty Wood (London: Frank Cass, 1999), 14; Sweet, *Recreating Africa*, 206-207.
- ²²¹ Carta dote de don Bernardo García de Miranda a favor de doña Josefa de Casasola y Córdoba, Cartago, 4 Jan. 1727, ANCR, P.C. 900, fols. 1v, 3-3v.
- ²²² Testamento del Sarg. Mr. Blas González Coronel, 19 July 1714, ANCR, P.C. 873, fol. 89; Avalúo de los bienes que quedaron por muerte del Sarg. Mr. Blas González Coronel, Cartago, 6 March 1719, ACMSJ, SFASDE, Caja 20, fol. 158; Declaración de Isabel, negra, Cartago, 28 Sept. 1720, ANCR, C. 284, fol. 13v; Partida del bautizo de Isabel, negra esclava del Lic. don Manuel González Coronel, Cartago, 1 Oct. 1723, ACMSJ, Libros de Bautizos de Cartago, no. 5/FHL, VAULT INTL film 1219701, Item 5.
- ²²³ Declaración de Petrona, negra esclava del Sarg. Mr. don Salvador Suárez de Lugo, San Francisco de Tenorio, 17 Sept. 1719, ANCR, G. 185, fols. 8v-9; Partida del bautizo de Petrona, Esparza, 20 Feb. 1713, ACMSJ, Libros de Bautizos de Esparza, 1706-1819/FHL, VAULT INTL Film 1223548.
- ²²⁴ Declaración de Petrona, negra esclava del Sarg. Mr. don Salvador Suárez de Lugo, San Francisco de Tenorio, 17 Sept. 1719, ANCR, G. 185, fol. 8.
- ²²⁵ Declaración de Manuel García, esclavo del Cap. Manuel García, difunto, Cartago, 20 Dec. 1733, ANCR, C. 325, fol. 240.
- ²²⁶ Cf. Kathleen J. Higgins, *"Licentious Liberty" in a Brazilian Gold-Mining Region: Slavery, Gender, and Social Control in Eighteenth-Century Sabará, Minas Gerais* (University Park, Pa.: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1999), 121-122, 123.
- ²²⁷ Memoria de los bienes de Diego Angulo, presentada en Cartago, 7 Feb. 1746, ANCR, MCC 462, fol. 3v.
- ²²⁸ Thornton, *Africa and Africans*, 2nd ed., 267. Absolutely nothing suggests, however, a direct link between Kongo Christianity and the apparition of the Virgin of los Angeles, as Thornton seems to imply here.

²²⁹ Linda M. Heywood, "The Angolan-Afro-Brazilian Cultural Connections," in *From Slavery to Emancipation in the Atlantic World*, ed. Sylvia R. Frey and Betty Wood (London: Frank Cass, 1999), 15.

²³⁰ Inventario de los bienes de Diego Angulo, Cartago, 7 Feb. 1746, ANCR, MCC 462, fols. 3-4; Adjudicación a la viuda Felipa, Cartago, 14 Feb. 1746, ANCR, MCC 462, fol. 11v; Elección de los oficiales de la cofradía de los Angeles, Cartago, 1 Aug. 1742, ACMSJ, Sección Cofradías, Serie Cartago, Libro 16 (Cofradía de los Angeles), fol. 30 [29] Elección de los oficiales de la cofradía de los Angeles, Cartago, 1 Aug. 1744, ACMSJ, Sección Cofradías, Serie Cartago, Libro 16 (Cofradía de los Angeles), fol. [31v]; Elección de los oficiales de la cofradía de los Angeles, Cartago, 1 Aug. 1748, ACMSJ, Sección Cofradías, Serie Cartago, Libro 16 (Cofradía de los Angeles), fol. 38.

²³¹ Sandoval, *Un tratado sobre la esclavitud*, 139; António Carreira, *Cabo Verde: Formação e extinção de uma sociedade escravocrata, 1460-1878*, 2nd ed. (N.p.: Com o Patrocínio da Comissão da Comunidade Económica Europeia para o Instituto Caboverdeano do Livro, 1983), chapter 8.

²³² Testamento de Diego García, negro libre, N.p., 30 Dec. 1743, ANCR, P.C. 931, fols. 9 (quoted), 10; Fundación de capellanía, Cartago, 26 Aug. 1744, P.C. 931, fol. 83v.

²³³ Fundación de capellanía, Cartago, 26 Aug. 1744, P.C. 931, fols. 81v-84, quoting fol. 83v; Memoria de los aumentos de los bienes de la Cofradía de los Angeles, Cartago, 29 Oct. 1737, ACMSJ, Sección Cofradías, Serie Cartago, Libro 16, fol. [93v]; Carta dote, Barva, 25 Sept. 1719, ANCR, P.C. 889, fols. 53-53v; Cuentas, división y partición de los bienes de doña Catalina González del Camino, Cartago, 22 July 1746, ANCR, MCC 797, fol. 94.

²³⁴ Discounting adult Africans, 70 black slaves were baptized in Cartago's parish church between 1599 and 1750 vs. 70 mulatos. Eighteen children, however, were identified only as "blacks," and some of these must have been slaves. ACMSJ, Libros de bautizos de Cartago, nos. 1-6 (1599-1738)/FHL, VAULT INTL film 1219701, items 1-5, VAULT INTL film 121970, item 1; ACMSJ. Libros de Bautizos de Esparza (1706-1819)/FHL, VAULT INTL film 1223548, item 5-6.

²³⁵ ACMSJ, Libros de matrimonios de Cartago, nos. 1-4 (1662-1750)/FHL, VAULT INTL film 1219727, items 6-10.

²³⁶ Libros de defunciones de Esparza (1712-1750), FHL, VAULT INTL 1223549, item 5.

²³⁷ Cf. Laura de Mello e Souza, *The Devil and the Land of the Holy Cross: Witchcraft, Slavery, and Popular Religion in Colonial Brazil*, trans. Diane Groszklaus Whitty (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2003; first published 1987), 49.

²³⁸ Declaración de Ramón González, mulato esclavo de Manuel González, San Bartolomé de Barva, 2 Dec. 1726, ANCR, C.C. 178, fol. 2.

²³⁹ Certificación del M.R.P. Fr. Juan de los Reyes, N.p., 19 Dec. 1726, ANCR, C.C. 178, fol. 13.

²⁴⁰ Petición de Manuel González, presentada en al Valle de Barva, 14 Dec. 1726, ANCR, C.C. 178, fol. 11.

²⁴¹ Confesión de Felipe de Oviedo, mulato esclavo de doña Francisca Jiménez, Cartago, 2 Feb. 1716, ANCR, C.C. 145, fols. 9, 10v.

²⁴² Declaración de María Josefa Chaves, mulata esclava, Cartago, 30 July 1757, AGN, Inquisición, vol. 929, exp. 25, fols. 364-364v.

²⁴³ Cf. Mello e Souza, *Devil and the Land*, 46.

²⁴⁴ One early attempt at a survey is Ricardo Jinesta, "La Inquisición en sus proyecciones sobre instituciones antiguas de Costa Rica," *Revista de los Archivos Nacionales* (Costa Rica) 22, nos. 7-12 (July-Dec. 1958): 362-374. Ernesto Chinchilla Aguilar referred briefly to Costa Rica in his *La Inquisición en Guatemala* (Guatemala: Editorial del Ministerio de Educación Pública, 1953), 61, 65, 159, 176, 190, 280.

²⁴⁵ The earliest cases came from the Pacific coast. See Contra Fray Diego Quintero por proposiciones heréticas, Esparza, 1589, AGN, Inquisición, vol. 121, exp. 4, fols. 574-579; Contra Diego de Cavanilla, clérigo presbítero, por palabras malsonantes, Esparza, 1605, vol. 279, exp. 13, fols. 233-239v.

²⁴⁶ Mello e Souza, *Devil and the Land*, 89-91.

²⁴⁷ Sweet, *Recreating Africa*; Mello e Souza, *Devil and the Land*; Solange Alberro, *Inquisición y sociedad en México 1571-1700*. Mexico: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1988); Jaime Humberto Borja Gómez, et al., *Inquisición, muerte y sexualidad en el Nuevo Reino de Granada* (Bogotá: Editorial Ariel, 1996).

²⁴⁸ Denunciación hecha contra Inés de Figueroa por María de Carbajal, Cartago, 14 April 1679, AGN, Inquisición, vol. 631, exp. 6, fols. [2-3v].

²⁴⁹ Declaración de don Diego de Ibarra, Cartago, 26 April 1685, AGN, Inquisición, vol. 650, exp. 3, fol. 575; Padrón y memoria de los vecinos y moradores de Cartago, Cartago, 27 March 1691, ANCR, C. 83, fols. 4-4v.

²⁵⁰ *Indice de los protocolos de Cartago*, 1:452-453.

²⁵¹ Testamento de María de Ortega, Cartago, 30 April 1655, ANCR, P.C. 815 bis, fol. 282; *Indice de los protocolos de Cartago*; Testamento de doña Ana de Retes, Cartago, 20 April 1704, ANCR, P.C. 859, fols. 21, 21v; Donación de una caballería de tierra, unas casas y tres esclavos, Cartago, 25 Nov. 1704, ANCR, P.C. 859, fol. 44; Cáceres Gómez, "Negros, mulatos," 133.

²⁵² Declaración de don Diego de Ibarra, Cartago, 26 April 1685, AGN, Inquisición, vol. 650, exp. 3, fol. 575, 575v.

²⁵³ For the similar case of an "Arda" slave discovering a mulata's magic, see Sweet, *Recreating Africa*, 166-167; and for another case of an *arará* slave practicing divination to unmask malefactors in colonial Colombia, see Kathryn Joy McKnight, "'En su tierra lo aprendió': An African Curandero's Defense before the Cartagena Inquisition," *Colonial Latin American Review* 12, no. 1 (2003): 63-84.

²⁵⁴ Restall, "Black Conquistadors," 200, 193-194; Diouf, *Servants of Allah*, 18-20, 145; Gomez, *Exchanging Our Country Marks*, 62-63; idem, "Muslims in Early America," *Journal of Southern History* 60, no. 4 (Nov. 1994), 675, 677; Jean-Pierre Tardieu, "The Origins of the Slaves in the Lima Region in Peru (Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries)," in *From Chains to Bonds: The Slave Trade Revisited*, ed. Doudou Diène (Paris: UNESCO, 2001), 51-52; Nehemia Levtzion, "Islam in the Bilad al-Sudan to 1800," in Levtzion and Randall L. Pouwels, eds., *The History of Islam in Africa* (Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press, 2000), 79 (quoted).

²⁵⁵ Jean Boulègue, *Les anciens royaumes Wolof (Sénégal): Le grand Jolof XIII-XVIe siècles* (Paris: Éditions Façades, 1987), 93-94; Jean-Louis Triaud, *Islam et sociétés soudanaises au Moyen-Age: Étude historique* (Paris: Recherches Voltaïques, 1973), 64; Peter B. Clarke, *West Africa and Islam: A Study of Religious Development from the 8th to the 20th Century* (London: Edward Arnold, 1982), 81; Mervyn Hiskett, *The*

Development of Islam in West Africa (New York: Longman, 1984), 27-28, 138; J. Spencer Trimingham, *A History of Islam in West Africa* (London: Oxford University Press, 1962), 143, 186; Lamin O. Sanneh, *The Jakhanke Muslim Clerics: A Religious and Historical Study of Islam in Senegambia* (Lanham, Md.: University Press of America, 1989), 23.

²⁵⁶ Boulègue, *Anciens royaumes Wolof*, 7; Hiskett, *Development of Islam*, 138-139; Michael A. Gomez, "Muslims in Early America," *Journal of Southern History* 60, no. 4 (Nov. 1994), 675; Trimingham, *History of Islam*, 175; Searing, *West African Slavery*, 334; "Valentim Fernandes (c. 1508)," in David P. Gamble and P. E. H. Hair, eds., *The Discovery of the River Gambia (1623)*, by Richard Jobson, (London: Hakluyt Society, 1999), 269 (quoted).

²⁵⁷ Klein, "Servitude among the Wolof," 337, 339; Searing, *West African Slavery*, 35, 37.

²⁵⁸ Sanneh, *Jakhanke Muslim Clerics*, 2, 16 (quoted), 23-26, 30.

²⁵⁹ "Cadamosto (1455 and 1456 Voyages)," in Gamble and Hair, eds., *Discovery of the River*, 253.

²⁶⁰ Sanneh, *Jakhanke Muslim Clerics*, 56, 59; Michael A. Gomez, "Muslims in Early America," *Journal of Southern History* 60, no. 4 (Nov. 1994), 684; "André Álvares de Almada (c. 1594)," in Gamble and Hair, eds., *Discovery of the River*, 277-278.

²⁶¹ Gamble and Hair, eds., *Discovery of the River*, 113, 111 n. 2.

²⁶² "André Donelha (1625)," in Gamble and Hair, eds., *Discovery of the River*, 290.

²⁶³ "Francisco de Lemos Coleho (1669/1684)," in Gamble and Hair, eds., *Discovery of the River*, 296. Jobson discusses the "Mary-buckles" and their religious practices at length in *Discovery of the River*, 123-138.

²⁶⁴ Paul E. Lovejoy, "Slavery, the Bilad al-Sudan and the Frontiers of the African Diaspora," in *Slavery on the Frontiers of Islam*, ed. Lovejoy (Princeton, N.J.: Markus Wiener, 2004), 14.

²⁶⁵ David Robinson, *Muslim Societies in African History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 42.

²⁶⁶ See Tarif Khalidi, *The Muslim Jesus: Sayings and Stories in Islamic Literature* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2001); Edward Geoffrey Parrinder, *Jesus in the Qur'an* (London: Faber and Faber, 1965).

²⁶⁷ Declaración de Leandro de Figueroa, corregidor de Pacaca, Cartago, 9 Oct. 1609, AGN, Inquisición, vol. 292, exp. 25, fols. 92v-93v; Declaración de Juan de Buliaga, Guatemala, 16 March 1610, AGN, Inquisición, vol. 474, exp. 6, fol. 333.

²⁶⁸ Declaración de Leandro de Figueroa, corregidor de Pacaca, Cartago, 9 Oct. 1609, AGN, Inquisición, vol. 292, exp. 25, fol. 93.

²⁶⁹ See Alonso de Sandoval's discussion of the "perverted sect of Mahoma" among the "jolofofos" and other Senegambian peoples in *Un tratado sobre la esclavitud*, ed. Enriqueta Vila Vilar (Seville, 1627; rpt. ed., Madrid: Editorial Alianza, 1987), 118-120.

²⁷⁰ Declaración de Francisco de Salas, Cartago, 13 Oct. 1609, AGN, Inquisición, vol. 292, exp. 25, fol. 102v.

²⁷¹ Pereira's knowledge of Islam quickly exhausted, he passed on to suggestions that became more scandalous – and more dangerous – as they approached blasphemy. Pereira raised the stakes by offering Manuel a peso “to deny God, so that later they’ll burn you.” At that point, the table fell silent. Observers knew that Pereira had crossed a line, not only by inciting blasphemy, but by ridiculing the Inquisition. Finally, Andrés López de Céspedes said mournfully, “I’d have given ten pesos if Gaspar Pereira hadn’t said what he said.” Declaración de Francisco de Salas, Cartago, 13 Oct. 1609, AGN, Inquisición, vol. 292, exp. 25, fol. 102v. In February 1611, the Inquisition of Mexico took up the case of Pereira’s “bad-sounding words.” Carta del Comisario de la Inquisición de Niquinihomo y Nicaragua, sin fecha ni firma, recibida en el Santo Oficio, Mexico, 7 Feb. 1611, AGN, Inquisición, vol. 292, exp. 25, fols. 85-86.

²⁷² Excluding the literature on the Malê rebellion in 1835 in Bahia, Brazil (virtually a sub-genre in itself), works on enslaved African Muslims in the New World have focused on North America and the British Caribbean, including Muhammad Abdul Jassan, “Muslim’s [sic] Struggle against Slavery and Their Efforts for Retention of Cultural identity in the Caribbean Territories,” *Hamdard Islamicus* (Pakistan) 21, no. 1 (1998), 75-84; Sultana Afroz, “The Unsung Slaves: Islam in Plantation Jamaica,” *Caribbean Quarterly* 41, nos. 3-4 (1995), 30-44; idem, “The Manifestation of *Tawhid*: The Muslim Heritage of the Maroons in Jamaica,” *Caribbean Quarterly* 45, no. 1 (March 1999), 27-40; Allan D. Austin, *African Muslims in Antebellum America: A Sourcebook* (New York: Garland, 1984); idem, “Islamic Identities in Africans in North America in the Days of Slavery (1731-1865),” *Islam et Sociétés au Sud du Sahara* 7 (1993), 205-219; Diouf, *Servants of Allah*; Gomez, “Muslims in Early America”; Thomas C. Parramore, “Muslim Slave Aristocrats in North Carolina,” *North Carolina Historical Review* 77, no. 2 (2000): 127-150; Brent Singleton, “The *Ummah* Slowly Bled: A Select Bibliography of Enslaved African Muslims in the Americas and the Caribbean,” *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs* 22, no. 2 (Oct. 2002): 401-412. To my knowledge, the only work on colonial Spanish America remains Germán de Granda Gutiérrez, “Datos antroponímicos sobre negros esclavos musulmanos en Nueva Granada,” *Thesaurus* (Bogotá) 27, no. 1 (1972), 89-103.

²⁷³ Diouf, *Servants of Allah*, 179-184.

CHAPTER 5

WORK AND THE SHAPING OF SLAVE LIFE^[RL41]

In the absence of known mineral wealth or extensive plantation agriculture, Costa Rica never relied on African slavery as its dominant system of labor organization. Spaniards nevertheless imported black slaves to Costa Rica from the earliest days of the conquest, as they did in all other parts of the Americas. In Cartago, the colonial capital, the white elite prized enslaved Africans and their descendants as “domestic servants” throughout the colonial period. Pointing out the chronic economic underdevelopment of the province, historians traditionally emphasized that slave ownership in Costa Rica was limited to a few ruling families.¹ Comparing the human property of Costa Rican slaveowners with the vast numbers of people enslaved by the master class in other colonies, they concluded that Costa Rican slavery was “non-economic” or “domestic-patriarchal” in nature, if not exclusively confined to elite Cartago homes.² Undoubtedly, the variable labor requirements of the small-scale Costa Rican economy created a slave system markedly different from those in other New World colonies. Although for much of the colonial period, most local Spaniards possessed neither the capital nor the economic motivation to procure large numbers of African slaves, they employed slaves not only in domestic service, but in virtually all the economic activities they undertook in Costa Rica. Slaves constituted an essential sector of the labor force in all regions of the province.

Colonial Costa Rica never developed a monocultural economy in which production of a lucrative staple dominated every aspect of life. Precisely for this reason, few

slaveowners could afford to confine their slaves to domestic service. On the contrary, most wealthy Spaniards pursued numerous business interests and used both African slaves and free workers in all their enterprises. Costa Rican slaves performed manual labor wherever their masters sent them, and most slaves worked at a variety of tasks. More than any other factor, the organization of production dictated the confines and contours of slave life in Costa Rica. The occupations in which slaves worked dictated where they lived and therefore their opportunities for contact with other slaves, determining their ability to maintain African or to create new cultural forms. Work set many of the conditions that made enslaved Africans into American slaves.

A master's varied economic interests implied wide physical movement and social contact for his slaves. The slave of a wealthy master might divide his time between the master's home and farm in Cartago, a cattle or mule ranch in the Pacific, and a cacao plantation in the Caribbean region of Matina. As the owner of twenty slaves in 1715, Miguel Calvo was among the largest slaveholders in the history of the province.³ In the 1680s, Calvo employed his male and female slaves not only as domestic servants in his home in Cartago, but as ranch hands and cacao workers on his rural properties in Bagaces and Matina.⁴ Many slaves travelled frequently, developed varied work skills, and interacted with people of other racial and cultural backgrounds. This intense and sustained contact meant that neither Africans nor creoles created a distinctive slave culture, but rather became acculturated to and participated in a creole culture that crossed ethnic, racial, and class boundaries.

Slaves in Costa Rica lived and worked in one or more of three major regions: the North Pacific, the Central Valley, and the Atlantic lowlands. In the North Pacific, ownership of black slaves remained limited; slaves formed just one part of a local labor force that also included Indians, free blacks and mulatos, and mestizos. Industries such as indigo processing, pearl diving, and the production of purple dyes sometimes used black slaves, but these remained minor enterprises compared to cattle and mule breeding, which became the major activities in the North Pacific, and relied mainly on free workers. Free mulatos and blacks dominated the countryside, where they comprised a clear majority of the non-Indian population, and played key roles in all industries.

In the Central Valley, black and mulato slaves joined Indians, free blacks and mulatos, and mestizos as servants in Spanish households. Although “domestic servants,” their work was rarely if ever confined to such activities as cooking, cleaning, and waiting at table; rather, they raised corn and wheat, cared for livestock, fished, hauled produce, and carried out dozens of other tasks as well as attending their masters’ homes. “Jacks of all trades,” they might or might not work directly in production for market.⁵ If not, slaves, as well as free servants, were economically vital in the simple and immediate sense that they directly contributed to the improved well-being of their owners by working longer and harder than necessary to pay the costs of their upkeep.⁶ In addition to the household economy, small farming, and the care of livestock, a number of Central Valley slaves worked in sugar production, which remained on a small scale, and mostly confined to the domestic market.

The cacao-producing region of Matina on the Atlantic coast most closely resembled the plantation model: Matina was overwhelmingly dedicated to the production of a single crop for export, grown with slave labor.⁷ After exhausting other potential sources of labor, planters had adopted African slaves as the primary labor force by 1700. Enslaved men in Matina enjoyed a freedom of movement and for some, a social mobility, that contrasted starkly with the harsh restrictions that confronted slaves in plantation societies. At the same time, a *de facto* gender segregation kept female Africans in the Central Valley, sharply limiting the opportunities for the reproduction of slave families and culture.

Sources that directly address slave participation in the Costa Rican economy are exceedingly rare. To glimpse slaves at work, it is necessary to draw inferences from documents such as testaments, postmortem inventories, and censuses, as well as studies of other regions. Even then, a tolerance for ambiguity is necessary. For example, masters often listed property such as a house roofed with tile, a cacao hacienda of 10,000 trees in the Matina Valley, and five slaves. From that information alone, it is impossible to know for certain whether some or all of the slaves worked in the cultivation of cacao, or in “domestic service” in the Central Valley. In some cases, other documents can be located to place the slaves in a certain location, but corroborative documentation is often lacking. In cases such as these, it is helpful to know that in general, the larger the number of slaves, the more likely they were to be employed in a single economic activity, such as cacao or sugar cultivation. This was because the largest slaveholders tended to own the largest cacao and sugar estates. Owners of just one or two slaves were more likely to

allocate the slave labor they controlled among several activities. Finally, gender is an excellent predictor of the type of labor slaves performed. Unlike in plantation slave societies, a strict gender division of labor characterized Costa Rican slavery. Female slaves rarely if ever worked on the cacao haciendas of Matina. On the cattle and mule ranches of the North Pacific, women worked near the residential buildings, not in tending cattle. In the Central Valley, enslaved women worked in small farming as well as housework. In the colonial capital of Cartago, they worked in these activities as well as the myriad errands that needed doing around the small city.

The North Pacific

Nicoya was the first region of the territory now in Costa Rica to be brought under Spanish military and political control. The Indians of Nicoya immediately fell victim to an extensive trade in Indian slaves to Panama, Peru, and the Caribbean. The first economic activities the Spaniards developed in Nicoya and Nicaragua were in no way productive, but predatory and destructive: looting and slaving.⁸ Depopulation was especially severe in the North Pacific: Historical geographer Linda Newson has estimated that the population of Nicoya declined by more than 97 percent between the 1520s and 1570s, from about 62,700 to just 1,800 people.⁹ On the eastern coast of the Gulf of Nicoya, the devastation was, if anything, even more grave. Small pueblos were destroyed completely within a few decades.¹⁰ Indian slave exports from Nicaragua and Nicoya reached a height of perhaps 10,000 persons per year between 1536 and 1540,

sent to the Caribbean, Panama, and Peru.¹¹ The New Laws issued in 1542 outlawed Indian slavery, but Indians remained severely exploited under the *encomienda*. Officially, the New Laws forbade the exaction of Indian tribute in labor, commuting it to payment in manufactured goods or produce; but in fact, “personal service” remained common and despite its illegality, was even recorded among the 1548 tribute obligations of Indian pueblos such as Nicoya and Nandayure to their *encomenderos*.¹² The extraordinarily severe abuse of Nicoya’s Indian population eventually moved the Crown to intervene, placing the Indians under its own direct jurisdiction by declaring the region a *corregimiento* in 1554 and an *Alcaldía Mayor* in 1560.¹³

With the end of the Indian slave trade, several economic activities emerged on the Pacific coast by the late sixteenth century. Spaniards employed other sources of manpower, including black and mulato slaves, even when they still relied on Indians for the overwhelming majority of their laborers. Even before the abolition of Indian slavery, some Nicaraguan masters had begun to use African slaves in mining work by 1540.¹⁴ In agriculture, in some cases enslaved men of African descent rose to oversee the work of their fellow workers, deriving recognition and privileges from their masters in the process. Most often, they worked side by side with Indians, mestizos, and free mulatos, and the identical labor they shared likely obscured differentiations based on color. Most of the industries of the North Pacific did not require large numbers of laborers. There, Africans and their descendants tended to blend rapidly into a sparsely populated society where “ethnic frontiers” were constantly blurred and redefined.¹⁵

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, a few Spaniards processed indigo in Costa Rica's North Pacific region, apparently on a very small scale, perhaps taking advantage of wild plants, which grew abundantly in nearby Nicaragua.¹⁶ In 1581, a *real cédula* prohibited the use of *repartimiento* Indians in indigo production; a second *cédula* in 1601 prohibited all Indians from working in the industry. Black slaves were introduced and even preferred for the indigo works, but proved an expensive solution to the labor shortage. Indigo required heavy labor for only about two months per year, and could thus successfully be combined with cattle breeding.¹⁷ Apparently, for reasons that remain unclear, many of the black and mulatto slaves who worked in indigo production on Costa Rica's Pacific coast had been freed by the early seventeenth century.¹⁸ Although small quantities of indigo continued to be grown and processed on the Pacific coast, in contrast to other parts of Central America, the industry never attained more than minor importance in Costa Rica.¹⁹

Shipbuilding emerged as a far more consequential activity, although it, too, declined precipitously after an initial boom. One of the first industries to take hold in Nicoya, shipbuilders took advantage of the rich pine forests on the peninsula and in nearby Nicaragua. Before the habilitation of the Nicaraguan port of Realejo in 1533, all ships sailing north to Nicaragua passed through Nicoya, which continued to be an obligatory stopping point on voyages between Panama -- and ultimately Peru -- and Nicaragua.²⁰ Far from an isolated backwater, in the early colonial period, Nicoya swirled with activity due to its location at the crossroads of major shipping routes. By the late sixteenth century, three shipyards had emerged on the Pacific coast: Nandayure, "Juan Solano,"

and another near Esparza, La Barranca. All served as centers of ship construction and repair as well as outlets for local produce. Although ultimately unable to compete with shipyards in Realejo and Guayaquil, they continued to operate on a reduced scale into the eighteenth century.²¹ A royal *cédula* banned the use of Indian labor in the shipyards in 1579, although there is no doubt that Indians continued to work there.²² A group of black slaves was imported to work as woodcutters near Realejo in the same year, and black loggers might have worked in Nicoya as well.²³ Although only scant documentation survives for this area, a few examples demonstrate the local importance of slave as well as Indian labor.

Members of all ethnic groups worked in and around the bustling shipyards. Juan Martín de Montalvo, a permanent resident of Callao, Peru, and a native of Santa María, Spain, had contracted to build a large ship at Nandayure when he died unexpectedly in 1624. The debts and transactions he listed in his will attest to the interactions of natives of Europe, Africa, and America in Nicoya, and suggest the region's economic importance in the early seventeenth century. Montalvo stipulated that he wished to be buried in the parish church of Nicoya and designated fifty pesos to be paid to the Indian *mayordomos* of its confraternity. He left 100 pesos to his son's mother, who lived in Guayaquil, and recognized a debt of nine pesos he owed to Clemente Rodríguez, a ship's carpenter in Triana, the shipyards of Seville. Montalvo owned four *angola* slaves – Pedro, Francisco, Juan, and María, the last of whom probably worked around Montalvo's house, no doubt sharing duties with other servants including "a little Indian woman from Diriá named Isabel," before the latter fled. If not skilled shipbuilders themselves, Pedro and Francisco

probably hauled the large quantities of timber, cloth, and iron used in shipbuilding, employing their master's eight team of oxen to do so.²⁴ Juan, a carpenter and sawyer, cut dozens of planks to build ships.²⁵ He took the chance to flee when his master died in 1624, but was soon apprehended and thrown into the Nicoya jail.²⁶ Free blacks also worked at the shipyards, including Pablo Corzo, overseer of a construction project in 1674, as did Indians, many probably against their will.²⁷ Like other areas, Nandayure became a crucible of Costa Rica's creole society, where members of all racial and ethnic groups interacted on equal and unequal terms.

Further enriching the ethnic mix, black men, including enslaved Africans, also arrived in the ports of Nicoya and Costa Rica as crew members on ships from elsewhere in Spanish America. Antón Bran and Francisco Bran, probably natives of Guinea-Bissau, along with West Central Africans Mateo Angola and Damián Angola, arrived in Costa Rica's Pacific port of La Caldera from Panama City as sailors on the frigate *San Francisco* in 1638.²⁸ Another ship arriving in La Caldera in 1673, the *San Antonio y las Animas*, also brought African crew members, Antonio Angola and Francisco Arará, the latter of Slave Coast origin.²⁹ In such an environment, *angola* slaves such as Pedro, Francisco, Juan, and María, who worked near the shipyards, might well be able to renew ethnic ties with their countrymen. Such intermittent contacts, however, would have constituted no more than memorable occasions when compared to the Africans' daily contact with natives of Europe and America.

Free blacks also arrived at the ports throughout the early and mid-colonial periods, as sailors and even captains. In 1675, a black creole named Urbano (or Urbán), a servant

(*criado*) of one Juan Domínguez of Panama City, arrived at the port of Nicoya as the captain of the *San José* with a cargo of goods from Spain.³⁰ Brothers Juan Blanco and Pedro Blanco, free blacks from Martinique, arrived on a Spanish galley at La Caldera in 1692.³¹ Two black creoles made up half the small crew of sailors on the sloop that brought a cargo of African slaves to Matina in 1702.³² Free and enslaved men of African descent arrived occasionally in Costa Rica's Pacific ports, bringing goods and news from the larger world. Others took up residence in the area, such as free mulato Juan José Mendoza, a sailor by occupation and native of Guayaquil, who made his home in the countryside near Esparza in the 1720s.³³ A few slaves managed to escape and stow away on ships in an attempt to make their freedom permanent in some other place. In 1724, Antonio, a *congo* whose master planned to send him to Panama, escaped in Esparza, where he boarded a ship for Nicaragua instead.³⁴

Two other locally important maritime industries emerged on the Pacific coast, which used black and mulato slaves as well as Indian workers. Pearl diving off the Pacific coasts of Nicoya, Costa Rica, and Panama required a special license because pearls formed a royal monopoly.³⁵ Pearls were highly valued, reportedly worth about thirty-two pesos per ounce (28 g) in 1722. Others, perfectly shaped, were worth much more.³⁶ Abundant near places such as Boruca and Chiriquí in the South Pacific region, for a select few, pearling held the potential for enormous profits. Black slaves had dived for pearls in Venezuela since the sixteenth century, and in Costa Rica, too, some of the wealthiest licensees used enslaved crews to dive for the oysters.³⁷

Slaves trained in the valuable skill of diving were especially coveted, as the higher prices masters paid for them demonstrated. At an average price of about 315 pesos between 1680 and 1739 ($n = 110$), a male slave between ages sixteen and thirty would “pay for himself” when he collected about ten ounces (284 g) of pearls. The mistress of Gabriel, a *congo* youth trained as a pearl diver, valued him at 400 pesos, more than 40 percent more than the usual price of an enslaved boy thirteen to fourteen years old in the 1680s.³⁸ In 1703, don Antonio Mora Díaz de Silva paid 425 pesos for Francisco Chincilla, a black creole from Nicoya, “because he is a diver.”³⁹ By contrast, the mean price for a male slave between sixteen and thirty years of age sold in Cartago in the 1730s was just 256 pesos ($n = 15$). About forty-five years old in 1733, Juan Román, “although he is old,” was still considered valuable, as he was capable of “all work on land and sea, because he is a diver.”⁴⁰ In 1703, Captain Pedro de Ibáñez owned an enslaved crew of seven blacks and one mulato, who were diving off Tortuga Island in the South Pacific. This was a smaller group than those employed in Venezuela, where the pearl industry was much more extensive. There, crews of at least fifteen slaves were usual, and typically included an enslaved “captain,” boatman, pilot, and one or two slave women to cook. The slave Juan Ibáñez served as overseer (*mandador*) of his master’s crew, who took to sea in a thirteen-meter hardwood boat (*canoas*). Most likely, the men dived all day and slept in huts on the beach at night. Any pearls the slaves recovered were to be kept in a locked wooden box and turned over to their owners. From time to time the overseer sent word to his master about large finds, advising him that the other slaves would soon arrive to deliver them.⁴¹

At the time of his death that year, Ibáñez possessed twenty-nine ounces (822 g.) of pearls of different shapes and weights valued at 560 pesos, two fine pear-shaped pearls worth a total of 1,900 pesos, and a number of others with various flaws, valued at 350 pesos. Ibáñez's slaves had retrieved all the pearls, worth enough to buy eleven more men. Not only did they excel at diving themselves, but they taught others to dive as well. In 1702, two slaves, both owned by Panamanian masters, joined those of Ibáñez in the South Pacific so that they could "teach [them] to dive." After several years, the *congo* Pedro Santos de la Madriz had filled two small boxes with pearls, which he was expected to surrender to his Panamanian master.⁴²

Don Gregorio Caamaño, the Lieutenant Governor of Esparza, was another Spaniard "who always had the occupation of pearling," despite its illegality for government officials, and owned a crew of ten slaves in 1703.⁴³ Caamaño acquired the group when he illegally appropriated twelve Africans, "the best of the batch" from the cargo of a ship that arrived in La Caldera in 1700. Caamaño first concealed the Africans at the ranch of don José de la Haya Bolívar near Esparza, then remitted them with a creole slave, Lorenzo, to his boats on the coast of Chiriquí in Panama.⁴⁴ Presumably chosen for their apparent strength, the men made up an ethnically diverse group. Although Gold Coast slaves (*minas*) were reputed to be best suited for pearl diving, Caamaño's crew showed wide ethnic diversity, including four men from the Slave Coast (three *popos* and one *arará*), three West Central Africans (*congos*), one man from the Bight of Biafra (*carabalí*), and another man described as of the unidentified *casta mora*, perhaps of Muslim background.⁴⁵

For these men, the process of reaching out to Africans of other ethnic origins had begun on the journey from their homes to the coast and continued in the coastal barracoons, on the Atlantic crossing, in the slave pens of Panama, and on the stormy trip to Costa Rica. It continued on the estancia near Esparza where they were first held in Costa Rica, and accelerated as they went to work as pearl divers. Most likely having left Africa by way of Luanda, West Central African men such as those renamed Francisco, José, and Manuel would have known of the similar practice of diving for *nzimbu* shells, which furnished one of the currencies of the kingdom of Kongo. Large boats such as those owned by Caamaño were also used in Kongo, where slaves sometimes fished to feed their masters and themselves. Francisco, José, and Manuel may have objected to their new occupation, however, because in their homeland, diving for shells was exclusively the work of women.⁴⁶ For natives of the Slave Coast such as the *popos* called Benito, Gregorio, and Carlos, or the *arará* called Antonio, life at sea marked an even more radical change from the practices of their homelands. As many observers remarked, the peoples of the Slave Coast never sailed or fished on the open sea, perhaps having religious reasons for shunning the ocean.⁴⁷ Despite their initial prejudices against navigating the sea, several enslaved men of Slave Coast origin not only learned to swim, but became expert sailors and divers.⁴⁸ The closeness of the boat and in some cases, the need to be taught by a companion how to swim, probably encouraged especially close bonds between the divers. Despite their diverse ethnic backgrounds, these men soon united for the common objectives of their work, and eventually, flight. In 1702, ten of Caamaño's slaves, including nine Africans and the creole Lorenzo, fled their master and

made their way to Cartago. This multiethnic group constituted the largest known group of fugitives during the colonial period.⁴⁹

Diving for the mollusks (*Purpura patula pansa*) that secreted a royal purple dye formed another small but highly profitable industry all along the Pacific coast.⁵⁰ Although Indians usually dived for the mollusks, don Gregorio de Caamaño also employed his African slaves in this activity.⁵¹ The work of dyeing the prized purple thread (*hilo morado*) was extremely dangerous. Workers swam considerable distances out to the rocks where the mollusks lived, carefully removed them, squeezed the dye from the mollusk onto the thread, then replaced the living shellfish, while all the time waves threatened to dash them against the rocks. In the early eighteenth century, Englishman John Cockburn wrote a detailed description of the process:

We had two Pettocoes [*petacas*, leather bags] of Cotton Thread in the Canoe, which the *Indians* were to dye for the Governor of *Leon*, with a certain Fish found on the Rocks, which dye it of a very fine Purple They make use of no Canoe or other Vessel to convey themselves off to the Rocks, but tye up a Quarter of a Pound, or some such Quantity of Thread in their Hair, and fix a Piece of light Wood cross their Breasts to keep their Heads above Water, and so swim off to them; this they do, because no Vessel can live among them. Some of these Rocks lie half a Mile or a Mile from the Shore, and the *Indians* can never rest on them half an Hour together for the Breaking of the Sea, which washes them off continually, but then they will lie and float on the Top of the Waves like so many Corks, without receiving the least Damage. Now the Method used to die the Thread is only this, they take the Shell off the Rock where it sticks very fast, and rub it gently on the Thread, and then lay it down again where they found it, with great Care, for they are very cautious of killing the purple Fish. If the weather proves fair, they will dye their Thread in one Tide, of as fine a purple as ever was seen, and what will never fade. The *Spaniards* call it *Helo Morado*, the lovely Colour, and I have seen the Thread sold among them for twelve Pieces of Eight a Pound, which are twelve Crowns *English Money*.⁵²

Indians from Nicoya, Quepos, Boruca, Pacaca, Aserri, Barva, and probably other Pacific and Central Valley pueblos all worked in dyeing the purple thread. In return, the governors (or in the case of Nicoya, the *alcalde mayor*) paid them with tools or in cash, which in turn allowed the pueblos to pay their tribute obligations. Worth almost one peso per pound in 1665, sale of the thread brought the government officials a healthy profit. Work demands could be excessive: the Indians of each pueblo were sometimes required to dye twenty-four pounds of thread or more at a time.⁵³ In the late seventeenth century, exports reached as much as fifty or 100 pounds per shipment from Nicoya.⁵⁴ According to the indigenous *alcalde* of Nicoya, *Alcalde Mayor* don Diego de Pantoja Alpuche demanded that each worker dye a pound of thread every fifteen days, expecting that they would squeeze enough dye on the thread to increase its weight by a full ounce. Diego Murillo, a free mulato living in Nicoya, flatly declared the task impossible. Pantoja or one of the Indian *alcaldes* often whipped those who fell short in their quotas, returned with “badly dyed” thread, or finished it late.⁵⁵ Pascual Corzo, a free black, “felt compassion” for the Indian workers, whom he had seen “falling down, almost dead” after particularly brutal floggings.⁵⁶

Although it was an “ancient custom” for the governors of Costa Rica to draft Indians for the thread-dyeing industry, free people of African descent, as well as slaves, participated as well.⁵⁷ For example, Juan José de Mendoza, a free mulato, worked occasionally at dyeing thread, as well as loading ships at the port of Alvarado.⁵⁸ In 1719, the free pardo Captain José de Chavarría went to the coasts of Chiriquí, Panama in a boat as commander of a crew of divers.⁵⁹ Ramón Durán, a slave described variously as a

creole or a *cabo verde*, worked as one of the divers. As it turned out, Chavarría died on the journey, and Durán was able to enjoy a few months of liberty before his mistress empowered an agent to apprehend him.⁶⁰

Surpassing all other activities, livestock breeding emerged as the most important industry in the North Pacific. Spaniards probably introduced cattle and horses to Nicoya during the conquest early in the sixteenth century, and livestock breeding was well established by the 1570s.⁶¹ In the seventeenth century, livestock breeding centered on raising mules for the Panamanian trade. In the eighteenth, although the mule trade remained significant, breeders concentrated on cattle; according to historian Claudia Quirós, cattle production rose 394 percent between 1700 and 1750.⁶² In areas such as the Valley of Bagaces, where low rainfall made agriculture difficult, cattle grazed on native grasses and trees, which indeed furnished their only food. In the arid climate, each animal needed at least five *manzanas* of land (8.75 acres/3.54 ha) to subsist, meaning that only owners of large land holdings (*latifundios*) could become successful ranchers. Some of these lived on their lands, but many were absentees who resided in Cartago or Nicaragua.⁶³ By the mid-seventeenth century, the Costa Rican cattle industry was heavily oriented toward export to Nicaraguan, Panamanian, and Central Valley markets. Cattle came to dominate the landscape to the point that leather and tallow (*sebo*) exceeded beef in value, and were often slaughtered only for their fat, with the rest of the carcass left to rot on the plains.⁶⁴ In the late seventeenth century, tallow was exported in staggering quantities. Each animal yielded two to three *arrobas* of tallow (50-75 lb./23-34 kg). By the 1670s, shipments of 200 (21 tons/19 metric tons) and 300 *zurrones* (32

tons/29 metric tons) were not considered large or unusual.⁶⁵ The indiscriminate slaughter of cattle for the tallow alone led to periodic shortages.⁶⁶ Unstable labor needs resulted in a mixed slave and free work force.

Slaves formed a small minority of hacienda workers in the Pacific region, as they did in the population at large. Few *hacendados* lived on their estates in the Pacific region, most preferring to reside in the more temperate climate of Cartago or in the Villa de Nicaragua (now Rivas).⁶⁷ In their absence, they often installed enslaved men in positions of authority, overseeing the labor of Indians and free blacks and mulatos.⁶⁸ Slaves who held these positions were often older men. For example, Juan, an enslaved man estimated to be fifty years old, served as administrator (*mandador*) of his master's ranch (*hato*) in 1683. Juan was responsible for 320 head of cattle, twenty-two mares, fifteen horses, fifteen mules, and five oxen, as well as for supervising the other hands (*mozos*) on the estate.⁶⁹ In 1719, another Juan, a mulato slave also about fifty, oversaw a smaller property at his master's ranch in San Antonio.⁷⁰ Hacendados organized the labor forces on their properties hierarchically. Slaves were bound to their masters in a way freemen were not, but in return for their supervision of free mulato, slave, and Indian workers, enslaved overseers customarily enjoyed special privileges including access to land for subsistence plots and grazing. According to historian Lowell Gudmundson, slaves on haciendas "almost always" occupied the position of overseer, at least in the late colonial period, and acquired their own herds of livestock.⁷¹

In 1714, Miguel, a *congo*, was the only one of his master's twelve slaves serving at the ranch El Higuerón, in the Valley of Bagaces. The ranch consisted of 5,000 head of cattle,

400 mares, and twenty horses, as well as some buildings and corrals. Most likely, Miguel served as overseer, and probably also looked in on his master's other nearby properties in Bagaces and Chomes.⁷² According to historian Claudia Quirós, the *mandador del campo* was acknowledged to be the best horseman on the property.⁷³ If that was true in Miguel's case, he probably learned to ride "on the job" in Bagaces; because of the tsetse fly, horses and cattle were rare in many parts of equatorial Africa.⁷⁴ The privileges and authority he likely enjoyed over free workers would probably have undermined the legal distinctions of freedom between them. In fact, compared to the poor free people of color in the area, who "maintain themselves from their own labor and the milk of the few cows they have raised," Manuel exercised far greater responsibility and probably enjoyed a higher status.⁷⁵ Certainly one free mulato proudly declared in 1721, "that he was a well-known man who had managed the hacienda of another, and that he [should] not be judged as a mulato servant (*criado*)," making clear that overseers enjoyed greater respect.⁷⁶ Because livestock theft was one of the principal crimes with which the free people in the area were charged, Miguel likely protected the herds from thieves as one of his duties.⁷⁷ Any special privileges slave overseers enjoyed derived from their unique accountability to their Spanish masters, but they also held the potential to bring them into conflict with free workers and residents in the area.

In general, however, overseers worked alongside the men they supervised, as the work demanded relatively little manpower. For example, in 1738, the hacienda San Nicolás de las Piedras, in the eastern Tempisque Valley, consisted of 1,000 milk cows, 1,459 year-old heifers, 500 year-old mares, a herd of 2,000 "wild" cattle, three yoke of oxen, two

riding mules, and thirty tamed horses. Just ten men cared for all the livestock. A typical hacienda might consist of a “big house,” the residence of the owner; another house for the workers and for storage of tallow and grain; a shed for tools; a pen where calves were held and the troughs (*canoas*) for making cheese; and a stone corral where cattle were held during roundups. Most of the work on haciendas revolved around the cattle, which were exploited for dairy products as well as beef and by-products such as tallow and leather. Workers constructed enclosures, protected the livestock from wild animals, milked the cows, and made cheese daily. A herd of 1,000 cattle could potentially produce enough milk to make 5,000-6,000 pounds of cheese daily.⁷⁸ Periodically the men rounded up the herds for branding, transport or slaughter. On the largest estates, the roundup (*vaquiada*) could last all summer, taking five months of hard work to brand and inventory the cattle.⁷⁹ Workers met their subsistence needs by growing provisions such as corn, beans, and plantains, and produced milk, cheese, and beef for their own consumption as well as marketing.⁸⁰ For other necessities, they relied on itinerant Cartago and Nicaraguan merchants who advanced them goods such as cloth, agricultural implements and horse bridles on consignment for quantities of tallow.⁸¹

Every day, slaves on Pacific haciendas worked side by side with Indians, mestizos, and free mulatos, often at the same tasks. For example, in 1654, Alonso Bernal, the black creole slave of Captain Francisco Tremiño, collected tallow with mestizo Simón de Torres and Indian Juan Miguel on a ranch near Nandayure in Nicoya.⁸² The closeness of enslaved and free workers and the identical labor they performed likely led to a sense of “sawbuck equality” like that which developed in other frontier colonies, mitigating

assumptions of racial difference and hierarchy.⁸³ Both developed a sense of proprietorship over the ranches and their livestock, to the chagrin of their masters. *Alférez* Tomás de Chaves, owner of an hacienda in the Jurisdiction of Esparza, foresaw that the workers on his ranch would claim rights to the animals they had raised after his death. He stipulated in his will that “no slave nor free servant of mine is to be allowed use of the mules or cattle that they say I have given to them.”⁸⁴ A 1688 census from the Valley of Bagaces shows that on many Spanish-owned haciendas, free and enslaved people of different racial groups lived and worked side by side. For example, the wealthy Spanish Captain Miguel Calvo maintained male and female Indians, a black slave woman, and three free mulata women among the thirteen people on his property.⁸⁵ Sergeant Andrés Clavijo likewise maintained a slave woman and a free mulata as well as an Indian man and his wife.⁸⁶ Captain Nicolás Gutiérrez headed a household of twenty-seven people including four slaves, three mulatos unidentified by condition, one free person of unspecified race or gender, and at least nine Indians of both sexes.⁸⁷

As important numerically, if not more, as male slaves in the North Pacific, enslaved women often formed part of hacienda households. Unfortunately, there is even less direct evidence about the work they performed, but they probably cooked and washed for the master’s family and the male workers, as well as caring for small domestic animals such as pigs and fowl, and other tasks essential to the domestic economy.⁸⁸ María and Petrona, two Yoruba women, were brought to the Valley of Bagaces in 1710, where they continued to live and work at the hacienda of doña Cecilia Vázquez de Coronado. In 1729, doña Cecilia owned another slave woman, María Egipciaca, probably a creole.⁸⁹

María, a mulata slave, lived at one of the Bagaces properties of her absentee master with her two children in 1716. Ventura, about eighteen, almost certainly worked on the large ranch of 500 head of cattle, 600 mares, 100 horses, and 100 mules. Baltasara, about thirteen, probably shared work duties with her mother.⁹⁰ In 1737, Captain don Miguel de Alvarado kept a fifty-year-old mulata slave at his hacienda in Bagaces, no doubt a cook.⁹¹ Captain don Martín de Garayar, who lived with his family in Bagaces, owned two black female slaves in 1739, Agustina and Josefa, as well as a single male slave, Pedro.⁹²

In the sparsely populated North Pacific, slaves were few in number and widely scattered geographically. By the eighteenth century, enslaved Africans, creoles, and mulatos comprised just a small minority in most parts of the North Pacific region. Only fifteen slaves of a total 668 persons (2.3 percent) were baptized in the parish church of Esparza between 1712 and 1750, the years from which the earliest records survive, although others were certainly baptized in other parishes such as Las Cañas and Nicoya, from which there is no surviving documentation.⁹³ Only one or two enslaved men or women, if any, lived on most properties in a region dominated by free mulatos. Of necessity, their primary relationships were with members of other racial and ethnic groups. Enslaved men and women forged their strongest relationships with others on their own haciendas, regardless of legal condition, race, or ethnicity. In some minor industries, such as pearl diving, enslaved workers might be found in greater concentrations, allowing them to unite for their own objectives, including flight. But in most cases, because they were a small minority among Indian, free mulato, and mestizo workers, slaves tended to identify with other workers. Installing male slaves as overseers

undercut the unity of slaves with workers of other racial and ethnic origins. Enslaved overseers had good reasons to cultivate the confidence and goodwill of their masters, who often rewarded them with privileges and authority over other workers, including freemen. In the end, the privileges and status they earned derived from the master. By overseeing other workers, their loyalty extended and reinforced the masters' power.

The Central Valley

Slaves of African descent formed part of the Central Valley's labor force from the first years of Spanish settlement in Costa Rica. In the 1570s, Governor Anguciano de Gamboa planned to bring thirty black slaves to Cartago, among them a blacksmith of African descent, although it is not certain these men ever arrived.⁹⁴ In the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, the wealth of Cartago's elite derived primarily from the *encomiendas* and land grants (*mercedes*) they received in the 1560s, reflecting the importance of land and Indian labor to the local economy. Already small compared to the *encomiendas* in other colonies, receipts from tribute declined rapidly with the Indian population itself. By 1619, Juan de Fonseca's *encomienda* in the pueblo of Barva contained only ten tributaries; that of Catalina Gutiérrez, fifteen; just twenty-one Indians paid tribute to García de Quirós.⁹⁵ By the mid-seventeenth century many *encomenderos* allowed their diminishing grants to revert to the Crown.⁹⁶ Accordingly, Costa Rican elites looked for other sources of labor and income. Many *encomenderos* also acquired slaves of African descent. An *encomendera* with grants in Ujarrás and Barva, doña

Mayor de Benavides owned at least ten slaves between 1616 and 1625.⁹⁷ No doubt, slaveownership implied prestige for Cartago's wealthiest residents, but few, if any, Costa Rican slavemasters could afford to employ their slaves exclusively in domestic service.⁹⁸ In addition to the *encomienda* produce they received, wealthy Spaniards owned sizeable farms and ranches in the Central Valley, which were worked by Indians, slaves, and free mestizos and mulatos. Masters circulated both enslaved men and women within their families depending on the nature of the work required and where it was needed. For example, "seeing that the said his father needed [someone] to attend his haciendas in the country," Father don Manuel José González to Coronel arranged with Blas González Coronel to exchange Agustín, a young mulato man, for Lorenza, a *congo* woman in her twenties, whom the young priest regarded as more useful to his own needs.⁹⁹ Less affluent Spaniards and *castas* took up subsistence farming, and they, too, might own a slave or two.

From early in the colonial period, masters often kept both slaves and free servants. For example, Ambrosio de Brenes contracted Alonso, an Indian from the pueblo of Aoyaque, and his wife, María, as servants in 1607, probably agreeing to pay the couple's tribute in exchange for their service. For eighteen months of service, Alonso and María would earn eighteen pesos. They still worked in Brenes's household in 1609, perhaps ensnared in debt. The Indian couples Jerónimo and Ana and Diego and Ana also worked for Brenes in 1608. Despite the availability of Indian servants, Brenes purchased the Africans Francisco Angola in 1612, and Lucía, also an *angola*, in 1613. In later years, he purchased at least two more slaves.¹⁰⁰ Through the eighteenth century, masters and

mistresses continued to maintain both enslaved and free servants. Sebastiana, a free black woman, served in the home of doña Francisca de Chinchilla in 1671, along with the slaves Isabel, María, and the latter's young son, Juan.¹⁰¹ Marta, a free mulata, and her daughter, Gila, worked for Captain don Fernando de Salazar, who owned four slaves in 1678.¹⁰² In 1700, Francisco Fernández and doña Eugenia Rodríguez owned one slave, Gaspar Rodríguez, and employed at least three free servants, Manuela, María, and Feliciana.¹⁰³ The same year, doña Sebastiana Calvo owned two female slaves, one male slave, and employed three free female servants (*criadas*).¹⁰⁴ Notwithstanding that he owned twenty slaves, don Miguel Calvo also used Luis, a tributary Indian, as a *criado* on his Matina hacienda, no doubt paying his tribute obligations in exchange for his service.¹⁰⁵

Costa Rica's first economic cycle was inextricably tied to the trade in the Isthmus of Panama, the obligatory crossroads for all goods shipped between Spain and the Viceroyalty of Peru. The Panamanian trade required huge numbers of mules to carry merchandise, and large quantities of provisions to lade ships as well as feed the sailors and merchants who attended the trade fairs at Portobello. By 1579, Costa Rica exported produce such as corn, wheat flour, honey, and sarsaparilla – all items produced and collected by Indians to meet their tribute obligations.¹⁰⁶ Although Costa Rican colonists complained as early as 1613 that they were “poor and most of them . . . do not have [money] to buy slaves,” slaves also participated in the cultivation of corn and wheat from an early date.¹⁰⁷ Maize, of course, was indigenous to the Americas; wheat was grown in Costa Rica from the 1560s, and the foundation of the first mill marked a turning point in

the colonization of the province.¹⁰⁸ For centuries, wheat mills were the most technologically complex instruments of production in Costa Rica. Due to the high capital investment necessary for mill construction, they remained in the hands of members of Cartago's elite – generally the same families who owned slaves.¹⁰⁹ Actively engaged in the export trade to Panama, in 1629, María de Alfaro owned a wheat mill outside Cartago, as well as a mule breeding ranch in Mata Redonda and a cattle ranch in Pacaca. Like many other wealthy Costa Ricans, Alfaro employed a mixed labor force, including four slaves – Francisco, Gaspar, Bartolo, and Isabel -- as well as a mestiza, an indigenous man, and several other workers.¹¹⁰ Don Juan de Senabria Maldonado, the encomendero of Quircot, owned a wheat mill and eight slaves, including two children too young to work. The rest -- Nicolás de Figueroa, Juan Dieza, José de Maldonado, Isabel, Francisca, and María – probably worked at the mill, perhaps joining other workers.¹¹¹ A few of Costa Rica's mill owners also owned an above-average number of slaves, including Lorenzo de Aruburola, owner of eleven slaves by 1715 (two of whom were infants).¹¹² According to historian Rina Cáceres, slaves cleared the land with the slash-and-burn technique, ploughed the fields, and planted the wheat; enslaved women and Indians “above all” were responsible for harvesting the crop.¹¹³ If accurate, the employment of female labor in agriculture represented continuity both with most African societies (with the notable exception of those of the Bight of Biafra region) and with indigenous Costa Rican gender roles.¹¹⁴ Women also worked at the grinding mills, which could be extremely dangerous. At six months old, Juana, the daughter of the enslaved African woman María Popo, had been crawling on the floor at her mistress's mill when

she almost fell into the mill. On that occasion, by “the will of God,” another mill worker intervened to save the infant.¹¹⁵

Costa Rica’s diversified if small-scale economy meant that there was little specialization of labor. Enslaved women of African descent worked at activities such as farming, and perhaps sold produce, in addition to caring for the homes and families of their owners. Slave men were usually “jacks of all trades,” working at whatever task presented itself, frequently dividing their time among several activities and properties of their masters. Such movements guaranteed that slave men especially developed varied work skills and encountered a broad range of people. Usually, slaves lived and worked alongside men and women of other racial and ethnic origins. In Costa Rica, no type of work was associated exclusively with slaves. In some respects, the lives of free workers differed little from those of slaves. Because of the demands of their work and the social relations they developed, many slaves in the Central Valley exercised considerable physical mobility and responsibility. In some cases, their daily lives seemed virtually indistinguishable from those of free persons.

Unlike in plantation societies, where men and women generally worked together at back-breaking field labor such as cutting cane or picking cotton, the work of enslaved men and women in Costa Rica followed a more or less strict division of labor.¹¹⁶

Enslaved women worked at the myriad tasks of domestic service, cleaning, cooking, washing, and caring for the children of the master’s home among others. When enslaved men performed labor associated with women, Cartago residents found cause for comment. One day in the early 1690s, Esteban de Quirós met Father don Alonso de

Sandoval and asked after his slave, Juan Ramiro. The priest replied that “he was in the kitchen making him a little chocolate. As he had no other person in his house,” Sandoval explained, Juan Ramiro “was the man and woman who sustained and took care of him . . . If it were not for him he would perish.”¹¹⁷ The term “domestic service” should be understood broadly in Costa Rica, however, as it might encompass agricultural work as well as household chores.¹¹⁸ Few if any slaves, therefore, served their masters exclusively in the sphere of consumption, and living in the home of the master implied no superior status, especially for enslaved women. In a rare, explicit mention, doña Inés Pereira provided in her 1659 will for the manumission of her aged slave, Luisa de la Cruz, out of gratitude for “making some fields and plantings for my sustenance.”¹¹⁹

Slave women carried much of the responsibility for raising their masters’ children, a fact that the masters often recognized. Catalina Ruiz de las Alas of Esparza freed the creole Isabel at some time before 1682. Ruiz had always thought of Isabel “in place of a mother, because [Isabel] raised her at her breasts” when Ruiz was a “little orphan girl.”¹²⁰ Dominga, a mulata, acquired her freedom in 1729 in compliance with a clause of her mistress’s testament acknowledging that she had “served us with all fidelity, caring for our children.”¹²¹ In 1746, don Miguel de Ibarra freed the aged Micaela de Ibarra, a Yoruba (*aná*), “for having raised me.” Having arrived on the *Christianus Quintus* or *Fredericus Quartus* in 1710 at the age of about fourteen, at least three of Micaela’s own children had died by 1720.¹²²

Some enslaved women earned money outside their masters’ houses as well, for themselves and their families as well as for their masters. Slaveholding widows

especially relied on slaves for their subsistence. The widow doña Juana Núñez de Trupira (elsewhere Trujira) complained in 1692 of being the destitute mother of four children, with no other means to support herself than her slave, María Manuela.¹²³ Referring to her slave María, the widow María Calvo admitted in 1720 that “with her work and my own I can scarcely maintain myself.”¹²⁴ In 1735, the widow doña Baltasara de Escalante Paniagua could afford to donate the fifty-year-old *mina* woman Juana Manuela to her niece because she judged that she had “sufficient property, houses, haciendas, and slaves for my sustenance and decency of my person.”¹²⁵ Doña Ana Rodríguez de Castro of the Valley of Aserrí declared the following year that “after the death of the said my husband I have maintained myself by my own efforts alone [sic] and with the help of the said my slave Efigenia.”¹²⁶

Unfortunately, the sources say little about exactly how enslaved women earned money, although they sometimes accumulated considerable sums. By 1677, for example, Francisca de Montoya, a mulata slave, had paid 320 pesos toward her own freedom.¹²⁷ A 1672 *real cédula* received in Cartago referred to the custom of masters to send their slave women to sell produce and wares on the streets of “the Indies,” but there is little direct evidence to corroborate that they did so in Costa Rica.¹²⁸ María de Aguilar purchased her own freedom for 305 pesos in 1703 at the age of forty-three.¹²⁹ Doña Ana Rodríguez de Castro specified in 1739 that her slave Efigenia be freed after she had earned enough money to pay for thirty-six masses for her mistress’s soul.¹³⁰ When he freed his slave María in 1741, Captain Luis de Morera specified that she had enabled him “to earn many pesos.”¹³¹ A few slave women developed lucrative skills, such as Clara Calvo, a

dressmaker who sold clothes in her master's shop while she was still a slave. She ultimately attained her freedom and continued her craft, a businesswoman of modest means.¹³²

Slave artisans were highly prized by their masters, who occasionally imported slave craftsmen from abroad.¹³³ About 1706, Captain Lorenzo de Arbuola sailed to Portobello intending to purchase, "among other things," a slave trained as a stonemason. After much persuasion, a secretary of the governor sold him Jacobo (Jacob), a *mandinga* stonemason previously enslaved in Martinique.¹³⁴ In 1734, Captain don Dionisio Salmón Pacheco purchased Nicolás de la Calle, a zambo trained as a shoemaker, from a resident of Santiago de Veragua, Panama for the bargain price of 180 pesos.¹³⁵ More frequently, Costa Rican slavemasters apprenticed enslaved youths to Cartago artisans. Learning a trade increased a slave's value exponentially, and some slavemasters apparently regarded the training of their slaves as an investment in their own futures. In 1660, Cristóbal de Vargas married doña Petronila Moreno, who brought Juan, a black creole boy, as part of her dowry. The same year, Vargas placed Juan as an apprentice with master tailor Diego Pérez. Juan must have seemed an especially promising student: Pérez agreed to teach him to "cut and sew any kind of clothes at all" within six months; if not, Pérez agreed to pay four *reales* per day while Juan learned from another tailor.¹³⁶ In 1665, Captain don García de Alvarado purchased Juan Luis, a mulato boy about eight years old, from doña Juana Moscoso for 250 pesos. The following year, Alvarado apprenticed Juan Luis to a tailor for a period of three years. Twenty-one years later, his mistress's dowry noted that he was a journeyman tailor (*oficial de saestre*) and valued him at the exceptionally high

price of 600 pesos.¹³⁷ Ignacio, a mulato slave, had learned the trade of shoemaker by the time he was twenty-four years old. When his mistress authorized an agent to sell Ignacio, she insisted that he be sold for “a quantity that corresponds to his trade.”¹³⁸ Gil de Salazar, another enslaved mulato, also learned the tailor’s craft. Around 1704, he fled. By 1713, his master had heard nothing of him for eight or nine years; if he survived and succeeded in reaching another colony, his occupation may well have helped him to pass as a mulato freeman.¹³⁹

The minority of enslaved men who learned trades not only grew to be valued by their masters, but apparently commanded special respect in their own communities. Slave artisans became frequently sought-after sponsors for baptisms and wedding ceremonies. Gabriel López, a black slave of María de Ortega, was a rare exception among skilled slaves. He was not only recognized as a blacksmith, but received a formal apprenticeship in 1640, the free mulato Manuel. López was probably the same blacksmith known as Gabriel Moreno (Gabriel the Black), who stood as godfather to an Indian woman and a black slave woman that same year.¹⁴⁰ Diego de Sojo, a mulato slave and a blacksmith, was valued by his master in 1648 at 500 pesos. He, too, had been godparent to a boy ten years before.¹⁴¹ And in 1682, the enslaved tailor Juan Luis stood as best man at the wedding of Domingo de Salazar, another black slave of his mistress.¹⁴²

Furthermore, there are indications that slaves and ex-slaves valued the skilled trades as avenues of mobility for their children. In fact, the trades offered the best-paying and most prestigious livelihoods open to people of African descent. Free mulatos made up a majority of artisans in Cartago, and adopting a gainful and respected occupation

promoted the assimilation of the sons of slaves into the free community of color. Mateo Rodríguez, a slave of Juan de la Cruz, and his wife Ana de Salazar, a free mulata, apprenticed their son Manuel to a master stonecutter (*maestro de cantería*) in 1689.¹⁴³ Francisco Caamaño, a freedman of *casta arará* originally from the Slave Coast, and his wife Juana Valerino placed their son Juan with master shoemaker Miguel Pereira in 1718.¹⁴⁴ Juana Conga apprenticed her son Francisco, a free pardo, to blacksmith Tomás Calvo in 1730. In addition to planning for Francisco's future as a Cartago artisan, Juana might have taken special pride in the choice of her son's craft. The Kingdom of Kongo traced its origins to the wise blacksmith king who civilized his people by forging unity out of warring factions and providing them with the tools of agriculture. In eighteenth-century Kongo, blacksmiths performed ritual as well as economic functions, and the profession remained largely the prerogative of the nobility.¹⁴⁵

By the mid-seventeenth century, Costa Rica's agricultural export economy declined precipitously, as Peru and Ecuador came to supply most of the Panamanian produce market.¹⁴⁶ Some Costa Rican Spaniards (and later, mestizos), turned to sugar cultivation, especially in the valleys of Aserri and Barva, west of Cartago, secondarily in the plains around the pueblo of Ujarrás, to the east.¹⁴⁷ The French buccaneer Raveneau de Lussan, who helped sack and burn the towns and ranches of the North Pacific region in the 1680s, implied that the sugar industry was of considerable importance in the Esparza area.¹⁴⁸ In Costa Rica, sugar production always remained small-scale, primarily supplying the domestic market. According to historian Richard Dunn, in the seventeenth-century British Caribbean a force of 100 slaves could produce about eighty tons (73 metric tons)

of sugar per year for their masters.¹⁴⁹ In Brazil, the average *engenho* produced 6,000 Portuguese *arrobas* (92 tons/88 metric tons) per year by the early seventeenth century; the largest mills produced 8,000 to 10,000 *arrobas* (130 tons/118 metric tons to 162 tons/147 metric tons).¹⁵⁰ By contrast, in 1691, Costa Rica's largest sugarmill (*trapiche*) produced only 100 *arrobas* (1.25 tons/1.13 metric tons).¹⁵¹ But despite the small quantities produced, by the early eighteenth century, raw sugar (*rapadura*) formed a basic article of consumption in Costa Rica.¹⁵²

Sugar never became synonymous with slavery in Costa Rica, as it did elsewhere in the Americas. Where slaves were used in sugar production, they were usually supplemented by free workers. For example, planter Sergeant Major Blas González Coronel maintained just one slave at his sugarmill (*trapiche*) in 1719, generally relying on other "people of his service" for labor.¹⁵³ This was probably the case for much of the year, but in the critical days of cutting and grinding cane, larger groups of slaves could be mobilized. During the three peak days of the harvest in 1702, for example, *Alférez* Pedro de Torres hired two mulato slaves from doña María de Escobar Guijarro, borrowed another mulato slave from his sister doña Francisca de Torres, and contracted a free mulato to supplement the work of his own black slave.¹⁵⁴ Skilled slaves could form the core of the mill's labor force and, in Costa Rica as elsewhere, planters sometimes chose slaves for the crucial position of sugar master, who was charged with supervising the equally important tasks of the boiling, cooling, and refining of the sugar. On the sugar master depended the most critical moment of sugar-making: *el punto*, the moment when cane juice (*miel*) crystallized into granules.¹⁵⁵ Enslaved sugar masters were among the most

expensive slaves sold in the colony. Twenty-eight-year old creole sugar master José de Ibarra was valued at 500 pesos in 1697, notwithstanding his propensity to run away.¹⁵⁶ As if to emphasize their utility in sugar production, occasionally slaves were sold with the other “equipment” necessary to a sugarmill. Salvador, a creole, was sold in 1719 with the land, buildings, oxen, and two fields of “sweet cane” needed to operate a *trapiche*.¹⁵⁷

In Costa Rica, sugar production never assumed the deadly characteristics often associated with the crop. Drawing on evidence from the Louisiana sugar industry, Michael Tadman argued that “sugar planting brought together a lethal combination of factors that persistently and almost inevitably produced natural decrease among slaves.”¹⁵⁸ Undoubtedly true in the late-eighteenth and nineteenth-century Caribbean, this assertion ignores the vastly different conditions of sugar production in the centuries before.¹⁵⁹ Tadman qualifies his argument on the relationship between sugar cultivation and mortality by adding other necessary factors, namely the existence of slavery in and access to the slave trade in a given locale. Costa Rica’s access to the slave trade was sporadic, restricting the feasibility of slavery as a solution to the labor demands of sugar production. Even more important, however, were the technological conditions of sugar processing. In Costa Rica, as in many parts of the seventeenth-century Caribbean, slavemasters held diversified economic interests, implying that slaves worked in a number of other activities besides cultivating, cutting, and processing sugar. After his death in 1719, executors inventoried the property of planter Sergeant Major Blas González Coronel. González Coronel’s cane fields extended for fifty rows, probably measuring about fifty square yards. He owned a *trapiche* built of hardwood housed in a

small building in the Valley as Aserrí. In addition, he owned three cacao haciendas in Tuis and Matina. Animals, usually oxen, supplied the power for all Costa Rican *trapiches*. Blas González Coronel owned nine oxen, two designated specifically for powering the mill. Seven more oxen and a mule hauled firewood for boiling the cane.¹⁶⁰ The simple, animal-powered *trapiche*, like the primitive sugar-processing method itself, underwent no significant technological improvements during the length of the colonial period, and thus none of accelerations in production that later made work in Caribbean canefields a virtual death sentence for African slaves.¹⁶¹

Notwithstanding the small scale of Costa Rica's sugar industry, slaves played a greater role in Costa Rican sugar production than historians have generally credited. In an important article on the colonial Costa Rican sugar industry, for example, historian Elizabeth Fonseca wrote that slaves participated only rarely in the cultivation and processing of cane.¹⁶² From one perspective, she is undoubtedly correct: Of the more than 150 *trapiches* in operation by the mid-eighteenth century, only a small fraction used slave labor. On a closer look, however, it becomes apparent that slaves played an important role in overall output, constituting the main labor force used by some of Costa Rica's largest planters. As Fonseca shows, in 1691 (unfortunately the only year for which data on the amount of sugar produced are available), three growers accounted for more than half of the sugar produced in Costa Rica. The same elite families who ruled livestock breeding and cacao production dominated sugar.¹⁶³ One of the three growers Fonseca mentions, don Sebastián de Sandoval Golfín, was the owner of five slaves in 1697, including a master sugar boiler who had previously belonged to Diego de Ibarra,

the second of the three largest planters.¹⁶⁴ The third grower, don Francisco de Ocampo Golfin, owned twelve slaves by 1714 and fourteen by 1719. By 1734, his son and heir the Licentiate don Francisco de Ocampo Golfin owned sixteen slaves at the sugar plantation in the Valley of Barva.¹⁶⁵ Although these data cannot retroactively establish that the 1691 yields were produced with slave labor, they do demonstrate that the largest planters also became slaveowners, and large ones by the modest standards of Costa Rica. Although slave labor may have been marginal to sugar production generally, slaves did work on the mills with the largest outputs.

Doña Nicolasa Guerrero owned a more representative example of a sugar complex in Ujarrás. Not far from Cartago, the plains around Ujarrás (now Paraíso), well-watered by the Aguacaliente and Paz rivers, proved ideal for the cultivation of sugar cane. Confronted with the irreversible decline of the local Indian population, the Spaniards of Ujarrás sought other sources of labor early on. One of the earliest Costa Rican inventories to list cane fields in Ujarrás, a 1646 dowry also included two slaves.¹⁶⁶ In 1717, Guerrero owned property including a field of mature cane, probably measuring about a hundred square yards,¹⁶⁷ seven slaves, and a grinding mill equipped with a 70-lb. (32 kg) kettle for boiling cane juice. Such rudimentary equipment could not be turned to producing refined sugar; Costa Ricans made do with the coarse brown sugar known as *rapadura* and conserved the cane juice for sweetening liquids. Guerrero's adobe houses, roofed with tiles rather than straw (an important distinction of wealth in colonial Costa Rica), adjoined the mill. Felipe and Francisco, both Yoruba, were Guerrero's only male slaves of working age; Felipe, Guerrero specified, worked cultivating cane. The African

men surely shared duties with José Manuel, an orphan Guerrero had raised whom she designated to administer the property in case of her death. In addition to the sugar complex, Guerrero held substantial livestock in Ujarrás, including forty head of cattle, seven breeding mares, and fourteen other horses including foals. When not clearing land, planting, weeding, cutting, hauling, grinding, or processing cane, the men surely tended the animals and grew food for the estate. A plantain field grew next to the cane.¹⁶⁸ At the time of the sugar harvest, Guerrero's female slaves, Catalina and María Gertrudis, no doubt joined in the work; other local workers were almost certainly hired as well.

When wealthy masters ventured outside the province, enslaved manservants often accompanied them. Around 1677, Antonio Arará, a native of the Slave Coast, went to Panama City with his master, don Diego de Ibarra. There, Antonio was able to socialize with men and women "of his own nation" and even participate in an African religious ceremony.¹⁶⁹ Miguel Largo, probably born on the Upper Slave Coast, went with his master don Francisco Bruno Serrano de Reina when the latter was summoned to the Audiencia of Guatemala in 1721.¹⁷⁰ *Cabo verde* Diego de Casasola likewise went with his master to Nicaragua in 1725.¹⁷¹ Sometimes such trips afforded slaves an opportunity to flee. While on a trip to Nicaragua with his master around 1708, mulato slave José de Arlegui managed to slip away and remained at large for more than six years before finally being captured in Guatemala City in 1714.¹⁷² Other journeys ended in tragedy. Captain Juan de Bonilla bought two African boys about 1700, before he was appointed Governor for the Conquest of Tójar. The boys were killed when their master took them on an expedition against the Talamanca Indians in 1710.¹⁷³

“Jacks of all trades,” slaves went to work wherever their masters sent them, and sometimes managed their masters’ affairs. The work of enslaved men demanded that they be given broad freedom of movement, sometimes including long journeys outside Costa Rica. As one Nicoya master wrote in 1703, “there is nothing new in the train of mulatos and blacks, free and slave, who go from one province to another in the service of their masters.”¹⁷⁴ Occasionally their travels afforded opportunities to slave men that allowed them to negotiate with their masters for their freedom. Probably the best-known of such slaves was José de Cubero, a mulato slave of Father Manuel Martínez Cubero.¹⁷⁵ Born in the home of the priest’s parents, José first served his young master as a page. Around 1724, Father Cubero put José in charge of his mule train and trusted him to conduct his business in Nicoya, Bagaces, and the Landecho Valley. After José served as the priest’s driver (*mandador*) for eight years, Father Cubero sent him to Nicaragua to transport a cargo of tobacco, flour, and other dry goods. José continued to drive mules to and from Nicaragua for another seven or eight years, then in 1740 went to work on a cacao hacienda in Matina for a few months. After another trip to Nicaragua, his master sent him to carry forty loads of leaf tobacco to Panama, trusting him to return with the proceeds. When José returned, again earning his master’s trust by bringing the cash and jewelry he had been paid, Father Cubero sent him on four more trips to Panama. Each time, José returned with all the proceeds from the sales, whether they were in silver, gold ornaments, or merchandise.¹⁷⁶

Eventually, Father Cubero allowed José to manage his affairs as if he were a free man, and agreed to free him, for a price. While on journeys for his master, José began to sell

bags of tobacco, as well as stockings his wife made, on his own account. Eventually José was able to accumulate enough money to buy his own mules and horses, and after many years of working and saving, amassed the sum of 380 pesos.¹⁷⁷ For enslaved men such as José Cubero, it made good sense to cultivate the confidence of their masters. Through years of loyal service and toil, José had secured the promise of freedom. In some cases, Costa Rican masters manipulated privileges and promises to gain the willing service of their slaves, especially those they placed in positions of authority. And they could revoke their promises as easily as they made them: one day, without a word of explanation, Father Cubero simply took the 380 pesos José had earned.¹⁷⁸

Many enslaved men “traded and contracted” just as free men did, despite laws preventing them from assuming debts or engaging in commerce. They could do so, however, only with their master’s permission or if another free person guaranteed the debts they contracted.¹⁷⁹ They managed to acquire money by earning wages, selling goods, or borrowing money. Luis Palacios, a mulato slave of Gaspar Chinchilla, owed itinerant merchant Antonio Barela eight pesos two *reales* in silver in 1684.¹⁸⁰ Conversely, slave men also extended credit in their dealings with Spaniards and other freemen. In 1682, *Alférez* Fernando Núñez Bejarano acknowledged that he owed a one-year-old colt to Nicolás Villegas, a mulato slave of Captain Jerónimo Leal.¹⁸¹ Juan Ramiro, mulato slave of Father don Alonso de Sandoval, sold a mare to Salvador de Acuña with his master’s consent.¹⁸²

At least a few slaves lived outside their master’s homes and accumulated property. Although ostensibly belonging to their masters, they lived in most respects like free

persons. In the mid- to late-eighteenth century, Cayetano Chavarría, a mulato slave born and raised in the home of his mistress María Calvo, worked as a day laborer, keeping a portion of his earnings. By 1747, he had enough cash of his own on hand to lend his mistress's son-in-law six pesos in silver. He also surrendered substantial sums to his mistress. When she composed her will in 1762, María Calvo provided that Chavarría's market value be discounted by fifty pesos "because of how well he has served me."¹⁸³ Factors other than gratitude motivated Calvo's decision to lower Chavarría's price; assessors considered him "old . . . and of no use."¹⁸⁴ Nevertheless, Chavarría never purchased his formal freedom. At the time of his death in Cartago ten years later, he lived in the free colored neighborhood of the Puebla de los Pardos in a house roofed with tiles. Chavarría could not, however, ultimately dispose of his property like free persons. Upon his mistress's death, his house reverted to María Calvo's estate.¹⁸⁵

In the Central Valley, despite the freedom of movement and responsibilities they sometimes exercised, slaves could rarely manage their time like free persons. In Costa Rica no less than in slave societies, "labor was so inseparable from life that, for most slaves, the two appeared to be one and the same."¹⁸⁶ If Costa Rican slaves enjoyed time away from their masters, they were expected to work during that time. In 1721, Antonio, a black slave owned by Juan Delgado, described an afternoon he spent clearing cacao groves and travelling to a neighboring ranch to pick up a cow. There he met and spent some time with his friend, the slave Diego de Casasola.¹⁸⁷ Antonio's work and social lives merged indivisibly. If slaves enjoyed the respite of travel despite the hard work demanded of them, masters could always call them back at a moment's notice. In 1715,

Andrés Arias of the Valley of Barva west of Cartago rented mulato slaves Felipe de Oviedo and Antonio to perform unspecified labor that required an overnight stay. Oviedo recalled that after eating dinner at the end of a long day, he and Antonio were about to retire when at “eleven or twelve at night” their mistress doña Francisca Jiménez sent for him to return to her farm to repair a fence.¹⁸⁸

If masters suspected slaves of shirking their duties, they might severely abuse them. In 1723, while on a long journey to León, Nicaragua, fourteen-year-old don Tomás del Corral ordered his slave Miguel, a *mina* man (of Gold Coast or upper Slave Coast origin) of about twenty-five, to stay and watch some mules. Miguel left the mules unsupervised when his other young master, Manuel del Corral, summoned him to bring a horse. When Tomás del Corral found the mules unattended he exploded in a violent tantrum, attacking Miguel with a sword and permanently disabling him.¹⁸⁹ Although male slaves in Costa Rica exercised considerable movement and routinely made decisions at their own discretion, such “freedoms” remained subject to the will of their masters.

In the Central Valley, slaves often lived among other servants and worked at a variety of tasks. Specialization of labor, including skilled work, was exceptional. For an enslaved woman, particularly if she was her master’s only slave, this might mean little more than an increased work load including some farming as well as cooking, cleaning, child care, running errands, and perhaps working or selling goods outside the home for her master’s sustenance or profit. Neither slave status nor occupation provided strong bases for the development of distinct slave identities. On the other hand, masters held the

power to dictate the work slaves performed and to a great extent, their opportunities for contact with other slaves. Masters organized production in their own interests in part by deciding where to allocate their slave laborers. Any opportunities for advancement that slaves enjoyed derived directly from their masters, and could be withdrawn as easily as they were granted. What property and earnings they acquired were never secure. In such circumstances, slaves had powerful incentives to cultivate close ties to the master. Slaves probably came to think of themselves first not just as slaves, but as slaves of a particular master. The situation differed in Costa Rica's Atlantic region of Matina, where groups of African men lived largely separated from whites and more often made their own decisions organizing time and production.

Cacao and Slavery in Matina

Cacao cultivation in Atlantic Costa Rica, initially forcibly undertaken by Indians, came to rely on slave labor by the end of the seventeenth century. Increased importations of captives led to a "re-Africanization" of Costa Rica's enslaved population, bringing men and women of diverse ethnic origins to the Central Valley as well as the Atlantic lowlands. A combination of unusual circumstances combined to allow male slaves in Matina an exceptional autonomy, especially striking when compared to the brutal control exercised over slaves elsewhere in the Americas. Like slaves in some plantation societies, enslaved men in Matina worked largely free of white supervision and organized

the use of their own time. Slave men managed all stages in the cultivation, processing, and sometimes sale of cacao, the colony's most important export. Unlike work in the cane fields of the Caribbean and Brazil or the rice swamps of South Carolina, however, cacao cultivation did not impose the murderous labor demands that often accompanied a measure of cultural autonomy. Other conditions, however, especially the strict gender division of labor among the enslaved and the overwhelming tendency of slave men to marry free women, prevented the formation of slave families and ultimately, the reproduction of a distinct slave culture. By negotiating arrangements with their masters or growing the valuable crop on their own account, several enslaved men purchased their own freedom. This strategy, too, encouraged an individualism that undermined the development of a shared identity among slaves.

Antecedents

Cacao had been cultivated by indigenous peoples throughout Costa Rica before the conquest. The Indians of Mesoamerican origin in Nicoya used cacao as money and consumed it at rituals, as Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo observed in 1528.¹⁹⁰ In 1563, conquistador Juan Vázquez de Coronado noted the cultivation of cacao by the Indians of Quepos in the South Pacific as well as the Votos of the northern plains.¹⁹¹ Later ethnographic data suggest that like the Indians of Nicoya, the Talamanca of the southeast also imparted important symbolic meanings to cacao.¹⁹² In 1610, Fray Agustín de

Cevallos wrote that in Talamanca “cacao abounds, and [is] of the best in the kingdom in quantity and quality.”¹⁹³

As in northern Central America and Venezuela, the first Spanish planters in the Atlantic region almost certainly took advantage of existing cacao groves, and certainly of forced Indian laborers, to establish their haciendas.¹⁹⁴ In 1605, Spanish expeditionaries founded a settlement at Santiago de Talamanca on the Tarire (Sixaola) River and divided the Indians for “deposit” (a euphemism for the illegal *encomienda de servicio*) among the conquerors.¹⁹⁵ By 1610, Felipe Monge owned a cacao hacienda at Doyabe near the Tarire. As one of the conquerors of Talamanca, Monge had been granted the Indians of the pueblo of Xicagua in “deposit,” and probably simply appropriated an existing planting. Other colonists also owned plantings (*milpas*) of cacao by 1610, also worked by the Indians in their “deposit.”¹⁹⁶ Spanish colonists inflicted brutal abuse on these Indian workers, including whipping them and severing their ears, as well as additional gratuitous humiliations, such as forced haircuts. Such mistreatment contributed to provoking a general Indian uprising, which expelled the colonists from Talamanca in 1610.¹⁹⁷ Yet the Spaniards of Costa Rica never lost hope of regaining control of the area, and plans to establish cacao haciendas figured importantly in their projects. Diego del Cubillo included the “large quantity of . . . cacao” in the region as one of the reasons to reconquer Talamanca in 1617, as did don Francisco Núñez de Temiño in 1649.¹⁹⁸

Beginnings of the Matina Cacao Cycle

With the decline of the Central Valley's indigenous populations and the export trade with Panama, Costa Rican elites began searching for a new economic enterprise. Cacao seemed the perfect crop to develop for export. By the 1620s, the established cacao-producing areas of Central America such as Guatemala, El Salvador, and Soconusco had entered a period of long-term decline exacerbated by rising competition from the Caribbean islands, Venezuela, and above all, Guayaquil in Ecuador.¹⁹⁹ At mid-century, a series of disastrous setbacks including a cacao blight, an earthquake destroying Caracas financial facilities, and a decline in trade with Mexico combined to slash the price of Venezuelan cacao from thirty pesos per *fanega* (about 54.5 liters/14.4 gallons) in 1647 to just five pesos per *fanega* in 1654.²⁰⁰ Around the same time, Europeans were beginning to develop a taste for chocolate, promising an enormous market greater than the established Mexican one. When the British conquered Jamaica in 1655, they anticipated their greatest profits not from sugar, but from cacao. As late as the 1670s, Jamaican planters regarded cacao as "the principal, and most beneficial commodity of the isle."²⁰¹ Markets for cacao were expanding and other producers seemed unable to supply them. With ports on the Atlantic, a suitable climate, existing wild cacao groves, and a large if unconquered Indian population, Costa Rica's Atlantic region seemed ideal for cacao cultivation.

By the mid-seventeenth century, colonial governors began actively to promote the reconquest of Talamanca and cacao cultivation. The twin projects offered foreseeable solutions to Costa Rica's major economic problems: Cacao production would provide the colony with a valuable export crop, while the conquest of Talamanca would secure a new source of labor. Upon arriving in Costa Rica in 1650, Governor don Juan Fernández de Salinas y Cerda immediately endorsed plans to reconquer Talamanca. Hoping to revive exports to Portobello and Cartagena, he ordered the rehabilitation of the Atlantic port of Suerre in 1651.²⁰² Like several of his successors, Salinas personally invested in the new crop. The governor owned a cacao hacienda in Matina, which he donated to the Confraternity of los Angeles in 1669.²⁰³ Subsequent governors followed Salinas in looking to the Atlantic and cacao. While exploring the Atlantic coast in 1659, Governor Andrés Arias Maldonado wrote that the area near what is now Puerto Limón boasted "the best cacao groves that I have ever seen," to which the Tariaca Indians came to collect the fruit. Like his predecessor, Andrés Arias Maldonado established a small cacao hacienda.²⁰⁴ His son, interim governor Rodrigo Arias Maldonado, renewed the conquest of Talamanca in 1662, partly in response to the growing labor needs of Matina cacao haciendas.²⁰⁵

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Table 5.1

Contemporary Estimates of Costa Rican Cacao Production

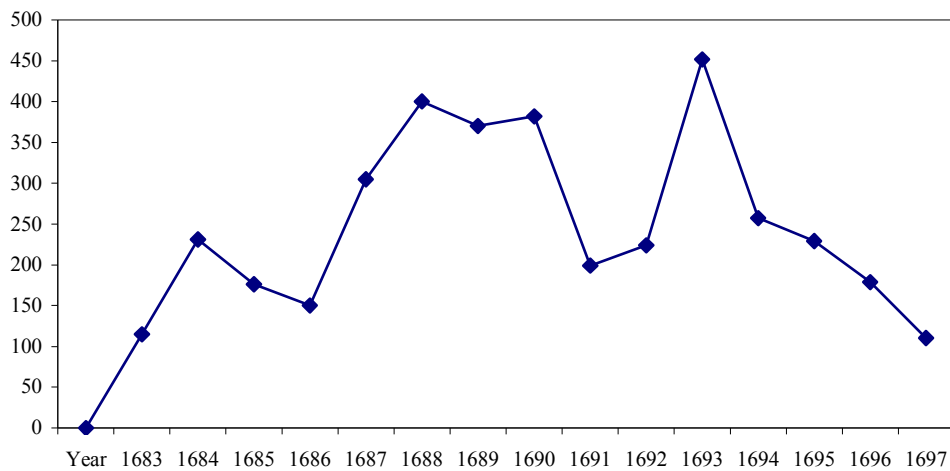
Date	Source of Estimate	No. of Trees in Production	No. of Young Trees
1675	Audiencia of Guatemala	200,000	No Info
1678	Inventory	129,480	No Info
1681	Governor of Costa Rica	150,000	No Info
1682	Cacao Hacendados	28,700	66,100
1683	Governor of Costa Rica	110,00	40,000
1691	Inventory	117,400	No Info
1691	Statements of Hacendados	120,000-140,000	No Info

Sources: Fernández, ed., *Colección de documentos*, 8:349, 376-377, 398, 399-405, 8:349, 8:428; ANCR, C. 83, fols. 3-7, 10v; ANCR, C. 85, fols. [1v]-5.

Available information on cacao exports in the 1680s and 1690s are certainly incomplete, as they fail to record the contraband trade that was probably equal to if not greater than legal commerce. Nicaragua provided Costa Rica's most important market for cacao, but prohibitive transportation costs encouraged illegal exports from the Matina coast. Compiling data from the official records of the Real Hacienda, Philip S. McLeod has traced the uneven growth of the cacao industry in the late seventeenth century.²¹⁰ The expansion of the profitable industry fueled the planters' search for a new source of laborers.

Fig. 1

Recorded Cacao Exports in *Zurrones*, 1692-1697



Source: Based on McLeod, "On the Edge of Empire," table 6, 241

Indian Forced Laborers

The nearby Urinama Indians of Talamanca provided the first major source of labor for the Matina haciendas. In the 1650s, Governor don Juan Fernández de Salinas y Cerda first “reduced” the Urinamas.²¹¹ The effects of Salinas’s efforts must have been limited, however, because interim governor don Rodrigo Arias Maldonado set out again to conquer the Urinamas in 1662.²¹² He achieved success mainly by promising gifts such as axes and machetes, “which is the means to accomplish such ends,” as he advised the king.²¹³ The Urinamas readily accepted “gifts” such as tools and clothing, which continued as a cornerstone of both missionary and hacendado efforts to attract the Indians.²¹⁴ Many Indians showed interest in Christianity and the new technologies, but resisted permanent settlement in the missions and above all, work on the haciendas.

The Urinamas soon resisted the missions through both flight and rebellion. Just a few months after beginning his initially successful reduction, unconverted Indians besieged Governor Rodrigo Arias Maldonado and expelled him from Talamanca in June 1662.²¹⁵ The Franciscans renewed their efforts to build missions in the 1670s, but soon found themselves locked with the cacao planters in a competition for Indian bodies and souls. In effect, the hacendados abused the missions as bottomless reservoirs of Indian labor, enlisting the governors of Costa Rica and their lieutenants to remove the Urinamas from the missions, often by force. In 1675, Visitor General don Antonio de Noboa Salgado prohibited Spaniards, mulatos, and mestizos from entering the Urinama pueblos except

for “good ends” and with the permission of the governor.²¹⁶ No doubt because the governor himself participated in them, the drafts continued. As long as work on the plantations did not interrupt evangelization, the friars saw little objection to providing the hacendados with Indian workers. But as cacao production expanded, the needs of the haciendas clashed increasingly with the goals of the missionaries, and placed ever greater demands on the Indians themselves. In 1678, the Urinamas revolted. Don Antonio Salmón Pacheco, a recent immigrant from Spain and the owner of an hacienda of 4,000 cacao trees, led an expedition from Cartago to punish the rebels. His successful reconquest of the Urinamas paved the way for the reestablishment of the missions and the renewed exploitation of the Indians for the Matina cacao haciendas.²¹⁷

In the 1680s, Urinama men not only cared for the Matina haciendas and harvested the cacao, but supplied the labor for a growing infrastructure needed to serve the expanding industry. Urinamas maintained the road from Cartago to Matina, built shelters along it to accomodate travellers, and hauled cacao between the haciendas and the capital.²¹⁸ In late 1689, the Franciscan missionaries asked Governor don Miguel Gómez de Lara to send the Urinama men in Matina back to the missions, “so that they could receive the sacraments.” Not only did the governor refuse to return the men already in Matina, but he asked the missionaries to send forty more Urinamas to the haciendas, provoking the friars to ask sarcastically “if they were his lieutenants.”²¹⁹

As the Franciscans charged, Indians were often removed from the Talamanca missions by force.²²⁰ Other Urinama men, promised “food to eat and machetes and arrows,” probably preferred work in the cacao haciendas to the strenuous labor of building houses

and churches. In this competition for Indian bodies and souls, the hacendados held the advantage. Prohibited from administering whippings, the Franciscans could not prevent Indians from fleeing the missions.²²¹

In February 1690, Fray Diego Macotella, the Franciscan Provincial of Nicaragua and Costa Rica, petitioned the Audiencia of Guatemala for an order to stop the removal of Urinamas to the haciendas of Matina. He held the governor of Costa Rica and his lieutenants primarily responsible for removing the Indians “for the cacaotales of Matina.” The Indians had been so terrorized by the “slavery that they experience” that when they heard the voice of the Lieutenant Governor, they fled the missions, and all the work undertaken by the missionaries was lost.²²² The Audiencia promptly acceded to the provincial’s request, ordering in April 1690 that the governor and his lieutenants leave the Indians in the mission, and not remove them “to Matina nor elsewhere, not for the reason of the benefit of the cacaotales, nor for any other.” Violators would be subject to a fine of 1,000 pesos as well as criminal prosecution and the loss of all their property.²²³

When word of the order arrived in Costa Rica, the Matina hacendados wasted no time in protesting it. In January 1691, Manuel de Farinas presented a petition to the Audiencia in Guatemala City on behalf of hacienda owner and onetime conqueror of the Urinamas, don Antonio Salmón Pacheco. Without the service of the Indians, the Matina haciendas would be “extinguished and annihilated,” Farinas claimed. Far from detrimental to the Urinamas, work on the haciendas would benefit them by eventually providing them with money to pay tribute to the Crown.²²⁴ On the advice of the Crown Attorney, the Audiencia attempted to broker a compromise. Upholding the *reales cédulas* that

prohibited personal service and *repartimiento*, the Audiencia ordered that Indians who wished voluntarily to serve the haciendas should not be barred from working there, as long as they continued to attend mass and receive the sacraments. In this way, neither the interests of the Church, nor those of the hacendados or the Crown would be sacrificed.²²⁵ The Audiencia vitiated the spirit of this ruling, however, by a second decree in May 1691 that prohibited any “Spaniard, mestizo, black, or mulato” from entering the missions without the express permission of the friars.²²⁶ By October 1691, one hacendado after another declared that the prohibition had already caused the total ruin of the Matina cacao industry. Since the order, many haciendas had been reclaimed by the jungle, leaving their owners “without means to sustain their families.” If the prohibition were not repealed, the hacendados might quit Costa Rica altogether, abandoning Matina to the pirate enemy, which would jeopardize the entire province.²²⁷

Despite their protests, the hacendados did not vacate Costa Rica, but began to search for another labor force. They continued to employ the Urinamas illegally, at least occasionally, but in the long term, hacendados recognized that they needed another source of workers for the cacao haciendas.²²⁸ Indians were less and less able to supply the necessary labor. A wave of epidemics in the late 1680s and 1690s afflicted the already weakened indigenous peoples of the Central Valley.²²⁹ Although their effects were not as well documented, these diseases affected Talamanca as well. Fray Pablo de Rebullida wrote in 1698 and 1699 that some Talamancas feared the missionaries because they believed that the friars brought plagues.²³⁰ This not unjustified perception contributed to a renewed Talamanca resistance to evangelization. Mass flight constituted

the most common form of resistance, further reducing the number of Indians available for work in Matina.

The Search for a New Labor Force

Once the Audiencia prohibited the coercion of the Urinama Indians, cacao planters considered and experimented with a number of labor sources for the haciendas. Between the 1650s and 1690s, Urinamas had provided the main labor source for the haciendas, but never the only one. From the beginning, slaves, free people of color, mestizos, Indians of other origins, and even Spaniards also worked on the cacao haciendas. For example, Esteban Yapiro, an Indian from Central Valley pueblo of Teotique, was working at a Matina hacienda when a multi-ethnic force of buccaneers sacked the valley in 1666. Yapiro escaped, but the pirates captured eight other Indians.²³¹ Magdalena de Sibaja, a free mulata who owned her own house near El Tejar died in the Reventazón Valley in 1670 while on the way to Matina, “in the service of” Juan de Meza.²³²

The cacao planters of the Atlantic region did not switch to a slave labor force overnight. The transition from *de facto* Indian to *de jure* African slavery occurred over a period of decades. *Cacaoteros* experimented with workers of all racial categories and legal conditions, including the Urinamas, free wage laborers, sharecroppers, and African slaves. None of these groups proved wholly satisfactory from the planters’ point of view, and they continued to use a mixed labor régime. But as demand for cacao production grew, so did the need for a more stable labor force. Although some cacao planters

continued to use other workers, by the 1680s many came to prefer slaves for several reasons.²³³

Living conditions in the Matina and Barbilla valleys were unpleasant and insecure. Throughout the colonial period and long after, the region suffered from a shortage of labor. Some of the same reasons that made Matina ideal for cacao cultivation, such as its heavy rainfall and high humidity, caused Spanish colonists to shun the area. In 1741, Governor don Juan Gemmir y Lleonart stated flatly that the Matina Valley was “uninhabitable” due to its “sickly, humid, and hot” climate.²³⁴ “It is extremely hot and humid, and the rains very continuous,” Bishop Pedro Agustín Morel de Santa Cruz agreed ten years later. “From these causes arise illnesses and fevers, so malignant that those who enter that country either die within a few short days, or if they escape with their lives, they lose their color entirely and contract a kind of paleness in their faces, which never leaves them.”²³⁵ The bishop’s description probably referred to symptoms of malaria (*Plasmodium falciparum* and/or *Plasmodium vivax*), to which people of African descent demonstrate greater resistance than whites or Indians.²³⁶ As Morel specified, “Only blacks enjoy good health in that intemperate climate.”²³⁷ Of course, Africans were not immune to disease, despite the mistaken beliefs held by whites such as the bishop. Luis, an enslaved African probably born on the Slave Coast, died of an “epidemic” in the Matina Valley in 1710, which must have affected others as well.²³⁸

In addition to the climate, wild animals also presented danger. Snakes posed a constant threat, especially in the shady undergrowth beneath the plantain and cacao trees. Manuel Aná had been bitten on the leg in 1719; Francisco Mina suffered from a swollen

toe due to snakebite the following year.²³⁹ Until the twentieth century, “crocodiles” were common in the rivers along the Atlantic coast as far south as Cahuita.²⁴⁰ “Lions and tigers” (pumas and jaguars) in the area were reputedly “so bold that they throw themselves at the houses of the residents,” and occasionally attacked humans. Pedro, an African slave of Captain Juan Sancho de Castañeda, had been killed by a big cat while working on his master’s hacienda sometime before 1719, as had another African man on the road from Matina in 1702.²⁴¹

As frightening as wild animals could be, the greatest threat by far came from humans, more specifically, from the foreign attackers who frequented Matina’s shores. The British buccaneers Edward Mansfield and Henry Morgan landed on the Atlantic coast in 1666 with a multiethnic force of several hundred, sacking the haciendas and kidnapping resident workers. In 1687, the notorious pirate Lorencillo ravaged Matina for three months, killing six or seven Spaniards.²⁴² Soon thereafter, in the 1690s the Miskito Zambos of Honduras and Nicaragua, newly allied with the British, began to attack Matina. The Miskitos preferred to sack the valley at the time of the cacao harvest, when they could make off with cacao as well as prisoners.²⁴³ In March 1705, the Miskitos attacked Matina at harvest time and kidnapped six slaves, along with some Spaniards.²⁴⁴ When a force of 500 Miskito Zambos entered the Matina Valley in a surprise attack in April 1724, they took twelve slaves and twenty-one freemen (nineteen of them mulatos) prisoner.²⁴⁵ After forcing the men to carry up to 1,000 *zurrone*s (107 tons/97 metric tons) of cacao to their boats, the Miskitos sailed north with them to their territory in Honduras.²⁴⁶ Factors such as the climate, the danger posed by wild animals, and

especially the threat of attack and imprisonment by the Miskitos led free workers to successfully demand high wages for work in Matina.

From the planter's perspective, the costs of hiring free people to work the cacao haciendas were prohibitive. In 1703, cacao planter Captain Blas González Coronel claimed that during the cacao harvests, the workers (*gente de servicio*) in Matina, "because there are no Indians, are composed of Spaniards, blacks, mulatos, [and] mestizos," and earned two pesos per day, paid either in cacao or in clothing and other goods.²⁴⁷ González Coronel likely exaggerated; Captain Francisco Pérez del Cote cited a lower figure, one to one and a half pesos daily.²⁴⁸ These wages were twice to four times as high as the half peso per day which one master sought as compensation for his slave's work the same year.²⁴⁹ Wages remained high throughout the first half of the eighteenth century, although they were always paid in cacao or clothing, never in silver. Captain don José de Mier Cevallos noted that wage workers in Matina earned "a salary as high as twelve to fourteen pesos per month" in 1719.²⁵⁰ By contrast, soldiers were paid just four pesos per month during an emergency the following year.²⁵¹ In 1724, prominent citizens of Cartago complained that since the recent attacks of the Miskitos, "no person can be found to go down to the cultivation of the cacao haciendas, except at double salary," because of their fear of being taken prisoner.²⁵² In the 1720s and '30s, the usual wage for free workers in Matina remained at twelve to twelve and one-half pesos per month, in addition to food and lodging.²⁵³ In 1736, Cartago's *Procurador Síndico* Captain Juan José de Cuende complained that hiring workers for the cacao haciendas was "extremely

costly, because they are not content with earning a regular wage as in other places, but [want] exorbitance and serve [only] with reluctance.”²⁵⁴

Perhaps as important as high labor costs, land in the Atlantic regions was abundant and for all intents and purposes, free for the asking. Although masters listed Matina cacao trees in testaments and inventories from the late 1650s, they never included the land itself, because they never bothered to secure legal title to it as they did in the Central and Pacific valleys. Nevertheless, they bought, sold, mortgaged, and bequeathed their haciendas in all respects as if they owned the land on which they were established.²⁵⁵ For much of the colonial period, the lands of the Atlantic region officially remained the property of the Crown (*tierras realengas*), and no law prevented an enterprising freeman from starting his own plantings on a piece of unclaimed land.

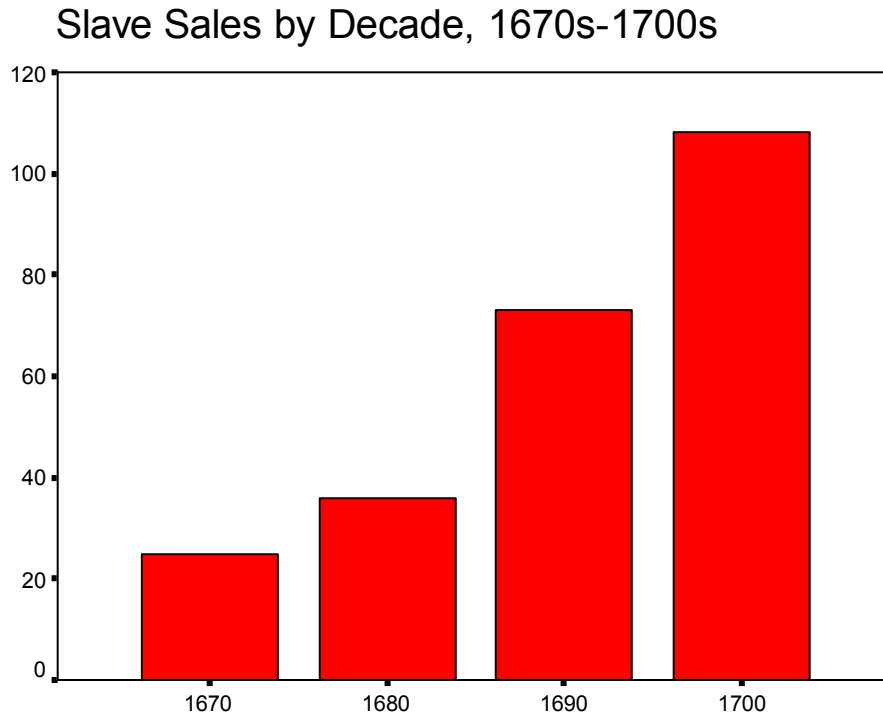
Using their influence with (or, just as frequently, as) colonial officials, hacendados strived to maintain exclusive control over the land and labor of the Matina Valley. Indeed, other than defense, control of workers constituted one of the “only” functions of an official presence in the region. Captain Luis Gutiérrez, an ex-Lieutenant Governor of Matina, said in 1719 that the duties of his former position consisted “only [of] that which is related to the defense of the port, and the orders given, and the obedience of the subjects who serve in that Valley, who are the servants of the haciendas.”²⁵⁶ Officials repeatedly issued edicts designed to prevent a free peasantry from establishing itself in Matina by ensuring that all people resident there were bound to a master. In 1704, Governor don Diego de Herrera Campuzano issued an order barring “idle and vagabond people” from the Matina Valley. He instructed his lieutenant, hacendado don Antonio de

la Vega Cabral, to ensure that people in Matina “work for a wage (*jornal*) in the haciendas of the *vecinos*, who will pay them for their labor according to custom.” Those who refused to enter into contracts with the *hacendados* were to be expelled from the Valley.²⁵⁷ Lieutenant Governor of Matina don Bernardo Marín issued a similar order in 1716. Professing a concern for public morals, Marín noted that “many married people, with little fear of God or of Royal Justice, are absent from their wives under the pretext of seeking their livelihood” in the Matina Valley. Marín ordered that all the “*vecinos hacendados*, sharecroppers, and black overseers” notify him of “the people each one has under contract.” Anyone not bound by such a contract was to be expelled from Matina within three days. Marín designed the act to provide workers not only for the haciendas, but for the state. Mestizos and mulatos in Matina found to be without a work contract were to be sentenced to a fine of six pesos and six months of service as sentinels in one of the coastal watchtowers. Unoccupied Spaniards would simply pay a fine of five pesos.²⁵⁸ Three years later, the *Procurador General* of Cartago, don Pedro de Moya, another cacao planter, petitioned the governor to expel any person in Matina found “independent of administration of hacienda or contract, or any others of those who go to the said Valley without a contract with the owners of the haciendas.”²⁵⁹ In 1737, Governor don Francisco Carrandi y Menán issued a similar order, but one that recognized the reality that smallholders existed in the area. His order of expulsion was directed against “vagabond persons” without “hacienda or contract with the owners of those haciendas.” By then, numerous free mulatos and mestizos owned small haciendas. Despite their resemblance to people stereotyped as vagabonds, their property distinguished them from

“those who do not want to subject themselves to a labor contract with those hacendados.”²⁶⁰

At an average price of approximately 315 pesos in the period 1651-1750, male slaves between the ages of sixteen and twenty-five constituted an expensive solution to the labor shortage.²⁶¹ Once planted, however, the labor requirements of cacao cultivation were relatively light, so there was no special need to purchase men of prime working age. The strongest men could be used in clearing the thickly forested lands – “opening the bush,” in the evocative phrase of a free man who worked in the *cacaotales* of the Barbilla Valley -- and planting, while those less robust could keep the plants watered, shaded, and free of weeds.²⁶² Older men could and did perform the work, as did boys from about the age of fourteen.²⁶³ For example, a black man named José was sold in 1706 with an hacienda of 1,300 trees in the Barbilla Valley, reportedly at the age of fifty-five.²⁶⁴ The black creole slave Juan Román labored on his master’s haciendas until he was nearly sixty.²⁶⁵ As Costa Rican historian Rina Cáceres has suggested, some elite Cartago families were able to survive the seventeenth-century depression by allocating enslaved workers to the cacao industry.²⁶⁶ Cartago families who already owned slaves could send them to work in Matina without investing capital. As cacao exports increased, Costa Rican planters used a portion of their profits to invest in more slave purchases. Registered slave sales in the 1680s rose 44 percent over the previous decade, 51 percent in the 1690s, and a further 48 percent in the 1700s.²⁶⁷

Fig. 2



Sources: ANCR, P.C. 818 (1664, 1668-1671) through P.C. 850, 853 (1697, 1699, 1700, 1701); *Indice de los protocolos de Cartago*, vols. 1-3

In a 1982 article, Costa Rican historian Carlos Rosés Alvarado wrote that the small-scale slave trade to Costa Rica was insufficient to provide a solution – even a passing one – to the chronic labor shortage which plagued cacao production.²⁶⁸ More recently, North American Philip S. MacLeod drew attention to the variety of labor regimes employed on Atlantic cacao haciendas, including wage labor and sharecropping (*arrendamiento*), and suggested that slavery was of minor importance.²⁶⁹ Both Rosés Alvarado and MacLeod seemed to argue from an assumption that cacao production required a large labor force. This was hardly the case. The hacendados recruited Urinamas on the order of thirty to

sixty men at a time in the 1670s and '80s.²⁷⁰ When the agent of Antonio Salmón Pacheco presented a petition to Audiencia of Guatemala in 1691, he requested that twelve Urinama men be allocated to “the service and cultivation” of Salmón Pacheco’s haciendas.²⁷¹ Apparently, he asked for more workers than he needed: in that year, Salmón Pacheco owned haciendas with a total of 4,000 trees, and according to a 1721 Venezuelan text, it was “well known” that one slave could care for 1,000 trees. According to the 1691 “census,” no planter in Costa Rica owned more than 10,000 trees in production, and the average cacao planter owned 1,894 trees.²⁷² Even owners of just one or two slaves, like many Costa Rican masters, could profitably cultivate cacao with slave labor, and many did.

The generally low costs of starting a cacao hacienda allowed Cartago elites to diversify their economic enterprises at a time when their traditional activities had foundered. In fact if not in law, land in Matina was free, but it was also worthless without men to work it. Although for most of the year the work was light, cacao trees required constant care. Most free workers found such work unattractive, and after the 1690 decree of the Audiencia, Indians could not be forced to do it. Slaves constituted the most expensive of the cacao hacienda’s productive forces by far, but soon became considered part of an hacienda’s essential “equipment.” Accordingly, enslaved men were sometimes transferred or sold as a package with the haciendas. In 1680, when doña Ana Margarita Escalante Paniagua married Captain don Juan Sáenz, her father don José de Escalante Paniagua gave the couple everything they needed for a successful future in the cacao business: a cacao hacienda in the Barbilla Valley, twelve mules, and Juan, a *congo*

slave.²⁷³ José, a black man about fifty-five years old in 1706, was sold with an hacienda of 1,300 trees in Barbilla for a combined price of 500 pesos.²⁷⁴ In March 1718, doña María Josefa de la Vega Cabral inherited a cacao hacienda and two slaves from her late father. A few months later, her husband don Juan José de Cuende sold an hacienda with Francisco and Sebastián, the two slaves who were “tied to said hacienda,” along with the “shotgun, tools, . . . and other implements necessary to the work on the said hacienda.”²⁷⁵ In 1727, Diego de Angulo, born in West Central Africa, was auctioned with the Matina hacienda he had worked for decades.²⁷⁶

Once purchased, maintenance costs for slaves in Matina were close to nil. Slave men met virtually all of their needs themselves. They built their own houses, roofing them with palm thatch. Plantains, “which serve in place of bread,” formed the most important part of their diet.²⁷⁷ Fruits such as oranges, avocados, and *zapotes* added variety and nutrients.²⁷⁸ Rice provided another staple. In 1733, the free cacao worker Miguel Solano remarked that creole slave Juan Román made his own “rice fields and other plantings” in the Barbilla Valley, “as other black slaves customarily” did in Matina as well.²⁷⁹ Antonio Cabo Verde might have brought Old World knowledge of the crop to Costa Rica. His *casta* surname indicates an origin in Upper Guinea, where rice provided the dietary staple, or in the Cape Verde Islands themselves, where it was also cultivated. In other colonies, notably South Carolina, slave buyers prized West Africans like Antonio for their expertise in rice culture.²⁸⁰ Wherever he learned to grow it, Antonio farmed rice successfully enough to sell a surplus to free people in the area. He also raised chickens and pigs. Cattle raised in the Barbilla Valley provided the area with beef.²⁸¹ No doubt

slave men also hunted – in 1721, don Diego de Barros y Carbajal complained that “my negro is asking for” his shotgun, which was being repaired -- and fished the nearby rivers.²⁸² Every year, the sea turtles that came to lay their eggs on the beaches provided another important source of meat.²⁸³

Life and Work on the Cacao Haciendas

On the cacao haciendas of the Matina, Barbilla, and Reventazón Valleys, slave men lived remarkably independent lives. More comfortable in the temperate Central Valley, hacendados came to Matina only once or twice a year to supervise the harvest, usually staying from between two to three weeks.²⁸⁴ When masters or their agents arrived, they caused temporary disruptions not unlike the royal officials who collected tribute from Costa Rican Indian pueblos at the same times, or even the tax collectors who, as some of the enslaved men remembered, descended on the villages of the Kongo twice each year.²⁸⁵ The detailed inventories of the haciendas of doña Agueda Pérez de Muro provide evidence of slave life and work on a large cacao complex in the early eighteenth century. By 1722, when Pérez de Muro married for the second time, she owned four cacao haciendas in the Matina Valley, totalling 8,650 producing trees.²⁸⁶ In the Barbilla Valley, she owned another hacienda of 1,150 trees, also already bearing fruit.²⁸⁷ The combined value of the trees was assessed at 16,406 pesos in cacao, or 11,718 pesos 6 reales in silver – a sizeable fortune by Costa Rican standards. In addition, she owned another 600 trees, planted four or five years before, which had not yet borne fruit, and were valued at 425

pesos cacao or 300 pesos in silver.²⁸⁸ Five slaves administered the Matina haciendas.

Two of them, José Congo and Nicolás Casasola, were described as “overseers” (*mandadores*). Another slave, Lorenzo, attended the hacienda in Barbilla.²⁸⁹

The inventories provide a glimpse at the rustic conditions in which slaves lived and worked in Matina. The five men lived in three houses, “like those used in that Valley.” Almost certainly, the men had built these themselves of wood and palm thatch. Each was furnished with a grinding stone (*piedra de moler*) and a large iron pot used for cooking. For hunting and self-defense, they shared two “French shotguns.”²⁹⁰ To cut wood, keep the cacao groves free of weeds, split cacao pods at harvest time, and no doubt occasionally to protect themselves against snakes and other animals, they used four axes and eleven iron machetes, each of the latter weighing two and a half pounds. To pick cacao at the harvest, there were three *almaradas* (a tool consisting of a pole about one meter long, with a sharp, thin knife attached to one end). A *cano*a listed in the inventory was probably not a boat but rather a large trough used for fermenting cacao. To dry cacao, there were nineteen uncured cowskins and thirty-five more ready for use. In addition to the buildings used for housing, the hacienda had three terraces (*galeras*) used to “break cacao” and later, to dry it in the sun. The men shared three needles to sew the leather bags in which cacao was transported and sold. A single pine box was probably kept by the overseers to store valuables, although it had no lock.²⁹¹

Because no colonial Costa Rican documents have yet been located that describe the cultivation and processing of cacao in narrative form, it is necessary to draw upon contemporary accounts from other American colonies to reconstruct the techniques

used.²⁹² Cacao was first planted as seedlings, which were transplanted at six to ten months.²⁹³ About eight feet (2.4 meters) was allowed between cacao trees. Next to each, a plantain tree was planted to provide shade and shelter for the delicate plants.²⁹⁴ Maintenance was relatively simple and required few workers, consisting mainly of weeding and periodic planting. Mature plants were harvested twice a year, around the time of the festival of Saint John the Baptist (24 June) and at Christmas.²⁹⁵ The pods were lowered from the trees with *almaradas* (also called *cuchillones*). On the ground, the workers opened the pods with axes, machetes, or knives, then extracted the seeds and placed them in tubs (*bateas*) for fermentation. Later, the seeds were spread onto leather skins and dried in the sun -- a step considered essential for the flavor of the cacao.²⁹⁶ After drying, the cacao was sewn into leather bags (*zurrones*), each one purportedly holding about 20,000 grains and valued at twenty-five pesos.²⁹⁷ Some of the cacao was then sent to Cartago, from where it was exported to Nicaragua, the only legal outlet for much of the colonial period. Many haciendas, however, had their own wharves (*embarcaderos*), and contraband trade was extensive.²⁹⁸

African slaves also worked in the transport of the crop, both to Cartago and to the coast, where it was sold illegally to customers such as the British, Miskito Zambos, and perhaps the Dutch.²⁹⁹ In 1722, Francisco Plaza, a *mina* (from the Gold Coast or Upper Slave Coast) slave of doña Luisa Calvo brought a train of mules from Cartago to Matina to transport cacao.³⁰⁰ He may or may not have been the same *negro mina* who had driven mule trains between Matina and Cartago twenty years before.³⁰¹ Benito, a slave of don José de Prado, had purchased a mule worth sixteen pesos on credit from Francisco de

Cabrera.³⁰² Antonio Cabo Verde purchased a mule about 1718, no doubt to haul *zurrone*s. Far more often, however, muleteers were free mulatos, mestizos, and Indians.³⁰³ Masters might even entrust their slaves with illegal operations. On several occasions in the early eighteenth century, Gregorio Caamaño, the slave overseer of his mistress's haciendas, and fellow slave Juan Damián had brought a total of thirty-one *zurrone*s (3.3 tons/3 metric tons) of cacao to the Atlantic coast by mule. There they traded it with smugglers for yards of cloth, hats, and finished articles of clothing among other items, all of which they remitted to their mistress in Cartago.³⁰⁴

Slave participation in contraband trade presented one of Costa Rica's governors with a theoretical and legal conundrum. Ultimately, don Diego de la Haya Fernández failed to resolve it and issued contradictory rulings. In theory, slaves were merely extensions of their master's wills, but when they participated in illegal trade, officials tried to hold them responsible for their own actions. In 1719 Governor de la Haya charged Juan Damián with illegal trade, "which he should not have carried out, even if it were by order" of his mistress, doña Agueda Pérez de Muro.³⁰⁵ Don José de Castellanos, named by the governor to defend Juan Damián, argued that the slave was not responsible for his actions on two grounds: "he is an African-born black (*negro bozal*) who does not understand [the law], nor does he have his own will, because he is a slave." Doña Agueda, therefore, was legally responsible for the illegal sale, as well as neglecting to correct her slave's bad behavior. Furthermore, argued the advocate, Juan Damián could not be guilty of contraband trade, "because he has no property of his own." Juan Damián and his companion Gregorio Caamaño would not have carried out the prohibited acts were it not

for the will of their mistress. If the governor rejected the premise that Juan Damián had no will of his own to act illegally, Castellanos claimed ignorance of the law as the slave's excuse. In the event, Governor de la Haya found Juan Damián guilty, and Castellanos appealed the case to the Audiencia in Guatemala City.³⁰⁶ In another case two years later, however, De la Haya accepted the defense that an African-born slave could not understand the legal import of his actions. Antonio García, a *mina* slave of Captain Manuel García de Argueta, confessed to having traded tobacco to the Miskito Zambos in return for some iron.³⁰⁷ The governor absolved Antonio, stating that the African was "incapable by nature of understanding whether it is or is not a crime to trade with the said Mosquitos."³⁰⁸

As on the cattle haciendas of the North Pacific, masters relied on black overseers (*mandadores*) to administer their Matina haciendas. Occasionally, planters hired Spanish overseers to supervise their slaves, but far more commonly chose a driver from among the slaves themselves. Despite a 1708 decree requiring planters to employ a Spanish overseer on their haciendas, very few complied.³⁰⁹ Most often, drivers were Africans, as were the men they supervised. For example, Gregorio Caamaño, of Slave Coast origin, and José Congo both served at different times as *mandadores* of doña Agueda Pérez de Muro's haciendas. Manuel, a Yoruba (*aná*), and Antonio de la Riva, a *mina*, were both overseers at don Juan de Ibarra y Calvo's *cacaotales*. Masters trusted these men with the equipment of the haciendas and importantly, with calculating the number of trees on the properties. When Ibarra died in 1737, his executors put Antonio de la Riva in charge of caring for his late master's cacao haciendas, simply formalizing an already current

arrangement.³¹⁰ Taking an overseer's word for the number of trees on an hacienda amounted to relying on his assessment of the property's net worth. An undercount of the trees could allow slaves to appropriate and market the surplus for their own profit, and enslaved overseers were sometimes implicated in contraband trade.³¹¹

The point of having an overseer at all was to maximize cacao production, which could be done only through command of the other enslaved men on the haciendas. It is clear that more than mere administrators, drivers exercised authority over other slaves; for example, in 1718, the slave Antonio Cabo Verde purchased a mule only after gaining the approval of his enslaved overseer, Diego García, a slave of the same ethnic designation.³¹² Unfortunately, no sources have been found to clarify how drivers extracted surplus labor from the men they supervised, nor to identify potential sources of conflict between drivers and other slaves. Overseers probably enjoyed the authority to command through their function as extensions of their master's power. Enslaved overseers reported to their masters on affairs of the haciendas, in at least one case by letter (probably dictated to a literate acquaintance).³¹³ If the overseer did not discipline a recalcitrant slave on the spot, the master could be expected to do so later. Inventories of cacao haciendas, however, do not list the chains or shackles that sometimes appeared in masters' homes. Overseers simply could not have ruled by force alone, and must have negotiated and compromised with the enslaved men under their command.

The rank of overseer brought material rewards. In some cases, masters clearly compensated their enslaved administrators with special privileges and incentives, the most important of which was the offer of eventual freedom. For example, in 1737, the

mina slave Antonio de la Riva, driver of his masters' haciendas, contracted with them to care for a newly planted cacao grove of 1,500 trees, and to plant and care for a new grove of 500 trees until all bore fruit. With full confidence that Antonio would fulfill the contract, don Juan José de Cuende and doña Manuela de Ibarra granted him his freedom in advance.³¹⁴ In 1745, de la Riva presented his masters not only with the 2,000 trees previously agreed upon, but "of his spontaneous will," an additional 500 trees "in recognition of the benefit" that they had shown him.³¹⁵ Another *mandador*, Gregorio Caamaño, earned his freedom in exchange for raising 5,000 young cacao trees until they bore fruit.³¹⁶ In return for such opportunities, drivers owed their masters demonstrable increases in production.

A circumstance particular to Costa Rica gave male slaves a rare bargaining power and enhanced their independence. From the early eighteenth century, cacao served as legal tender in the colony.³¹⁷ Because land in Matina was fully available, a number of slaves took the opportunity to plant and cultivate their own cacao groves. Some masters allowed this activity, provided slaves cultivated their own groves only "on feast days and without missing other days in the service of their masters."³¹⁸ With their own cacao, slaves could purchase needed items from *vecinos* and smugglers. Antonio Cabo Verde, an African slave of Captain Manuel García, purchased a mule from Juan Masís for one *zurrón* (214 lbs./97 kg.) of cacao in 1718.³¹⁹ While some Cartago merchants profited from selling merchandise to slaves, other planters inveighed against the practice, presumably reasoning that slaves paid for the items with stolen cacao. Despite prohibitions, the sales continued.³²⁰ That masters spent little to dress their slaves can be

inferred from the petition of one hacendado, who sought to prohibit the passage of merchants to Matina because they sold clothing to the slaves.³²¹ But like “everyone in Matina,” slaves also traded cacao with smugglers for goods ultimately from Europe (particularly from England), especially cloth.³²² Their access to cacao allowed slave men to purchase needed goods, improve their material situation, and sometimes offered a path to economic advancement and freedom itself.

Benefiting from exceptional arrangements, a few slaves became true entrepreneurs. About 1705, Benito, a black slave of don José Pérez de Muro, assumed the cultivation of a cacao hacienda owned by María de Zárate. With his master’s permission, Benito kept half the produce and turned the other half over to Zárate.³²³ By cultivating their own groves, slave men accumulated enough cacao to lend money to free people. In 1717, for example, Isidro de Acosta acknowledged that he owed a *zurrón* of cacao to Nicolás Barrantes, mulato slave of Captain don Nicolás de Guevara.³²⁴ In the early 1720s and with the permission of his master, *cabo verde* Diego García leased a Barbilla cacao hacienda from Juan González for fifty pesos per year. A relative of García’s free wife, Manuela Gutiérrez, González leased the property “more out of love than for the two *zurrones* each year,” because he “loved him as if the said Diego were his father.” Unable to care for the hacienda personally because he had to attend his master’s estate, García entrusted its cultivation to free mulato Agustín de la Riva in return for a year’s harvest.³²⁵ De la Riva’s stewardship proved so profitable to García that not only did he meet his obligations to González, but with a surplus of “many *zurrones* of cacao,” lent money to Francisco Morales, the Spanish Captain of the Matina Valley.³²⁶ Enterprising men such

as Benito and Diego García, however, could pursue their economic activities only with the consent of their masters.

Such men hoped ultimately to raise enough cacao on their own account to purchase freedom from their masters. For example, Juan Román, a black slave nearly sixty years old in 1733, enlisted the help of his free son, José Nicolás, to cultivate a grove of 500 trees adjoining the groves of his master, Captain Francisco Gutiérrez. Román hoped to sell the grove to his master in exchange for his freedom.³²⁷ Such agreements resembled the practice of *arrendamiento*, a sharecropping arrangement whereby a renter agreed to pay a portion of the cacao harvest to the landowner. Lessees often agreed to plant new groves as well as caring for those already existing. Obviously, this arrangement benefited the landowner as much as the contractor.³²⁸ In the case of an aging slave such as Juan Román, a master improved his landholding at the same time as he recouped much of his initial investment in slave property. Masters granted privileges, such as permission for slaves to cultivate their own cacao groves, in order to increase productive yields. To masters, the relative freedom enslaved men enjoyed in Matina proved not only necessary, but profitable.³²⁹

Slaves managed the cacao industry of Matina at every step. They grew the crop, packed it in leather bags, transported it to Cartago or to the coast, exchanged it for merchandise, and bought goods with it, sometimes even their own freedom. With only a few soldiers and officials in the entire valley, whites maintained only a token presence for

most of the year. Overseers represented the interests of the masters, but they surely did so through negotiation and incentives, rather than force alone. Most of the time, slaves organized their time and production as they saw fit. A number of slaves earned their own freedom by cultivating cacao groves on their own account.

In the unusual circumstances of slavery in Matina, slave men combined in the same persons elements of the abstract categories of slave, sharecropper, and wage laborer. They worked both for their masters and for themselves, both from coercion and for material incentives.³³⁰ Bound to masters and their lands, slave men surrendered the harvest twice a year like tributary Indians or Kongolese peasants; yet they travelled, “traded, and contracted” like free men – buying and selling produce, sometimes even leasing land. Owning nothing themselves, they created a domestic market, attracting merchants from the Central Valley, and even participated as principals in foreign trade with English smugglers. After gaining their freedom, some continued to live and work in Matina at the same activities as they had as slaves. In a host of ways, the lives of enslaved men in Matina blurred the line between slavery and freedom.

Yet slave men experienced the hardships of their condition in crucial ways that separated them from freemen. Far from Cartago, they lived a barracks-like existence, plagued by boredom, the threat of military attack, and a lack of female companionship. Indeed, armed with lances and firearms, slave men in Matina even mobilized for military service and provided the first line of defense against the Miskito invaders.³³¹ Although they enjoyed greater control of their own time and greater access to money than other

slaves, enslaved men in Matina could not spend their time or money with their wives and children. For them, freedom meant the freedom to live in family and community.

¹ Carlos Meléndez Chaverri, "El negro en Costa Rica durante la colonia," in Meléndez and Quince Duncan, *El negro en Costa Rica* (1972; rpt. ed., San José: Editorial Costa Rica, 1989), 36.

² "Otra prueba de la naturaleza no-económica de la esclavitud en la Costa Rica . . ." Lowell Gudmundson, "Mecanismos de movilidad social para la población de procedencia africana en Costa Rica colonial: Manumisión y mestizaje," in Gudmundson, *Estratificación socio-racial y económica de Costa Rica, 1700-1850* (San José: Editorial Universidad Estatal a Distancia [EUNED], 1978), 25; " . . . la esclavitud en Costa Rica . . . presenta un sentido que algunos han llamado doméstico-patriarcal, a diferencia de otros países donde prevalecieron condiciones más desfavorables." Mario Barrantes Ferrero, *Un caso de esclavitud en Costa Rica* (San José: Instituto Geográfico Nacional, 1968), 5-6.

³ Testamento del Cap. Miguel Calvo, Cartago, 16 Feb. 1715, ANCR, P.C. 877, fol. 30v.

⁴ "Inventario de los árboles de cacao de la costa y valle de Matina y Reventazón. - Año de 1682," in *Colección de documentos para la historia de Costa Rica*, ed. León Fernández (10 vols. San José: Imprenta Nacional [vols. 1-3], Paris: Imprenta Pablo Dupont [vols. 4-5], Barcelona: Imprenta Viuda de Luis Tasso [vols. 6-10], 1881-1907), 8:403; "Los vecinos del valle de Bagases pretenden formar una villa, ciudad ó lugar en dicho valle, con independencia de la provincia de Costa Rica. - Año de 1688," in Fernández, ed., *Colección de documentos*, 8:485-486; Carta del Cap. Antonio de Soto y Barahona y de Felipe de Meza al Gobernador, Matina, ANCR, C. 325, fols. 16v-17.

⁵ Ira Berlin refers to slaves in "societies with slaves" as "jacks of all trades" in *Many Thousands Gone: The First Two Centuries of Slavery in North America* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press, Harvard University Press, 1998), 68.

⁶ See Robin Blackburn, "Slave Exploitation and the Elementary Structures of Enslavement," in *Serfdom and Slavery: Studies in Legal Bondage*, ed. M. L. Bush (London: Longman, 1996), 163-164.

⁷ Eric R. Wolf and Sidney W. Mintz, "Haciendas and Plantations in Middle America and the Antilles," *Social and Economic Studies* (Jamaica) 6, no. 3 (Sept. 1957): 81-91.

⁸ Murdo J. MacLeod, *Spanish Central America: A Socioeconomic History 1520-1720* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973), 51; Claudia Quirós, *La era de la encomienda* (San José: Editorial de la Universidad de Costa Rica, 1990), 29-30, 145.

⁹ Linda A. Newson, "The Depopulation of Nicaragua in the Sixteenth Century," *Journal of Latin American Studies* 14, no. 2 (Nov. 1982), 268.

¹⁰ Quirós, *Era de la encomienda*, 236.

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- ¹¹ Murdo J. MacLeod, *Spanish Central America: A Socioeconomic History, 1520-1720* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973), 50. Luis Sibaja reviews the contentious debate on the scale of the Indian slave trade from Nicaragua in "Los indígenas de Nicoya bajo el dominio español, 1522-1560," *Estudios Sociales Centroamericanos* 11, no. 32 (1982), 27-29.
- ¹² Libro de tasaciones de de los naturales de las Provincias de Guatemala, Nicaragua, Yucatán y Comayagua, 1548-1551, AGI, Guatemala 128, fols. 234v-235, 285v; partially printed in Vega Bolaños, ed., *Colección Somoza*, 14:402-403, 467. See also Luis Sibaja, "La encomienda de tributo en el Valle Central de Costa Rica (1569-1683)," *Cuadernos Centroamericanos de Ciencias Sociales* (Universidad de Costa Rica) no. 11 (1984), 52.
- ¹³ Quirós, *Era de la encomienda*, 30; Fernández, ed., *Colección de documentos*, 1: 105.
- ¹⁴ Vega Bolaños, ed., *Colección Somoza*, 6:124.
- ¹⁵ The quoted phrase is Eugenia Ibarra Rojas's; see *Fronteras étnicas en la conquista de Nicaragua y Nicoya: Entre la solidaridad y el conflicto 800 d.C.-1544* (San José: Editorial de la Universidad de Costa Rica, 2001).
- ¹⁶ Claudia Quirós Vargas de Quesada, "Aspectos socioeconómicos de la ciudad del Espíritu Santo de Esparza y su jurisdicción (1574-1878)" (Licenciatura thesis, Universidad de Costa Rica, 1976), 128-129, 261; Murdo J. MacLeod, *Spanish Central America: A Socioeconomic History 1520-1720* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973), 177.
- ¹⁷ William L. Sherman, *Forced Native Labor in Sixteenth-Century Central America* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1979), 252-253; MacLeod, *Spanish Central America*, 181-182, 186-187; Newson, "Depopulation of Nicaragua," 277.
- ¹⁸ Bernardo Augusto Thiel, *Monografía de la población de Costa Rica en el siglo XIX*, in *Revista de Costa Rica en el Siglo XIX* (San José: Tipografía Nacional, 1902), 1:5, 9-10.
- ¹⁹ For one late seventeenth-century example from the jurisdiction of Esparza, see Testamento del Alf. Alvaro de Guevara y Sandoval, Cartago, 2 Oct. 1694, ANCR, P.C. 845, fols. 22v-23.
- ²⁰ David R. Radell and James J. Parsons, "Realejo: A Forgotten Colonial Port and Shipbuilding Center in Nicaragua," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 51, no. 2 (May 1971), 298.
- ²¹ Philip S. MacLeod, "On the Edge of Empire: Costa Rica in the Colonial Era (1561-1800)," (Ph.D. diss., Tulane University, 1999), 156-157.
- ²² Linda A. Newson, "The Depopulation of Nicaragua in the Sixteenth Century," *Journal of Latin American Studies* 14, no. 2 (Nov. 1982), 277.
- ²³ Lic. Palacio al Lic. Cristóbal de Espinosa, Realejo, Nic., 8 Feb. 1579, AGCA, A1.56, exp. 45241, leg. 5355.
- ²⁴ Testamento de Juan Martín de Montalbo, Astillero de Nandayure, 17 April 1623, ANCR, M.C.C. 918, fols. 2v-10v, quoting fol. 4v.
- ²⁵ Petición de don Blas de Contreras, Síndico del Convento de la Asunción, presentada en Nicoya, 26 April 1625, ANCR, G. 55, fol. 56; Petición de Juan de Santiago, Guardián del Convento de la Asunción, presentada en Nicoya, 23 Dec. 1623, ANCR, G. 55, fols. 65, 66; Recibo de 100 pesos por don Cristóbal

Sánchez, indio ladino, Síndico del Convento de la Asunción, Nicoya, 9 January 1624, ANCR, G. 55, fol. 72.

²⁶ Venta de esclavo, Nicoya, 10 Sept. 1624, ANCR, G. 55, fol. 18.

²⁷ Declaración de Pascual Corzo, negro libre, Nicoya, 7 June 1674, AGI, Escribanía 336B, pieza 1, fol. 7 [9]; Quirós, *Era de la encomienda*, 128.

²⁸ Lista de la gente de mar de la fregata San Francisco, Hato de San Ildefonso, Jurisdicción de Esparza, 9 April 1638, ANCR, C. 11, fol. 4v.

²⁹ Lista de la gente del mar del chinchorro *San Antonio y las Animas*, surto en La Caldera, 12 June 1673, AGI, Escribanía 336B, pieza 8, fol. 71v.

³⁰ Declaración de don Diego Pantoja, Nicoya, 21 May 1674, AGI, Escribanía 336B, pieza 1, fol. 3 [5]; Noticia de barcos, Nicoya, 13 June 1674, AGI, Escribanía 336B, pieza 1, fol. 4v [6v].

³¹ Declaración de José de Flores, Cartago, 7 April 1693, ANCR, P.C. 843, fols. 36v-37.

³² Declaración de don Antonio Barahona, Cartago, 30 June 1703, AGI, G. 359, pieza 1, fol. 13.

³³ Declaración de Juan José Mendoza, San Pedro, Jurisdicción de Esparza, 16 May 1726, ANCR, C.C. 5819, fol. 7v.

³⁴ Poder del Cap. don Francisco Javier de Oreamuno para recaudar a un esclavo, Cartago, 16 Oct. 1725, AGCA, A2 (6), exp. 193, leg. 12, fol. 4v.

³⁵ For an example, see Martín de Villalobos petitiona a la Audiencia una licencia para pescar perlas, presentada en Guatemala, 1691, AGCA, A1.14 (6), exp. 62, leg. 3.

³⁶ Capital de bienes de doña Agueda Pérez del Muro en ocasión de su casamiento al Cap. don Francisco Garrido Berlanga, Cartago, 16 April 1722, ANCR, P.C. 895, fol. 48.

³⁷ Fragmento de un informe (sin firma), Guatemala, ca. 1721, AGCA, A1.12.13 (6), exp. 52, leg. 3; Miguel Acosta Saignes, *Vida de los esclavos negros en Venezuela* (1967; rpt., Havana: Casa de las Américas, 1978), 108-109.

³⁸ Carta dote de Francisco de Arlegui y Almendares a favor de Juana Echavarría, Cartago, 13 Aug. 1683, ANCR, P.C. 836, fols. 111-114. Granted, dowries habitually overestimated the value of the goods and enslaved people included.

³⁹ Petición del Cap. Antonio Mora Díaz de Silva, presentada en Guatemala, 26 Nov. 1703, AGCA, A1.24 (6), exp. 10217, leg. 1573, fol. [495v].

⁴⁰ Venta de esclavo, Cartago, 30 March 1716, ANCR, P.C. 878, fols. 53v-55v; Petición del Teniente Francisco Gutiérrez, presentada en Cartago, 20 June 1733, ANCR, C.C. 4292, fol. 5v.

⁴¹ Inventario de los bienes del Cap. Pedro de Ibáñez, Cartago, 8 March 1703, ANCR, M.C.C. 849, fols. 9-10; Memoria de los bienes del Cap. Pedro de Ibáñez, Cartago, 16 May 1702, ANCR, M.C.C. 849, fols. 14-14v, quoting fol. 14v; Inventario de los bienes del Cap. Pedro de Ibáñez, Cartago, 17 April 1703, ANCR, M.C.C. 849, fols. 17-17v; Enriqueta Vila Vilar, *Hispanoamérica y el comercio de esclavos* (Seville: Escuela de Estudios Hispano-Americanos, 1977), 235.

⁴² Pedro Santos de la Madriz a Francisco de Cossío Mier, Panama, 21 Sept. 1703, ANCR, P.C. 861, fols. 1-1v.

⁴³ Declaración del Cap. Francisco de los Reyes, Cartago, 9 July 1703, AGI, G. 359, pieza 5, fol. 3v; Razón del Teniente General don Diego de Barros de quien hubo su esclavo Francisco Congo, Cartago, 30 May 1720, ANCR, C. 265, fol. 2v; Reconocimiento del despacho presentado por don Diego de Barros, Cartago, 3 June 1720, ANCR, C. 265, fol. 3.

⁴⁴ Declaración del Cap. Francisco de los Reyes, Cartago, 9 July 1703, AGI, G. 359, pieza 5, fols. 5v, 15v; Declaración de Juan Antonio Bogarín, Cartago, 21 Aug. 1703, AGI, G. 359, pieza 5, fol. 38; Razón del Teniente General don Diego de Barros de quien hubo su esclavo Francisco Congo, Cartago, 30 May 1720, ANCR, C. 265, fol. 2v; Reconocimiento del despacho presentado por don Diego de Barros, Cartago, 3 June 1720, ANCR, C. 265, fol. 3.

⁴⁵ Parecer del Fiscal de S.M. sobre la conveniencia o no de permitir la introducción de minas y cabo verdes a las Indias, Madrid, 12 March 1708, AGI, Indiferente 2783; Razón del Teniente General don Diego de Barros de quien hubo su esclavo Francisco Congo, Cartago, 30 May 1720, ANCR, C. 265, fol. 2v; Reconocimiento del despacho presentado por don Diego de Barros, Cartago, 3 June 1720, ANCR, C. 265, fol. 3; Declaración de José Congo, negro esclavo de doña Agueda Pérez de Muro, Matina, 5 Dec. 1719, ANCR, C. 251, fol. 3; Inventario de las haciendas de cacao de doña Agueda Pérez de Muro, Cartago, 10 April 1722, ANCR, P.C. 895, fol. 96. My thanks to Dr. Rina Cáceres for suggesting that Mateo might have been Muslim.

⁴⁶ Filippo Pigafetta, *A Report of the Kingdom of Congo and of the Surrounding Countries: Drawn out of the Writings and Discourses of the Portuguese Duarte Lopes by Filippo Pigafetta*, trans. Margarite Hutchinson (1881; rpt., London: Frank Cass 1970; first published, Rome, 1591), 18-19; Girolamo Merolla da Sorrento, *A Voyage to Congo and Several Other Countries, Chiefly in Southern Africk*, in *A General Collection of the Best and Most Interesting Voyages and Travels*, ed. John Pinkerton (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, 1814; first published, Naples, 1692), 16:298; Adriano Parreira, *Economia e sociedade em Angola na epoca da rainha Jinga (século XVII)* (Lisbon: Editorial Estampa, 1990), 83; Hilton, *Kingdom of Kongo*, 7.

⁴⁷ Robin Law, "Between the Sea and the Lagoons: The Interaction of Maritime and Inland Navigation on the Pre-Colonial Slave Coast," *Cahiers d'Études Africaines* 29, no. 2 (no. 114) (1989), 212-213.

⁴⁸ For another example, see ANCR, Sección Complementario Colonial (hereafter, C.C.) 4111 (1705), which records the flight of two *arará* (Slave Coast) men in one of Caamaño's *canoas*.

⁴⁹ Razón del Teniente General don Diego de Barros de quien hubo su esclavo Francisco Congo, Cartago, 30 May 1720, ANCR, C. 265, fol. 2v; Reconocimiento del despacho presentado por don Diego de Barros, Cartago, 3 June 1720, ANCR, C. 265, fol. 3; Declaración de José Congo, negro esclavo de doña Agueda Pérez de Muro, Matina, 5 Dec. 1719, ANCR, C. 251, fol. 3v.

⁵⁰ Elizabeth Fonseca Corrales, Patricia Alvarenga Venutolo, and Juan Carlos Solórzano Fonseca, *Costa Rica en el siglo XVIII* (San José: Editorial de la Universidad de Costa Rica, 2001), 274-278.

⁵¹ Declaración del Cap. Francisco de los Reyes, Cartago, 9 July 1703, AGI, G. 359, pieza 5, fol. 15v.

⁵² John Cockburn, *A Journey over Land, from the Gulf of Honduras to the Great South-Sea* (London: C. Rivington, 1735), 172-173.

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- ⁵³ Carta de libertad, Cartago, 22 Aug. 1665, ANCR, P.C. 817, fols. 46-46v, 48-48v; Declaración de Bernardo de Rojas, Alcalde del Pueblo de Aserrí, Cartago, 13 Aug. 1719, AGI, Escribanía 353B, fol. 182.
- ⁵⁴ Noticia de barcos, Nicoya, 13 June 1674, AGI, Escribanía 336B, pieza 1, fol. 4v [6v]; Declaración de Manuel de los Santos, Nicoya, 7 June 1674, AGI, Escribanía 336B, pieza 1, fol. 6v [8v].
- ⁵⁵ Declaración de Blas Hernández, Nicoya, 25 May 1674, AGI, Escribanía 336B, pieza 2, fol. 11; Declaración de Diego Murillo, mulato libre, Nicoya, 28 May 1674, AGI, Escribanía 336B, pieza 2, fol. 13v; Declaración de Blas Espinosa, indio ladino, Nicoya, 5 July 1674, Escribanía 336B, pieza 2, fol. 31v (quoted); Declaración de Pascual Corzo, negro libre, Nicoya, 29 May 1674, AGI, Escribanía 336B, pieza 2, fol. 15.
- ⁵⁶ Declaración de Pascual Corzo, negro libre, Nicoya, 29 May 1674, AGI, Escribanía 336B, pieza 2, fol. 14v.
- ⁵⁷ Declaración de Baltasar de Mora, natural de Boruca y Regidor que ha sido en él, Cartago, 28 Feb. 1719, ANCR, C. 280, fol. 107v.
- ⁵⁸ Petición del Ayudante Miguel de Céspedes en nombre de Juan José de Mendoza, presentada en Cartago, 2 Oct. 1726, ANCR, C.C. 5819, fol. 30v.
- ⁵⁹ Notificación en la casa del reo ausente, Cartago, 16 May 1719, ANCR, G. 177. fol. 3v.
- ⁶⁰ María Calvo da poder para aprehender a su esclavo Ramón Durán, Cartago, 27 Nov. 1720, ANCR, P.C. 891, fols. 26-27; Carta de libertad, Cartago, 10 April 1725, ANCR, P.C. 898, fols. 21-22v.
- ⁶¹ Quirós, *Era de la encomienda*, 144.
- ⁶² Quirós Vargas, “Aspectos socioeconómicos,” 170.
- ⁶³ Quirós Vargas, “Aspectos socioeconómicos,” 130, 153-154, 165; Elizabeth Fonseca, *Costa Rica colonial: La tierra y el hombre*, 3rd ed (San José: Editorial Universitaria Centroamericana, 1986), 97.
- ⁶⁴ Juan Carlos Solórzano Fonseca, *El comercio exterior de Costa Rica durante la primera mitad del siglo XVIII*, Avances de Investigación, no. 45 (San José: Centro de Investigaciones Históricas, Universidad de Costa Rica, 1988), 9-10.
- ⁶⁵ Declaración de don Diego Pantoja, Nicoya, 21 May 1674, AGI, Escribanía 336B, pieza 1, fol. 3 [5]; Declaración de Manuel de los Santos, Nicoya, 7 June 1674, AGI, Escribanía 336B, pieza 1, fol. 6 [8].
- ⁶⁶ Philip S. MacLeod, “On the Edge of Empire: Costa Rica in the Colonial Era (1561-1800)” (Ph.D. diss., Tulane University, 1999), 200-201.
- ⁶⁷ Quirós Vargas de Quesada, “Aspectos socioeconómicos,” 165; MacLeod, “On the Edge of Empire,” 366.
- ⁶⁸ On one page, Fonseca Corrales et al. state that slaves were important to the North Pacific livestock economy; on another, they state that, “Las haciendas ganaderas del Pacífico Norte eran atendidas por mandadores y trabajadores asaliariados. . . .” *Costa Rica en el siglo XVIII*, 51, 66 (quoted).
- ⁶⁹ Inventario de bienes del difunto Alf. José Maroto, Cartago, 2 Aug. 1683, ANCR, M.C.C. 927, fol. 6v; Inventario del hatto del difunto Alf. José Maroto, Sin lugar, 4 Aug. 1683, ANCR, M.C.C. 927, fols. 9-9v.

⁷⁰ Prisión y embargo de bienes del Sarg. Mr. don Juan Francisco de Ibarra, Cartago, 24 April 1719, ANCR, C. 211, fol. 87v.

⁷¹ Lowell Gudmundson, "La ganadería guanacasteca en la época de la independencia: La hacienda de San Juan de Dios, 1815-1835," in *Estratificación socio-racial y económica de Costa Rica, 1700-1850* (San José: EUNED, 1978), 97.

⁷² Testamento del Sarg. Mr. don Francisco de Ocampo Golfín, Cartago, 3 Oct. 1714, ANCR, P.C. 874, fol. 21v, 22; Declaración de Miguel, negro de casta congo, Valle de Barva, 12 Nov. 1719, ANCR, G. 188, fol. 5v.

⁷³ Quirós Vargas, "Aspectos socioeconómicos," 156.

⁷⁴ J. Vansina and T. Obenga, "The Kongo Kingdom and Its Neighbours," in *General History of Africa V: Africa from the Sixteenth to the Eighteenth Century*, ed. B. A. Ogot (Paris: UNESCO, 1992), 5:547.

⁷⁵ Descargos dados por el apoderado del General don José Lacayo de Briones, Sebastián Vicente Alvarez, presentados en Cartago, 29 Aug. 1719, AGI, Escribanía 353B, fol. 330v.

⁷⁶ Confesión de Juan José de Mendoza, Sitio de San Miguel, Valle de Bagaces, 24 Jan. 1721, ANCR, C.C. 5840, fol. 10v.

⁷⁷ For cases of free mulatos accused of livestock theft, see Criminal contra Juan José de Mendoza, mulato libre, C.C. 5819 (1726); Causa criminal contra Ramón Alvarado, mulato libre, por abigeato, ANCR, C.C. 5824 (1727).

⁷⁸ Quirós Vargas, "Aspectos socioeconómicos," 156-159, 193.

⁷⁹ Fonseca, *Costa Rica colonial*, 266; Quirós Vargas, "Aspectos socioeconómicos," 164.

⁸⁰ Carlos Meléndez Chaverri, "Formas en la tenencia de la tierra durante el régimen colonial," in Meléndez, *Costa Rica: Tierra y poblamiento en la colonia* (San José: Editorial Costa Rica, 1977), 76-77.

⁸¹ "Informe de don Diego de la Haya Fernández sobre la Provincia de Costa Rica," in Luz Alba Chacón de Umaña, *Don Diego de la Haya Fernández* (San José: Editorial Costa Rica, 1967), 171, 173; Solórzano Fonseca, "El comercio exterior," 10.

⁸² Auto del Cap. y Sarg. Mr. don Lope Prego de Montaos Sarmiento, Justicia Mayor en Nicoya, Nicoya, 13 Nov. 1654, AGI, Contratación 669, no. 20, ramo 2, fol. 11; Declaración de Alonso Bernal, negro esclavo criollo, Sitio y Estancia de los Ahogados, Jurisdicción de Nicoya, 17 Nov. 1654, AGI, Contratación 669, no. 20, ramo 2, fol. 13v.

⁸³ Ira Berlin, "Time, Space, and the Evolution of Afro-American Society on British Mainland North America," *American Historical Review* 85 (1980): 44-78; idem, *Many Thousands Gone: The First Two Centuries of Slavery in North America* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press, Harvard University Press, 1998), 55.

⁸⁴ Testamento del Alf. Tomás de Chaves, Cartago, 15 Sept. 1708, ANCR, P.C. 865, fol. 82.

⁸⁵ "Los vecinos del valle de Bagases pretenden formar una villa, ciudad ó lugar en dicho valle, con independencia de la provincia de Costa Rica. - Año de 1688," in Fernández, ed., *Colección de documentos*, 8:485-486. This document notes race and legal condition very inconsistently, perhaps in itself an indication

that *de facto* relationship to the landowner prevailed over race or legal condition. The census notes individuals described only as “negra” or “mulata,” without reference to legal condition, living on the properties of Spaniards as well as persons clearly identified as “negro libre,” “mulata esclava,” etc. In no case were people of African descent noted as heads of household unless specifically described as free.

⁸⁶ “Los vecinos del valle de Bagases,” 8:487.

⁸⁷ “Los vecinos del valle de Bagases,” 8:489.

⁸⁸ Testamento del Cap. de Caballos Corazas don Martín de Garayar, Cartago, 16 Sept. 1744, ANCR, Protocolos Coloniales de Heredia (hereafter, P.H.) 589, fol. 41.

⁸⁹ Declaración de María, Bagaces, 25 Sept. 1720, ANCR, C. 267, fols. 50-5v; Declaración de Petrona, Bagaces, 25 Sept. 1720, ANCR, C. 267, fol. 51; ACMSJ, Libros de Bautizos de Esparza, 1706-1819/FHL, VAULT INTL Film 1223548.

⁹⁰ Testamento del Presbítero Lic. don Juan de Guevara de la Cerda, Cartago, 7 March 1716, ANCR, P.C. 878, fols. 47, 47v; Venta de esclavos, Cartago, 7 Oct. 1710, ANCR, P.C. 868, fols. 130v-133v.

⁹¹ Testamento del Cap. don Miguel de Alvarado y de su mujer doña María de Torres, Cartago, 31 March 1737, ANCR, P.C. 916, fol. 85v.

⁹² Testamento del Cap. don Martín de Garayar, Cartago, 12 March 1739, ANCR, P.H. 586, fols. 7v.-10v.; fol. 10.

⁹³ ACMSJ, Libros de Bautizos de Esparza, 1706-1819/FHL, VAULT INTL film 1223548, item 6.

⁹⁴ Carlos Meléndez, *Conquistadores y pobladores: Orígenes de los costarricenses* (San José: EUNED, 1982), 79.

⁹⁵ Expediente de confirmación de encomienda de Costa Rica a Diego del Cubillo, Guatemala, 5 July 1624, AGI, G. 98, no. 36.

⁹⁶ Quirós, *Era de la encomienda*, 176.

⁹⁷ Luis Sibaja, “La encomienda de tributo en el Valle Central de Costa Rica (1569-1683),” *Cuadernos Centroamericanos de Ciencias Sociales* (Universidad de Costa Rica) no. 11 (1984), 73; Partida del bautizo de Cristóbal, hijo de María, negra esclava de doña Mayor de Benavides, Cartago, 15 Aug. 1616, Partida del bautizo de Sebastián, hijo de Lucía, negra esclava de doña Mayor de Benavides, Cartago, 16 Aug. 1616, Partida del bautizo de Salvador, hijo de Mariana, negra esclava de doña Mayor de Benavides, Cartago, 29 April [1618], Partida del bautizo de Juana, hija de Isabel, negra esclava de doña Mayor de Benavides, Cartago, 3 May 1625, all in ACMSJ, Libros de Bautizos de Cartago, no. 1/FHL, VAULT INTL film 1219701, Item 1; Partida de las confirmaciones de Pedro y de Isabel, hija de otra Isabel, negros esclavos de doña Mayor de Benavides, Cartago, 26 May 1625, ACMSJ, Confirmaciones de Cartago, Libro 1 (1609-1625)/FHL, VAULT INTL Film 1219727, Item 2.

⁹⁸ For a recent assertion that Spaniards in the Central Valley owned slaves mainly for purposes of prestige, see Elizabeth Fonseca Corrales, Patricia Alvarenga Venutolo, and Juan Carlos Solórzano Fonseca, *Costa Rica en el siglo XVIII* (San José: Editorial de la Universidad de Costa Rica, 2001), 51.

⁹⁹ Razón dada en el Juzgado Eclesiástico por el Lic. don Manuel González Coronel, Cartago, 21 May 1720, ANCR, C. 241, fol. 12.

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- ¹⁰⁰ Concierto de trabajo, Cartago, 6 June 1607, ANCR, P.C. 801, fol. 39v; Partida del bautizo de Francisco, hijo de Alonso y de María, indios del servicio de Ambrosio de Brenes, Cartago, 9 July 1607, Partida del bautizo de Cristóbal, hijo de Alonso y de María, indios del servicio de Ambrosio de Brenes, Cartago, 29 July 1609, Partida del bautizo de Tomás, hijo de Jerónimo y de Ana, indios del servicio de Ambrosio de Brenes, Cartago, 20 June 1608, Partida del bautizo de Rafael, hijo de Diego y de Ana, indios del servicio de Ambrosio de Brenes, Cartago, 28 June 1608, Partida del bautizo de María, hija de Sebastián, negro de Ambrosio de Brenes, y de María, india, Cartago, 24 Aug. 1637, Partida del bautizo de Diego, hijo de Lucía, negra de Ambrosio de Brenes, Cartago, 30 July 1639, all in ACMSJ, Libros de Bautizos de Cartago, no. 1/FHL, VAULT INTL film 1219701, Item 1; Venta de esclavo, Cartago, 28 April 1612, ANCR, G. 34, fols. 16-18; Venta de esclavo, Cartago, 7 Dec. 1613, ANCR, G. 34, fols. 73-74.
- ¹⁰¹ Testamento de doña Francisca de Chinchilla, Cartago, 21 July 1671, ANCR, P.C. 818, fols. 36-38v.
- ¹⁰² Testamento del Cap. don Fernando de Salazar, Cartago, 14 Jan. 1678, ANCR, P.C. 825, fols. 64-69.
- ¹⁰³ Testamento de Francisco Fernández y doña Eugenia Rodríguez, Cartago, 8 Aug. 1700, ANCR, P.C. 854, fols. 14-18v.
- ¹⁰⁴ Testamento cerrado de doña Sebastiana Calvo, Cartago, 4 Nov. 1700, ANCR, P.C. 853, fols. 56, 58v.
- ¹⁰⁵ Carta del Cap. Antonio de Soto y Barahona y de Felipe de Meza al Gobernador, Matina, ANCR, C. 325, fols. 16v-17.
- ¹⁰⁶ MacLeod, "On the Edge of Empire," 45.
- ¹⁰⁷ Declaración de Simón Moreno, Cartago, 6 May 1613, AGCA, A1.29, exp. 21494, leg. 2610, fol. 5.
- ¹⁰⁸ MacLeod, "On the Edge of Empire," 43-44; Elizet Payne Iglesias, *Origen y crisis de una colonia marginal: El siglo XVII en Costa Rica* (San José: EUNED, 1995), 15.
- ¹⁰⁹ Elizabeth Fonseca Corrales, Patricia Alvarenga Venutolo, and Juan Carlos Solórzano Fonseca, *Costa Rica en el siglo XVIII* (San José: Editorial de la Universidad de Costa Rica, 2001), 120.
- ¹¹⁰ Testamento cerrado de María de Alfaro, Cartago, 29 Dec. 1629, ANCR, P.C. 802, fols. 44-50v.
- ¹¹¹ Testamento cerrado de don Juan de Senabria Maldonado, Cartago, 11 July 1657, ANCR, P.C. 815, fols. 6-8v; Testamento de María Sagaste, Cartago, 19 Nov. 1690, ANCR, P.C. 839, fol. 115.
- ¹¹² Testamento de Lorenzo de Arburola y Ribarén, Cartago, 28 June 1715, ANCR, P.C. 877, fol. 119.
- ¹¹³ Rina del Carmen Cáceres Gómez, "Negros, mulatos, esclavos y libertos en la Costa Rica del siglo XVII" (Doctoral thesis, Universidad Iberoamericana, Mexico, 1996), 69.
- ¹¹⁴ Law, *Slave Coast*, 64; Georges Balandier, *Daily Life in the Kingdom of the Kongo from the 16th to the 18th Century*, trans. Helen Weaver (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1968), 95-96; Nwokeji, "African Conceptions of Gender," 54-56; Eugenia Ibarra Rojas, *Las sociedades cacicales de Costa Rica* (San José: Editorial de la Universidad de Costa Rica, 1990), 78.
- ¹¹⁵ Declaración de Sebastián de Quirós, Cartago, 27 May 1720, ANCR, C. 232, fol. 21.

¹¹⁶ Hilary McD. Beckles, *Natural Rebels: A Social History of Enslaved Black Women in Barbados* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1989), 29-43; Michael Craton, *Searching for the Invisible Man: Slaves and Plantation Life in Jamaica* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1979), 168-169; Bernard Moitt, *Women and Slavery in the French Antilles, 1635-1848* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2001), chapter 3.

¹¹⁷ Declaración de Esteban de Quirós, Cartago, 18 Nov. 1693, ANCR, C.C. 3927, fol. 6.

¹¹⁸ Rina Cáceres, "Costa Rica, en la frontera del comercio de esclavos africanos," *Reflexiones* (Facultad de Ciencias Sociales, Universidad de Costa Rica), no. 65 (December 1997), 11.

¹¹⁹ Testamento de doña Inés Pereira, Cartago, 12 Sept. 1659, ANCR, P.C. 817 bis, fol. 278; Cáceres, *Negros, mulatos*, 73.

¹²⁰ Testamento de Fernando López de Ascuña, Esparza, 5 Feb. 1682, ANCR, Mortuales de Puntarenas, 2473, fol. 6; Carta de libertad, Esparza, 12 July 1675, ANCR, C.C. 3916, fol. 5 (quoted).

¹²¹ Carta de libertad, Cartago, 15 Dec. ANCR, P.H. 580, fol. 89v.

¹²² Carta de libertad, Cartago, 4 Aug. 1746, ANCR, P.C. 934, fol. 59; Razón de dos esclavas y los hijos que tienen, Cartago, 5 Oct. 1720, ANCR, G. 185, fol. 45.

¹²³ Petición de doña Juana Núñez de Trupira, presentada en Cartago, 1 July 1692, ANCR, P.C. 842, fol. 63.

¹²⁴ Petición de María Calvo al Gobernador, presentada en Cartago, 1 July 1720, ANCR, C. 242, fol. 13v.

¹²⁵ Donación de esclava, Cartago, 6 June 1735, ANCR, P.C. 913, fol. 47.

¹²⁶ Carta de libertad, Cartago, 5 June 1736, ANCR, P.C. 915, fol. 26v.

¹²⁷ Carta de libertad, Cartago, 2 Feb. 1677, ANCR, P.C. 825, fols. 7-8v.

¹²⁸ Real cédula, 1672, ANCR, Cartago 1078, fol. 179. I could not consult this document, which was being restored in 1999-2000.

¹²⁹ Carta de libertad, Cartago, 9 Oct. 1703, ANCR, P.C. 857, fols. 61v-63.

¹³⁰ Carta de libertad, Cartago, 11 Dec. 1739, ANCR, P.C. 921, fols. 90v.-91v.

¹³¹ Carta de libertad, Valle de Barva, 9 July 1741, ANCR, P.H. 587, fol. 16v.

¹³² Memoria y testamento de Clara Calvo, mulata libre, esclavo que fue de Miguel Calvo, Cartago, 2 Feb. 1716, ANCR, P.C. 878, fols. 36-37v.

¹³³ For a Mexican example of the potentially enormous profits that artisan slaves could generate, see Patrick J. Carroll, *Blacks in Colonial Veracruz: Race, Ethnicity, and Regional Development* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1991), 66.

¹³⁴ Declaración de Jacob, esclavo del Cap. Antonio de Barahona, Cartago, 2 Oct. 1719, ANCR, C. 233, fols. 5v-6; Petición del Cap. Antonio de Soto y Barahona, presentada en Cartago, 20 May 1720, ANCR, C. 233, fol. 34 (quoted); Declaración de Nicolás Briones, Puebla de los Angeles, Cartago, 22 May 1720, ANCR, fol. 35v.

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- ¹³⁵ Venta de esclavo, Cartago, 8 March 1737, ANCR, P.C. 916, fols. 41-45.
- ¹³⁶ Carta dote, Cartago, 1660, ANCR, P.C. 815, fol. 67; Concierto de aprendiz, Cartago, 9 Aug. 1660, ANCR, P.C. 815, fol. 195.
- ¹³⁷ Venta de esclavo, Cartago, 22 Oct. 1665, ANCR, P.C. 817, fols. 69-69v; Concierto de aprendiz, Cartago, 18 Dec. 1666, ANCR, P.C. 817 bis, fol. 418; Carta dote del Cap. don Juan Plaza a favor de doña Juana de Salazar, Cartago, 10 May 1687, ANCR, P.C. 836, fol. 86; Partida del matrimonio de Domingo de Alvarado, negro esclavo de Juana de Salazar, y de María Clemencia, india de Güicasí, Cartago, 4 May 1682, ACMSJ, Libros de Matrimonios de Cartago, no. 1/FHL, VAULT INTL film 1219727, Item 6.
- ¹³⁸ Poder para vender a un esclavo, Cartago, 15 May 1711, P.C. 870, fol. 22v.
- ¹³⁹ *Indice de los protocolos de Cartago*, 1:456, 2:235; Carta dote, Cartago, 13 Aug. 1699, ANCR, M.C.C. 797, fol. 29.
- ¹⁴⁰ *Indice de los protocolos de Cartago*, 1:77; Partida del bautizo de Juana, india catecumena, Cartago, 1640, Partida del bautizo de Lucrecia, negra esclava, Cartago, 1 Dec. 1640, both in ACMSJ, Libros de Bautizos de Cartago, no. 1/FHL, VAULT INTL film 1219701, Item 1.
- ¹⁴¹ *Indice de los protocolos de Cartago*, 1:87; Partida del bautizo de Nicolás, hijo legítimo de Juan Calvo y de Isabel, mestiza, su mujer, Cartago, 24 Aug. 1638, ACMSJ, Libros de Bautizos de Cartago, no. 1/FHL, VAULT INTL film 1219701, item 1.
- ¹⁴² Partida del matrimonio de Domingo de Alvarado, negro esclavo de Juana de Salazar, y de María Clemencia, india de Güicasí, Cartago, 4 May 1682, ACMSJ, Libros de Matrimonios de Cartago, no. 1/FHL, VAULT INTL film 1219727, item 6.
- ¹⁴³ Concierto de aprendiz, Cartago, 29 March 1689, ANCR, P.C. 838, fols. 53-54v. María Elizet Payne Iglesias mistakenly included Manuel among enslaved apprentices in “Actividades artesanales, siglo XVII (Maestros, oficiales y aprendices),” in *Costa Rica colonial*, ed. Luis F. Sibaja (San José: Ediciones Guayacán, 1989), 48.
- ¹⁴⁴ Declaración de Francisco Caamaño, negro libre, Cartago, 12 February 1705, ANCR, C.C. 3978, fol. 4; Concierto de aprendiz, Cartago, 30 April 1718, ANCR, P.C. 885, fols. 83v-84v.
- ¹⁴⁵ Concierto de aprendiz, Cartago, 4 Aug. 1730, ANCR, P.C. 904, fols. 44-45; Georges Balandier, *Daily Life in the Kingdom of the Kongo from the 16th to the 18th Century*, trans. Helen Weaver (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1968), 107-110.
- ¹⁴⁶ MacLeod, *Spanish Central America*, 274.
- ¹⁴⁷ Relación geográfica de Costa Rica por el Gobernador don Juan Gemmir y Lleontart, Cartago, 20 May 1741, AGCA, A1.17, exp. 5016, leg. 210, fols. 252, 253v.
- ¹⁴⁸ Raveneau de Lussan, *A Journey of a Voyage into the South Seas in 1684 and the Following Years with the Filibusters*, trans. and ed. Marguerite Eyer Wilbur (Cleveland, Ohio: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1930), 187. For other references to sugar in the North Pacific, see Testamento de Antonio Jiménez Maldonado, Cartago, 13 Jan. 1716, ANCR, P.C. 878, fol. 22; Testamento del Alf. José de Quesada, Cartago, 12 April 1723, ANCR, P.S.J. 412, fol. 17v.

¹⁴⁹ Richard S. Dunn, *Sugar and Slaves: The Rise of the Planter Class in the English West Indies, 1624-1713* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1972), 191.

¹⁵⁰ Stuart B. Schwartz, *Sugar Plantations in the Formation of Brazilian Society: Bahia, 1550-1835* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 23.

¹⁵¹ Padrón y memoria de todos los vecinos y moradores de Cartago, Cartago, 27 March 1691, ANCR, C. 83, fol. 3v.

¹⁵² María Elizet Payne Iglesias, "Organización productiva y explotación indígena en el área central de Costa Rica, 1580-1700" (Licenciatura thesis, Universidad de Costa Rica, 1988), 67.

¹⁵³ Avalúo de los bienes de la hacienda de campo que fue del Sarg. Mr. Blas González Coronel, Valle de Aserri, 8 March 1719, ACMSJ, SFA, SDE, Caja 20, fols. 160v-162; Petición de Cristóbal Cascante, presentada en Cartago, 6 March 1719, ACMSJ, SFA, SDE, Caja 20, fol. 166 (quoted).

¹⁵⁴ Declaración del Cap. Diego de San Martín y Soto, Cartago, 20 Dec. 1702, ANCR, C.C. 3972, fol. 8.

¹⁵⁵ Alejandro de la Fuente García, "Los ingenios de azúcar en La Habana del siglo XVII (1640-1700): Estructura y mano de obra," *Revista de Historia Económica* (Spain) 9, no. 1 (winter 1991), 50.

¹⁵⁶ Venta de esclavo, Cartago, 8 Aug. 1692, ANCR, P.C. 842, fols. 96v-98v; Testamento de don Sebastián de Sandoval Golfín, Cartago, 9 March 1697, ANCR, P.C. 849, fol. 27.

¹⁵⁷ Venta de esclavo, trapiche, y otros bienes, Cartago, 8 July 1719, ANCR, P.C. 887, fols. 44v-47v.

¹⁵⁸ Michael Tadman, "The Demographic Cost of Sugar: Debates on Slave Societies and Natural Increase in the Americas," *American Historical Review* 105, no. 5 (2000).

¹⁵⁹ De la Fuente García, "Los ingenios de azúcar," 36.

¹⁶⁰ Avalúo de los bienes de la hacienda de campo que fue del Sarg. Mr. Blas González Coronel, ACMSJ, SFA, SDE, Valle de Aserri, 8 March 1719, Caja 20, fols. 161, 162. The assessors estimated González Coronel's cane field at "a little more than half a *suerte*"; the standard measure of a "*suerte*" of sugar cane corresponded to 100 *varas* (roughly one hundred yards), in which were planted 100 rows of cane. See Fonseca, "Cultivo de la caña," 88.

¹⁶¹ Fonseca Corrales et al., *Costa Rica en el siglo XVIII*, 122.

¹⁶² Fonseca, "Cultivo de la caña," 83.

¹⁶³ Fonseca, "Cultivo de la caña," 84-85.

¹⁶⁴ Testamento de don Sebastián de Sandoval Golfín, Cartago, 9 March 1697, ANCR, P.C. 849, fols. 27-27v; Poder para aprehender a un esclavo, Panamá, 4 Sept. 1691, ANCR, P.C. 842, fols. 99-102; Venta de esclavo, Cartago, 8 Aug. 1692, ANCR, P.C. 842, fols. 96v-98v.

¹⁶⁵ Testamento del Sarg. Mr. don Francisco de Ocampo Golfín, Cartago, 3 Oct. 1714, ANCR, P.C. 874, fols. 21v-22; Testamento del Sarg. Mr. don Francisco de Ocampo Golfín, Cartago, 1 Feb. 1719, ANCR, P.C. 889, fols. 7-7v; Testamento del Lic. don Francisco de Ocampo Golfín, Cartago, ANCR, 25 June 1734, P.C. 912, fols. 26-27v.

¹⁶⁶ Rina del Carmen Cáceres Gómez, “Negros, mulatos, esclavos y libertos en la Costa Rica del siglo XVII” (Doctoral thesis, Universidad Iberoamericana, Mexico City, 1996), 103; Fonseca, “Cultivo de la caña,” 82.

¹⁶⁷ The standard measure of a “suerte” of sugar cane corresponded to 100 *varas* (roughly one hundred yards), in which were planted 100 rows of cane. See Fonseca, “Cultivo de la caña,” 88.

¹⁶⁸ Testamento de doña Nicolasa Guerrero, Ujarrás, 19 September 1717, ANCR, P.C. 882, fols. 94-97v; Fonseca, “Cultivo de la caña,” 88; Russell Lohse, “Africans in a Colony of Creoles: The Yoruba in Colonial Costa Rica,” in Toyin Falola and Matt D. Childs, eds., *The Yoruba Diaspora in the Americas*, (Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press, forthcoming in 2004).

¹⁶⁹ Declaración del Cap. don Diego de Ibarra, Cartago, 26 April 1685, AGN, Inquisición, vol. 650, exp. 3, fol. 575v.

¹⁷⁰ Fianza de esclavo, Cartago, 12 Aug. 1721, ANCR, P.C. 894, fols. 15v-16v; ANCR, C. 240, fols. 48v-49.

¹⁷¹ Declaración de Agustín de la Riva, Cartago, 16 March 1725, ANCR, C.C. 4148, fol. 4v.

¹⁷² Poder para reclamar a un esclavo, Cartago, 9 April 1708, ANCR, P.C. 865, fol. 48v; Poder para aprehender a un esclavo, Matina, 10 Dec. 1714, ANCR, P.C. 873, fols. 178-178v.

¹⁷³ Auto del gobernador, Cartago, 18 May 1720, ANCR, C. 229, fol. 1; Declaración de Antonio de Bonilla, Cartago, 18 May 1720, C.C. 5837, fol. 86v.

¹⁷⁴ Petición del Cap. Antonio Mora Díaz de Silva, presentada en Guatemala, 26 Nov. 1703, AGCA, A1.24 (6), exp. 10217, leg. 1573, fol. [496v].

¹⁷⁵ See Tatiana Lobo Wiehoff, “José Cubero,” in Lobo Wiehoff and Meléndez Obando, *Negros y blancos*, 47-52; Franklin José Alvarado Quesada, ed., “Documentos relativos a la población afroamericana,” *Revista de Historia* (Costa Rica), no. 39 (1999), 266-271.

¹⁷⁶ Petición de José Cubero, presentada en Cartago, 1 Aug. 1749, ACMSJ, SFA, SDE, Caja 18, fols. 455-456v. Paul Lokken recounts an example of a Santiago de Guatemala slave who similarly “traded far and wide on behalf of his master.” Lokken, “From Black to *Ladino*: People of African Descent, Mestizaje, and Racial Hierarchy in Rural Colonial Guatemala, 1600-1730” (Ph.D. diss., University of Florida, 2000), 232.

¹⁷⁷ Petición de José Cubero, presentada en Cartago, 1 Aug. 1749, ACMSJ, SFA, SDE, Caja 18, fols. 456v-458.

¹⁷⁸ Petición de José Cubero, presentada en Cartago, 1 Aug. 1749, ACMSJ, SFA, SDE, Caja 18, fol. 458.

¹⁷⁹ Declaración del Sarg. Antonio de Umaña, Cartago, 10 April 1744, ANCR, C.C. 6219, fol. 5; Declaración de Felipe de Umaña, Cartago, 10 April 1744, ANCR, C.C. 6219, fols. 5v-6.

¹⁸⁰ Memoria de Antonio Barela, Cartago, 20 Jan. 1684, ANCR, P.C. 831, fol. 5v.

¹⁸¹ Testamento del Alf. don Fernando Núñez Bejarano, Cartago, 23 March 1682, ANCR, P.C. 831, fol. 4.

¹⁸² Memoria testamental de don Alonso de Sandoval, Cartago, 10 May 1692, ANCR, C.C. 3927, fol. 10v.

¹⁸³ Testamento de María Calvo, Cartago, 6 Sept. 1762, ANCR, P.C. 950, fol. 43 (quoted); Petición de don Félix Joaquín Meneses, albacea de María Calvo, presentada en Cartago, 7 June 1774, ANCR, M.C.C. 648,

fol. 27; Testamento del Cap. José Nicolás de la Haya, Cartago, 2 May 1747, ANCR, M.C.C. 841, fol. 5; Gudmundson, "Mecanismos de movilidad," 26.

¹⁸⁴ Certificación y agregación de vienes al inventario, Cartago, 17 June 1774, ANCR, M.C.C. 648, fol. 30v.

¹⁸⁵ Avalúo de bienes del difunto Cayetano de Chavarría, Puebla de los Pardos, 16 June 1774, ANCR, M.C.C. 648, fol. 34v; Auto, Cartago, 16 June 1774, M.C.C. 648, fol. 34.

¹⁸⁶ Ira Berlin and Philip D. Morgan, "Introduction: Labor and the Shaping of Slave Life in the Americas," in *Cultivation and Culture: Labor and the Shaping of Slave Life in the Americas*, eds. Berlin and Morgan (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1993), 2.

¹⁸⁷ Declaración de Antonio, negro esclavo de Juan Delgado, Valle de Aserri, 15 Sept. 1721, ANCR, C.C. 4112, fols. 9-9v.

¹⁸⁸ Confesión de Felipe de Oviedo, mulato esclavo de doña Francisca Jiménez, Cartago, 1 Feb. 1716, ANCR, C.C. 145, fols. 9-9v.; Petición del Alf. Diego Coque Hurtado, presentada en Cartago, 5 Feb. 1716, ANCR, C.C. 145, fol. 13; Declaración de Andrés Arias, Valle de Barva, 11 Feb. 1716, ANCR, C.C. 145, fol. 23; Declaración de Felipe Arias, Valle de Barva, 11 Feb. 1716, ANCR, C.C. 145, fol. 24 (quoted).

¹⁸⁹ Declaración de Miguel, negro de casta mina, León, Nic., 5 May 1722, ANCR, G. 198, fols. 3-3v.

¹⁹⁰ Eduardo Pérez Valle, ed., *Nicaragua en los cronistas de Indias: Oviedo* (Managua: Fondo de Promoción Cultural, Banco de América, 1976), 67, 68, 436; see also Eugenia Ibarra Rojas, *Las sociedades cacicales de Costa Rica* (San José: Editorial de la Universidad de Costa Rica, 1990), 84; Linda A. Newson, *Indian Survival in Colonial Nicaragua* (Norman, Okla.: Oklahoma University Press, 1987), 52-53.

¹⁹¹ Ricardo Fernández Guardia, ed., *Cartas de relación de Juan Vázquez de Coronado, conquistador de Costa Rica* (San José: Academia de Geografía e Historia de Costa Rica, 1964), 25, 18.

¹⁹² María Eugenia Bozzoli de Wille, "Continuidad del simbolismo del cacao, del siglo XVI al siglo XX," in *V.º Centenario de Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo: Memoria del congreso sobre el mundo centroamericano de su tiempo (24-25-26 y 27 de agosto, 1978)* (Nicoya, Costa Rica: Comisión Nacional Organizadora, 1980), 229-240.

¹⁹³ León Fernández, ed., *Colección de documentos para la historia de Costa Rica*, 5:157.

¹⁹⁴ MacLeod, "On the Edge of Empire," 206-207; MacLeod, *Spanish Central America: A Socioeconomic History 1520-1720* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973), chs. 4-5; Robert J. Ferry, "Encomienda, African Slavery, and Agriculture in Seventeenth-Century Caracas," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 61, no. 4 (Nov. 1981), 611.

¹⁹⁵ "Fundación de la ciudad de Santiago de Talamanca. – Año de 1605," in Fernández, ed., *Colección de documentos*, 5:116-130.

¹⁹⁶ Fernández, ed., *Colección de documentos*, 2:124, 125, 130, 151; *ibid.*, 5:126-127, 128; MacLeod, "On the Edge of Empire," 204.

¹⁹⁷ Fernández, ed., *Colección de documentos*, 2:129, 131, 139, 151.

¹⁹⁸ Fernández, ed., *Colección de documentos*, 5:220, 332.

¹⁹⁹ MacLeod, *Spanish Central America*, 242, 244.

²⁰⁰ Ferry, "Encomienda, African Slavery, and Agriculture," 625-627.

²⁰¹ Stephanie Ellen Smallwood, "Salt-Water Slaves: African Enslavement, Migration, and Settlement in the Anglo-Atlantic World, 1660-1700" (Ph.D. diss., Duke University, 1999), 257-259; Richard Blome, *A Description of the Island of Jamaica . . .* (London: T. Milbourn, 1672), 9 (quoted).

²⁰² Testimonio de cómo el puerto de Suerre está navegable mediante lo hecho por el Gobernador don Juan Fernández Salinas y Cerda, 30 June 1651, AGCA, A1 (6), exp. 1177, leg. 83; Fernández, ed., *Colección de documentos*, 5:334, 337-338; MacLeod, "On the Edge of Empire," 211.

²⁰³ Auto de la Real Audiencia, Guatemala, 17 Oct. 1669, ACMSJ, Sección Cofradías, Serie Cartago, Libro 5, fols. [34-37]; Thiel, *Datos cronológicos*, 44.

²⁰⁴ Gobernador Andrés Arias Maldonado al Secretario del Consejo de Indias, 8 July 1659, AGI, G. 39, ramo 42, no. 193; Gobernador Andrés Arias Maldonado al Secretario del Consejo de Indias, Cartago, 8 July 1659, AGI, G. 39, ramo 42, no. 193; MacLeod, "On the Edge of Empire," 213. For the identification of the site as Puerto Limón, see Ricardo Fernández Guardia, *Reseña histórica de Talamanca* (San José: Imprenta Alsina, 1917), 73.

²⁰⁵ "Fragmentos del juicio de residencia del gobernador don Rodrigo Arias Maldonado. - Año de 1665," *Revista de los Archivos Nacionales* (Costa Rica) 1, nos. 11-12 (Sept.-Oct. 1937), 649-650; Quirós, *Era de la encomienda*, 225-226; MacLeod, "On the Edge of Empire," 214-217; Fernández Guardia, *Reseña histórica*, 74-81.

²⁰⁶ Testimonio de cómo el puerto de Suerre está navegable mediante lo hecho por el Gobernador don Juan Fernández Salinas y Cerda, 30 June 1651, AGCA, A1 (6), exp. 1177, leg. 83; Fernández, ed., *Colección de documentos*, 5:334, 337-338; MacLeod, "On the Edge of Empire," 211.

²⁰⁷ Auto de la Real Audiencia, Guatemala, 17 Oct. 1669, ACMSJ, Sección Cofradías, Serie Cartago, Libro 5, fols. [34-37]; Thiel, *Datos cronológicos*, 44.

²⁰⁸ Gobernador Andrés Arias Maldonado al Secretario del Consejo de Indias, 8 July 1659, AGI, G. 39, ramo 42, no. 193; Gobernador Andrés Arias Maldonado al Secretario del Consejo de Indias, Cartago, 8 July 1659, AGI, G. 39, ramo 42, no. 193; MacLeod, "On the Edge of Empire," 213. For the identification of the site as Puerto Limón, see Ricardo Fernández Guardia, *Reseña histórica de Talamanca* (San José: Imprenta Alsina, 1917), 73.

²⁰⁹ "Fragmentos del juicio de residencia del gobernador don Rodrigo Arias Maldonado. - Año de 1665," *Revista de los Archivos Nacionales* (Costa Rica) 1, nos. 11-12 (Sept.-Oct. 1937), 649-650; Quirós, *Era de la encomienda*, 225-226; MacLeod, "On the Edge of Empire," 214-217; Fernández Guardia, *Reseña histórica*, 74-81.

²¹⁰ Philip S. McLeod, "Auge y estancamiento de la producción de cacao en Costa Rica, 1660-1695." *Anuario de Estudios Centroamericanos* 22, no. 1 (1996): 83-107; idem, "On the Edge of Empire: Costa Rica in the Colonial Era (1561-1800)," Ph.D. diss., Tulane University, 1999), chapter 5.

²¹¹ Declaración del Teniente Tomás Macedo Ponce de León, Cartago, Oct. 1691, ANCR, C. 85. fol. [1v.]; Declaración del Ayudante Francisco Barquero, Cartago, 20 Oct. 1691, ANCR, C. 85. fol. [9]; Fernández, ed., *Colección de documentos*, 8: 276, 277.

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- ²¹² Carta del gobernador interin don Rodrigo Arias Maldonado al rey, Cartago, 1663, ANCR, C.C. 5175, fols. 1-1v.; "Fragmentos del juicio de residencia del gobernador don Rodrigo Arias Maldonado. - Año de 1665," *Revista de los Archivos Nacionales* (Costa Rica) 1, nos. 11-12 (Sept.-Oct. 1937), 649-650.
- ²¹³ Gobernador interin don Rodrigo Arias Maldonado al rey, Cartago, 1663, ANCR, C.C. 5175, fols. 1-1v, quoting 1v; "Fragmentos del juicio de residencia del gobernador don Rodrigo Arias Maldonado. - Año de 1665," *Revista de los Archivos Nacionales* (Costa Rica) 1, nos. 11-12 (Sept.-Oct. 1937), 649-650.
- ²¹⁴ Fernández, ed., *Colección de documentos*, 5:379, 407.
- ²¹⁵ Fernández, ed., *Colección de documentos*, 8:281-283.
- ²¹⁶ "Real cédula que aprueba las ordenanzas dictadas en favor de los indios por el Dr. don Benito de Noboa Salgado, oidor de la Audiencia de Guatemala y visitador de la provincia de Costa Rica. - Año de 1676," *Revista de los Archivos Nacionales* (Costa Rica) 1, nos. 3-4 (Jan.-Feb. 1937), 147, 148 (quote).
- ²¹⁷ MacLeod, "On the Edge of Empire," 231 (quoted); Fernández, ed., *Colección de documentos*, 5:353, 8:376.
- ²¹⁸ Poder otorgado por los dueños de las haciendas de cacao del valle y costa de Matina, Barbilla, y Reventazón al Cap. Jerónimo Valerino, Cartago, 22 May 1691, ANCR, P.C. 841, fol. 59.
- ²¹⁹ Carta de Fr. Sebastián de las Alas al Provincial Fr. Diego Macotela, San Bartolomé de Ycaruru, 10 Dec. 1689, AGI, G. 297, fols. 13v-14; printed in Fernández, ed., *Colección de documentos*, 8:503.
- ²²⁰ Carta de Fr. Sebastián de las Alas al Provincial Fr. Diego Macotela, San Bartolomé de Ycaruru, 10 Dec. 1689, AGI, G. 297, fol. 14v; printed in Fernández, ed., *Colección de documentos*, 8:502-503.
- ²²¹ Carta de Fr. Sebastián de las Alas al Provincial Fr. Diego Macotela, Ujarrás, 18 Jan. 1690, AGI, G. 297, fols. 16 (quoted), 16v; printed in Fernández, ed., *Colección de documentos*, 8:505; Carta de los M.R.P. Fr. Melchor López y Fr. Antonio Margil al Guardián Fr. Sebastián de las Alas, Cururú, 25 Oct. 1690, AGI, G. 297, fol. 36.
- ²²² Carta de Fr. Diego Macotela a la Audiencia de Guatemala, León, Nic., 20 Feb. 1690, AGI, G. 297, fol. 9v; printed in Fernández, ed., *Colección de documentos*, 9:7-8.
- ²²³ Auto del Presidente de la Audiencia de Guatemala don Jacinto de Barrios Leal, Guatemala, 4 April 1690, AGI, G. 297, fols. 12v-13v, quoting fol. 13.
- ²²⁴ Petición de Manuel de Farías en nombre del Cap. de Caballos Corazas don Antonio Pacheco, vecino de a la Real Audiencia, presentada Guatemala, 16 Jan. 1691, AGI, G. 297, fols. 18v-20, quoting fol. 19.
- ²²⁵ Respuesta del Sr. Fiscal Dr. don Pedro de Barreda, Guatemala, 3 March 1691, AGI, G. 297, fols. 20v-21v; Despacho de la Real Audiencia, Guatemala, 9 March 1691, AGI, G. 297, fols. 21v-22.
- ²²⁶ Respuesta del fiscal, 12 May 1691, AGI, G. 297, fol. 28; Despacho de la Real Audiencia, Guatemala, 22 May 1691, AGI, G. 297, fol. 30.
- ²²⁷ Declaración del Teniente Tomás Macedo Ponce de León, Cartago, Oct. 1691, ANCR, C. 85, fols. [2] (quoted), [2v].
- ²²⁸ Fernández, ed., *Colección de documentos*, 5:371, 436.

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- ²²⁹ MacLeod, *Spanish Central America*, 98 (quoted); Eugenia Ibarra Rojas, *Las manchas del jaguar: Huellas indígenas en la historia de Costa Rica (Valle Central siglos XVI-XIX)* (San José: Editorial de la Universidad de Costa Rica, 1999), 74.
- ²³⁰ Fernández, ed., *Colección de documentos*, 5:379, 386.
- ²³¹ “Fragmentos del testimonio de los autos hechos con motivo de la invasión de la provincia de Costa Rica por los piratas Mansfelt y Henry Morgan en 1666,” *Revista de los Archivos Nacionales* (Costa Rica) 1, nos. 1-2 (Nov.-Dec. 1936), 7, 14, 15-16.
- ²³² Auto del Cap. y Sarg. Mr. Alonso de Bonilla, Alcalde Ordinario Más Antiguo de Cartago, 13 March 1670, M.C.C. 921. fol. 1; Declaración de Salvador de Avila, Cartago, 9 May 1670, ANCR, M.C.C. 921, fol. 4.
- ²³³ See Russell R. Menard and Stuart B. Schwartz, “Why African Slavery? Labor Force Transitions in Brazil, Mexico, and the Carolina Lowcountry,” in *Slavery in the Americas*, ed. Wolfgang Binder (Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 1993), 89-114.
- ²³⁴ Relación geográfica de Costa Rica por el Gobernador don Juan Gemmir y Leonart, 21 May 1741, AGCA, A1.17, exp. 5016, leg. 210, fols. 252v-253; printed in Fernández, ed., *Colección de documentos*, 9:370.
- ²³⁵ Visita apostólica de los pueblos de Nicaragua y Costa Rica hecha por el Illmo. Sr. don Pedro Morel de Santa Cruz (manuscript copy), 8 Sept. 1752, University of Texas, Benson Latin American Collection, Joaquín García Icazbalceta Collection, vol. 20, no. 7, fol. 57v.
- ²³⁶ Kenneth F. Kiple, *The Caribbean Slave: A Biological History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 14-21. For possible malaria in colonial Costa Rica, see Tulio Von Bülow, “Apuntes para la historia de la medicina en Costa Rica durante la colonia,” *Revista de los Archivos Nacionales* (Costa Rica) 9 (1945), 137, 471. David P. Adams provides an interesting thesis in “Malaria, Labor, and Population Distribution in Costa Rica: A Biohistorical Perspective,” *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 27, no. 1 (1996): 75-85. Unfortunately, his article contains numerous substantial errors on Costa Rican history.
- ²³⁷ Visita apostólica de los pueblos de Nicaragua y Costa Rica hecha por el Illmo. Sr. don Pedro Morel de Santa Cruz (manuscript copy), 8 Sept. 1752, University of Texas, Benson Latin American Collection, Joaquín García Icazbalceta Collection, vol. 20, no. 7, fol. 58.
- ²³⁸ Petición del Cap. Felipe de Meza, presentada en Cartago, 18 Oct. 1720, ANCR, C. 275, fol. 9; Auto de sentencia, Cartago, 22 Nov. 1720, ANCR, C. 275, fol. 15.
- ²³⁹ Reconocimiento y avalúo de tres negros, Cartago, 7 Nov. 1719, ANCR, G. 187, fol. 14; Tasación de Francisco Mina, Cartago, 7 June 1720, ANCR, C. 258, fol. 13v.
- ²⁴⁰ Ibarra Rojas, *Sociedades cacicales*, 89; Paula Palmer, “What Happen”: *A Folk-History of Costa Rica’s Talamanca Coast*, rev. ed. (San José: Publications in English, 1993), 54.
- ²⁴¹ Petición del Cap. don Bernardo Marín, Cartago, 17 Aug. 1719, AGI, Escribanía 353B, fol. 634v (quoted); Razón de dos esclavos dada por el Cap. Juan Sancho de Castañeda, Cartago, 13 Nov. 1719, ANCR, C. 231, fol. 61; Fe de muerte de un negrito bozal, Cartago, 5 April 1702, ANCR, C. 112, fol. 8v; Declaración del Cap. Vicente Andrés Polo, Cartago, 11 Oct. 1703, AGI, Guatemala 359, pieza 3, fol. 14v.

²⁴² “Fragmentos del testimonio de los autos hechos con motivo de la invasión de la provincia de Costa Rica por los piratas Mansfelt y Henry Morgan en 1666,” *Revista de los Archivos Nacionales* (Costa Rica) 1, nos. 1-2 (Nov.-Dec. 1936): 5-33; Declaración del Cap. Lucas Cervantes, Cartago, 22 Oct. 1691, ANCR, C. 85, fol. [14v].

²⁴³ Germán Romero Vargas, *Las sociedades del atlántico de Nicaragua en los siglos XVII y XVIII* (Managua: Fondo de Promoción Cultural-BANIC, 1995), 80.

²⁴⁴ Declaración del Cap. don José Pérez de Muro, Cartago, 12 Nov. 1705, AGI, Escribanía 351B, pieza 1, fol. 165v.

²⁴⁵ Declaración de Diego Sánchez, pardo libre, Cartago, 8 May 1724, ANCR, C. 303, fols. 68v-69v; Memoria de los prisioneros libres y esclavos, Matina, 1 May 1724, ANCR, C. 303, fols. 66-66v.

²⁴⁶ Declaración de Diego Sánchez, pardo libre, Cartago, 8 May 1724, ANCR, . 303, fols. 68v-69.

²⁴⁷ Declaración del Cap. Blas González Coronel, Cartago, 15 Oct. 1703, AGI, G. 359, pieza 3, fol. 17v.

²⁴⁸ Declaración del Cap. Francisco Pérez del Cote, Cartago, 17 Oct. 1703, AGI, G. 359, pieza 3, fol. 28.

²⁴⁹ Petición de Nicolás Granajo en nombre del Cap. don Antonio Mora Díaz de Silva, presentada en Guatemala, 26 Nov. 1703, AGCA, A1.24 (6), exp. 10217, leg. 1573, fol. [498].

²⁵⁰ Petición del Cap. don José de Mier Cevallos, presentada en Cartago, 11 July 1720, ANCR, C. 266, fol. 31v.

²⁵¹ Auto del Gobernador don Diego de la Haya Fernández, Pacaca, 20 Feb. 1720, AGCA, A2 (6), exp. 3, leg. 1, fol. 25.

²⁵² Junta de Guerra, Cartago, 10 Feb. 1724, AGI, G. 455, fol. 534.

²⁵³ “Informe de don Diego sobre su gobierno,” in Luz Alba Chacón de Umaña, *Don Diego de la Haya Fernández* (San José: Editorial Costa Rica, 1967), 229; Petición de doña Gertrudis de Hinojosa, presentada 31 Oct. 1735, ANCR, C.C. 4303. fol. [4]; *Viaje del gobernador Carrandi Menán al valle de Matina. Año 1738* (San José: Imprenta Nacional, 1850), 15.

²⁵⁴ Petición del Cap. Juan José de Cuende, Procurador Síndico de presentada en Cartago, 14 March 1736, ANCR, Municipal 772, fol. 94v; printed in Fernández, ed., *Colección de documentos*, 9: 209.

²⁵⁵ Philip S. MacLeod, “On the Edge of Empire: Costa Rica in the Colonial Era (1561-1800)” (Ph.D. diss., Tulane University, 1999), 206, 208; Oscar R. Aguilar Bulgarelli and Irene Alfaro Aguilar, *La esclavitud negra en Costa Rica: Origen de la oligarquía económica y política nacional* (San José: Progreso Editora, 1997), 177; Elizabeth Fonseca, *Costa Rica colonial: La tierra y el hombre*, 3rd ed. (San José: Editorial Universitaria Centroamericana (EDUCA), 1986), 228-230.

²⁵⁶ Petición de descargos del Cap. Luis Gutiérrez, Cartago, 20 Aug. 1719, AGI, Escribanía 353B, fol. 628.

²⁵⁷ Auto del gobernador, Cartago, 1 July 1704, ANCR, C. 127, fols. 1-1v.

²⁵⁸ Auto de buen gobierno, Matina, 8 Aug. 1716, ANCR, C. 205, fols. 1-1v.

²⁵⁹ Petición del Cap. don Pedro de Moya, presentada en Cartago, 21 April 1719, ANCR, C. 269, fol. 2.

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- ²⁶⁰ Bando de buen gobierno, Cartago, 26 March 1737, C. 389, fols. 5v-6.
- ²⁶¹ Gudmundson, "Mecanismos de movilidad," 23.
- ²⁶² Declaración de Miguel Solano, Cartago, 27 Aug. 1733, ANCR, C.C. 4292, fol. 20; Ferry, "Encomienda, African Slavery, and Agriculture," 631.
- ²⁶³ Notificación a Efigenia Brenes y su respuesta, Puebla de los Pardos, 7 May 1752, ANCR, M.C.C. 629, fol. 20.
- ²⁶⁴ Venta de esclavo, Cartago, 25 Oct. 1706, ANCR, P.C. 862, fols. 73v-75v.
- ²⁶⁵ Petición del negro esclavo Juan Román al Teniente de Gobernador don José Mier de Cevallos, presentada en Cartago, 27 July 1733, ANCR, C.C. 4292, fol. 1v.
- ²⁶⁶ Rina Cáceres, *Negros, mulatos, esclavos y libertos en la Costa Rica del siglo XVII* (Mexico: Instituto Panamericano de Geografía e Historia, 2000), 40.
- ²⁶⁷ Number of sales in the 1670s, 25; in the 1680s, 36; in the 1690s, 73; in the 1700s, 108. Calculations based on ANCR, P.C. 815 (1654-1655, 1664-1667) through P.C. 853 (1697, 1699, 1700, 1701); *Índice de los protocolos de* vols. 1-3.
- ²⁶⁸ Carlos Rosés Alvarado, "El ciclo del cacao en la economía colonial de Costa Rica, 1650-1794," *Mesoamérica* 3, no. 4 (Dec. 1982), 235.
- ²⁶⁹ "... Few cacaoteros used slaves on their haciendas, given their expense and scarcity in this peripheral society." MacLeod, "On the Edge of Empire," 255.
- ²⁷⁰ "Real cédula que aprueba las ordenanzas dictadas en favor de los indios por el Dr. don Benito de Noboa Salgado, oidor de la Audiencia de Guatemala y visitador de la provincia de Costa Rica. - Año de 1676," *Revista de los Archivos Nacionales* (Costa Rica) 1, nos. 3-4 (Jan.-Feb. 1937), 147, 148; Carta de Fr. Sebastián de las Alas al Provincial Fr. Diego Macotela, San Bartolomé de Ycaruru, 10 Dec. 1689, AGI, G. 297, fols. 13v-14; printed in Fernández, ed., *Colección de documentos*, 8:503.
- ²⁷¹ Petición de Manuel de Farinas, apoderado de don Antonio Salmón Pacheco, presentada en Guatemala, 16 Jan. 1691, AGI, G. 297, fol. 19v.
- ²⁷² Padrón y memoria de todos los vecinos y moradores de Cartago, 27 March 1691, ANCR, C. 83, fols. 4v, 3-7; Eugenio Piñero, "Accounting Practices in a Colonial Economy: A Case Study of Cacao Haciendas in Venezuela, 1700-1770," *Colonial Latin American Historical Review* 1, no. 1 (fall 1992), 41 (quoted).
- ²⁷³ Carta dote, Cartago, 10 Sept. 1689, ANCR, P.C. 838, fol. 110; Poder para vender a un esclavo, Cartago, 20 Aug. 1693, ANCR, P.C. 843, fols. 65-67.
- ²⁷⁴ Venta de esclavo, Cartago, 25 Oct. 1706, P.C. 862, fols. 73v.-75v.
- ²⁷⁵ Venta de esclavos, Cartago, 21 June 1718, ANCR, P.C. 885, fols. 109-113v, quoting fol. 110v.
- ²⁷⁶ Petición de Diego de Angulo, negro esclavo, presentado en Cartago, 12 Sept. 1729, ANCR, C.C. 4259, fol. [2].

²⁷⁷ Auto del Gobernador don Diego de la Haya Fernández, Esparza, 28 April 1720, AGCA, A2 (6), exp. 3, leg. 1, fol. 39v.

²⁷⁸ Carta de libertad, Cartago, 2 March 1733, ANCR, P.C. 910, fol. 8.

²⁷⁹ Declaración de Miguel Solano, Cartago, 27 Aug. 1733, ANCR, C.C. 4292, fols. 20 (quoted), 21v. See also Declaración de Juan de Salazar, Cartago, 7 May 1715, ANCR, C.C. 4036, fol. 4v. These documents establish that rice was grown widely in Matina in the early eighteenth century, not introduced to Costa Rica in the late nineteenth, as Fonseca Corrales et al. wrote in *Costa Rica en el siglo XVIII*, 146.

²⁸⁰ Walter Hawthorne, "Nourishing a Stateless Society during the Slave Trade: The Rise of Balanta Paddy-Rice Production in Guinea-Bissau," *Journal of African History* 42, no. 1 (March 2001): 1-24; T. Bentley Duncan, *The Atlantic Islands: Madeira, the Azores, and Cabo Verde in the Seventeenth Century* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1972), 167, 168; Judith Ann Carney, "Landscapes of Technology Transfer: Rice Cultivation and African Continuities," *Technology and Culture* 37, no. 1 (1996): 5-35; idem, *Black Rice: The African Origins of Rice Cultivation in the Americas* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2001); Peter H. Wood, *Black Majority: Negroes in Colonial South Carolina from 1670 through the Stono Rebellion* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1974), 58-62; Daniel C. *Rice and Slaves: Ethnicity and the Slave Trade in Colonial South Carolina* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1981); Charles W. Joyner, *Down by the Riverside: A South Carolina Slave Community* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1984), 13-14.

²⁸¹ Petición del Sarg. Cristóbal de Chavarría, presentada en Cartago, 1 Aug. 1719, ANCR, C.C. 4075, fol. 10v; Memoria de los gastos presentada por el Alf. Juan Bautista Retana, presentada en Cartago, 28 June 1710, ANCR, C. 187, fol. 205.

²⁸² Don Diego de Barros y Carbajal al Ayudante Matías Masís en Cartago, 16 July 1721, ANCR, M.C.C. 941, fol. 16.

²⁸³ For a reference to turtling during the colonial period, see Declaración del Cap. Juan Cayetano Jiménez, Cartago, 18 March 1717, ANCR, C. 211, fol. 13v.

²⁸⁴ Declaración del Cap. de Caballos don Antonio de la Vega Cabral, Cartago, 28 June 1703, AGI, G. 359, pieza 1, fol. 10v.

²⁸⁵ Quirós, *Era de la encomienda*, 181; Autos del remate de los tributos vacos, para formar el fondo de gastos de guerra (Cartago, 1687), AGCA, A1 (6), exp. 1041, leg. 68; Tasación de los tributos de Garabito, Ujarrás, y Curridabat (1693), ANCR, G. 118 bis; Balandier, *Daily Life in the Kingdom*, 129, 156.

²⁸⁶ Inventario de las haciendas de cacao de doña Agueda Pérez de Muro, Matina, 20 April 1722, ANCR, P.C. 895. fols. 94, 94v.

²⁸⁷ Inventario de las haciendas de cacao de doña Agueda Pérez de Muro, Barbilla, 22 April 1722, ANCR, P.C. 895, fol. 95v.

²⁸⁸ Avalúo de las haciendas de cacao de doña Agueda Pérez de Muro, Cartago, 12 May 1722, ANCR, P.C. 895, fol. 100v; Razón dada por el negro Nicolás, esclavo de doña Agueda Pérez de Muro, 4 May 1722, ANCR, P.C. 895, fol. 99.

²⁸⁹ Inventario de las haciendas de cacao de doña Agueda Pérez de Muro, Matina, 23 April 1723, ANCR, P.C. 895. fols. 95v-96; Petición del Cap. don Francisco Garrido, presentada 2 May 1722, ANCR, P.C. 895, fol. 97v.

²⁹⁰ Razón dada por el negro Nicolás, esclavo de doña Agueda Pérez de Muro, Cartago, 4 May 1722, ANCR, P.C. 895, fol. 99, 99v.

²⁹¹ Razón dada por el negro Nicolás, esclavo de doña Agueda Pérez de Muro, Cartago, 4 May 1722, ANCR, P.C. 895, fol. 99, 99v.

²⁹² Carlos Rosés Alvarado, "El ciclo del cacao en la economía colonial de Costa Rica, 1650-1794," *Mesoamérica* 3, no. 4 (Dec. 1982), 260-261; Oscar Aguilar Bulgarelli and Irene Alfaro Aguilar, *La esclavitud negra en Costa Rica: Origen de la oligarquía económica y política nacional* (San José: Progreso Editora, 1997), 176-177.

²⁹³ For a reference to replanting, see Declaración de José Guerrero, pardo libre, Cartago, 4 Sept. 1733, ANCR, C.C. 4292, fol. 29.

²⁹⁴ Thus, cacao groves were referred to as "plantained" (*plataneadas*). See Arrendamiento de cacaotal, 15 June 1715, ANCR, P.C. 877, fol. 103; Arrendamiento de cacaotal, Cartago, 9 May 1731, ANCR, P.C. 905, fol. 1; Arrendamiento de cacaotal, Cartago, 31 Oct. 1730, ANCR, P.C. 905, fol. 17v.

²⁹⁵ Declaración del Cap. Rafael Fajardo, Cartago, 10 Oct. 1703, AGI, Guatemala 359, pieza 3, fol. 9; Testimonio de arrendamiento de cacaotal, Cartago, 17 April 1724, ANCR, M.C.C. 700, fol. 12; Carta de libertad, Cartago, 3 Oct. 1733, ANCR, P.C. 910, fol. 72.

²⁹⁶ See Prisión y embargo de bienes del Cap. Felipe de Meza, Matina, 15 May 1721, ANCR, C. 211, fol. 135; Testamento del Teniente don Pedro Jiménez de Mondragón, Cartago, 30 July 1732, ANCR, P.C. 908, fol. 38v; Inventario de los bienes del Sarg. Mr. don Juan Francisco de Ibarra, Matina, 23 March 1737, ANCR, M.C.C. 850, fol. 18; Inventario de los bienes de Agustín de la Riva, mulato libre, Matina, 4 March 1740, ANCR, M.C.C. 1165, fol. 4v; Inventario de los bienes de Francisco Guerrero, Matina, 30 Dec. 1743, ANCR, M.C.C. 795, fol. 6v.

²⁹⁷ Carta de libertad, Barva, 19 Nov. 1693, ANCR, P.C. 844, fol. 2.

²⁹⁸ See ANCR, C. 304, Información tomada a los arrieros que vienen de Matina (1724; 8 fols).

²⁹⁹ Troy S. Floyd claimed that the Dutch of St. Eustasius and Curaçao were "eager to buy cacao" from Matina, but provided no sources for his assertion. Floyd, *The Anglo-Spanish Struggle for Mosquitia* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1967), 59.

³⁰⁰ Auto del Gobernador don Diego de la Haya Fernández, Cartago, 2 Nov. 1722, ANCR, C. 283, fol. 9v; Declaración de Nicolás, negro de casta mina, Cartago, 25 April 1723, ANCR, C. 283, fol. 11.

³⁰¹ Declaración del Ayudante Lázaro de Robles, mulato, Cartago, 6 Oct. 1703, AGI, G. 359, pieza 1, fol. 43.

³⁰² Testamento del Cap. Francisco de Cabrera, Cartago, 5 Feb. 1696, ANCR, P.C. 848, fol. 5v; Cáceres, "Negros, mulatos," 210.

³⁰³ Cuaderno de registro de las recuas procedentes de Matina que llegan a Cartago, Cartago, ANCR, C. 285 (1724).

³⁰⁴ Declaración de Juan Damián, negro esclavo, Cartago, 14 Aug. 1717, ANCR, C.C. 4111, fols. 3-5; Declaración de Gregorio Caamaño, negro esclavo, Cartago, 14 Aug. 1717, ANCR, C.C. 4111, fols. 5-8;

Confesión de Juan Damián, esclavo que fue de doña Agueda Pérez de Muro, Cartago, 11 May 1719, ANCR, G. 181, fol. 2v.

³⁰⁵ Auto de culpa y cargo contra Juan Damián, esclavo que fue de doña Agueda Pérez de Muro, Cartago, 7 May 1719, ANCR, G. 181, fol. 1.

³⁰⁶ Descargos dados por el Cap. José Fernández de Castellanos en nombre del esclavo Juan Damián, presentada en Cartago, Cartago, 8 June 1719, ANCR, G. 181, fols. 5-6, quoting fol. 5; Petición del defensor presentada en Cartago, Cartago, 12 July 1719, ANCR, G. 191, fol. 9.

³⁰⁷ Confesión de Antonio García, esclavo del Cap. Manuel de García Argueta, Cartago, 2 Dec. 1721, ANCR, C.C. 5805, fol. 2v.

³⁰⁸ Auto de sentencia, Cartago, 21 June 1721, ANCR, C.C. 5805, fol. 7.

³⁰⁹ Auto de buen gobierno, Cartago, 14 July 1708, ANCR, C. 166, fol. 5. For references to Spanish *mandadores*, see Declaración del Alf. Jacinto de Rivera, Cartago, 31 May 1720, ANCR, C. 237, fol. 14v; Declaración de Pedro Mina, negro esclavo del Sarg. Mr. don Juan Francisco de Ibarra y Calvo, Cartago, 6 June 1720, ANCR, C. 237, fol. 14v.

³¹⁰ Declaración de José Congo, mandador de haciendas, Matina, 23 April 1722, ANCR, P.C. 895, fol. 95v; *Indice de los protocolos de* 2:231-232; Declaración de Gregorio Caamaño, negro esclavo y mandador de haciendas, ANCR, C.C. 4111, fol. 6; Declaración de Antonio de la Riva, negro de casta mina y mandador de haciendas, Valle de Matina, 22 March 1737, ANCR, M.C.C. 850, fol. 17; Sarg. Mr. Don Juan Francisco de Ibarra y Calvo hace inventario de los bienes que aportó a su matrimonio con Doña Catalina González del Camino, Cartago, 21 June 1718, ANCR, P.C. 886, fol. 12v.

³¹¹ Declaración de Juan Damián, negro esclavo y ladino de doña Agueda Pérez de Muro, Cartago, 14 Aug. 1717, ANCR, C.C. 4111, fol. 3v; Confesión de Antonio Mina, negro esclavo del Cap. Manuel García de Argueta, Cartago, 2 Dec. 1721, ANCR, C.C. 5805, fol. 2.

³¹² Petición de Juan Masís, presentada en Cartago, Cartago, 14 Aug. 1719, ANCR, C.C. 4075, fol. 18v; Venta de esclavo, Cartago, 27 March 1722, ANCR, P.C. 895, fols. 32v-35.

³¹³ Carta del negro esclavo José de Moya a su amo el Cap. don Pedro de Moya, Matina, 16 Aug. 1720, ANCR, C. 237, fols. 25-25v.

³¹⁴ Carta de libertad, Cartago, 18 Sept. 1737, ANCR, P.C. 916, fol. 166v.

³¹⁵ Carta de libertad, Cartago, 15 June 1745, ANCR, P.C. 933, fol. 55.

³¹⁶ Carta de libertad, Cartago, 2 March 1733, ANCR, P.C. 910, fols. 7v-9.

³¹⁷ “Se dispone que el cacao corra en la provincia de Costa Rica para la compra de víveres por no haber en ella moneda de plata. Año de 1709,” *Revista de los Archivos Nacionales* (Costa Rica) 1, nos. 9-10 (July-Aug. 1937): 600-603.

³¹⁸ Declaración de Antonio Masís, negro libre, Cartago, 26 Aug. 1733, ANCR, C.C. 4292, fol. 16.

³¹⁹ Petición de Juan Masís, presentada en Cartago, Cartago, 14 Aug. 1719, ANCR, C.C. 4075, fol. 18v; Petición del Sarg. Cristóbal de Chavarría, presentada en Cartago, Cartago, 1 Aug. 1719, ANCR, C.C. 4075, fol. 10v.

³²⁰ Auto del Gobernador don Diego de la Haya Fernández, Cartago, 8 Jan. 1720, ANCR, C.C. 160, fols. 1-1v.

³²¹ Petición del Sarg. Mr. don Antonio de Utrera, vecino y Procurador General de Cartago, presentada en Cartago, 25 April 1727, ANCR, C. 323, fols. 1-1v.

³²² Confesión de Juan Damián, esclavo que fue de doña Agueda Pérez de Muro, Cartago, 11 May 1719, ANCR, G. 181, fols. 2v, 3 (quoted); Declaración de Pablo José de Alvarado, indio ladino, Cartago, 18 Oct. 1703, AGI, G. 359, pieza 1, fols. 65v, 67v; Declaración de Francisco Alejandro Bonilla, Cartago, 19 April 1717, ANCR, C. 211, fol. 42v.

³²³ Testamento de María de Zárate, Cartago, 21 Oct. 1705, ANCR, P.C. 861, fols. 59v-60.

³²⁴ Testamento de Isidro de Acosta, Cartago, 26 June (July?) 1717, ANCR, P.C. 882, fol. 82v.

³²⁵ Petición de Diego de Casasola [Diego García], negro esclavo, presentada en Cartago, Cartago, 20 Nov. 1724, ANCR, C.C. 4148, fol. 1; Declaración de Antonio Masís, Cartago, 21 Nov. 1724, ANCR, C.C. 4148, fol. 2v (quoted); Declaración del Teniente Jacinto de Campos, Cartago, 23 Nov. 1724, ANCR, C.C. 4148, fol. 4.

³²⁶ Declaración de Tomás Rivera, mulato libre, Cartago, 24 Nov. 1724, ANCR, C.C. 4148, fol. 4v.

³²⁷ Petición de Juan Román, negro esclavo, presentada en Cartago, Cartago, 27 July 1733, ANCR, C.C. 4292, fol. 1v.

³²⁸ E.g., Arrendamiento de cacaotal, Cartago, 23 March 1718, ANCR, P.C. 885, fols. 41v-43v; Arrendamiento de cacaotal, Cartago, 8 Oct. 1731, P.C. 906, fols. 119v.-120v; Arrendamiento de cacaotal, Cartago, 29 May 1733, ANCR, P.C. 910, fols. 40v-42.

³²⁹ Stuart B. Schwartz, "Sugar Plantation Labor and Slave Life," in *Slaves, Peasants, and Rebels: Reconsidering Brazilian Slavery* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1992), 54.

³³⁰ Sidney W. Mintz, "Was the Plantation Slave a Proletarian?" *Review 2*, no. 1 (1978), 91-95; O. Nigel Bolland, "Proto-Proletarians? Slaves Wages in the Americas," in *From Chattel Slaves to Wage Slaves: The Dynamics of Labour Bargaining in the Americas*, ed. Mary Turner (London: James Currey, 1995), 126.

³³¹ Gente y armas del Valle de Matina: Negros esclavos asistentes, Matina, 23 Jan. 1719, ANCR, C.C. 3797, fol. 26v-27.

CHAPTER 6

SLAVE RESISTANCE

Slaves everywhere resisted slavery. If slavery in Costa Rica did not seem the “undeclared war between blacks and whites” that it did elsewhere, slavemasters nonetheless held no illusions about the struggle beneath a deceptively tranquil surface.¹ Although they often claimed to have raised slaves as if they were their own daughters and sons, they worried that slaves did not return such affection.² Doña Agueda Pérez de Muro admitted that slaves and their masters were “natural enemies.”³ Captain Manuel García de Argueta alleged in 1720 that slaves were “hidden enemies of their masters, as has been experienced many times in this province; most of them are opposed to the Spaniards because of [their] oppression and subjection.”⁴

But slave resistance in Costa Rica remained overwhelmingly individual, not collective, and so was limited in both scope and impact. Many slaves fled in small groups, but most did so alone, and they never effected any mass escapes or established permanent runaway communities. Although slaves sometimes lashed out against their masters with violence, they did so individually rather than collectively. Rebellions never materialized, and even rumors of them were few. Slave resistance never posed a serious threat to the slaveholding régime of Costa Rica, nor did slaves intend it to. Rather, they used various strategies to improve the intolerable conditions in which they lived as slaves. Within their limited objectives, they often achieved some success.

Slave Flight

Flight formed the most basic and by far the most common form of resistance to slavery, in Costa Rica as elsewhere. As a celebrated Brazilian jurist wrote in the nineteenth century, “Flight is inherent to slavery.”⁵ Africans fled almost as soon as they arrived in Costa Rica. As long as slavery existed, dozens of African- and Costa Rican-born slaves took the chance to flee, their motives both universal and highly personal. Fugitive slaves from other colonies also regularly arrived there, perhaps hoping that Costa Rica’s geography and sparse settlement would provide a “zone of refuge.”⁶ Yet permanent cimarrón communities did not develop in Costa Rica, nor, apparently, were significant numbers of fugitive slaves able to find refuge among the unconquered Indians of the province. Cartago and Esparza were too small to provide the anonymity needed by urban runaways. In the absence of such zones of refuge, fugitives confronted potential betrayal on all sides, facing a “thousand obstacles” in a colonial world which took the legitimacy of their enslavement for granted.⁷ Spaniards, Indians, free blacks and mulatos, even fellow slaves all cooperated in tracking down runaways. A fugitive’s greatest chance for success lay in leaving Costa Rica altogether for another colony where he could build a new life among strangers. A few succeeded in permanently escaping from bondage, but most were recaptured. With their chances of permanent escape limited, many would-be fugitives availed themselves of patrons who could offer at least temporary shelter and protection, using flight as part of a strategy to escape, if not from slavery itself, then from situations that they could no longer tolerate.

Fugitives were overwhelmingly males, although a few, including some of the most persistent runaways, were women. In proportion to their numbers, the African-born attempted flight much more frequently than creoles and mulatos, making up more than half of all recorded fugitives. As scholars of other regions have found, creoles and Africans showed different modes of flight.⁸ Africans were much more likely to escape in pairs or larger groups than creoles, who usually absconded alone. Africans quickly adapted to American life, however, and proved equally as sophisticated and resourceful as creoles in exploiting circumstances and manipulating patrons to affect escapes.

Some Characteristics of Runaway Slaves in Costa Rica

At least fifty-two slaves of Costa Rican masters were recorded as fugitives in notarial and criminal documents between 1611 and 1746. These data are clearly incomplete. The flight of a slave rarely generated official paperwork. Generally, masters found occasion to record that their slaves were absent only when they composed official documents such as testaments. Furthermore, the capture of runaways was usually handled “extra-judicially”; officials such as the constables of the *Santa Hermandad* (a police force) recaptured runaways as part of their usual rounds, and documentation resulted only when disputes arose, such as when owners refused to compensate the slave-catchers.⁹ Only occasionally did the flight of slaves make it into other official records, such as when slaves about to be auctioned escaped, or broke out of the Cartago jail. When discussing other matters, several masters chanced to mention that their slaves were at large at the

moment, but they had good ideas of where they could be found.¹⁰ Such references as well as a number of conclusively documented incidents suggest a more widespread pattern of “truancy” or temporary abscondment (*petit marronage*) – given patterns in other slaveholding and slave societies, almost certainly far more widespread than attempts at permanent escape -- that masters never bothered to report and officials never noted. These data, then, only hint at the extent of slave flight, which formed an intrinsic feature of Costa Rican slavery.

Obviously, this small sample of fugitives, spanning a period^[RL52] of nearly a century and a half, cannot offer statistical significance, and the “representativeness” of these runaways might be questioned. But it appears more useful to analyze even these scant data rather than to ignore them as if no evidence at all existed, and the documentation that has been located suggests some important characteristics of runaway slaves. Moreover, these findings correspond closely to characteristics of fugitives in other colonies about whom more information is available. In Costa Rica, males far outnumbered females among the recorded runaways; only eight women (about 15 percent) were found among the listed fugitives, although they made up half of the total slave population. Given that they composed almost half of the slave population at large, mulatos were recorded as runaways less frequently than their numbers would suggest, comprising less than one-third (sixteen, or about 31 percent) of the reported fugitives. Mulatas, however, were more likely than African- or American-born black women to attempt escape, accounting for more than 60 percent of the fugitive women (five of eight).¹¹ Black creoles, all men, made up about 12 percent (six) of the known runaways. Far exceeding their proportion

of the enslaved population, Africans accounted for a slight majority of the runaways, making up twenty-nine of the fifty-two recorded fugitives (almost 57 percent). Even more strikingly, West Central Africans (*castas angola* and *congo*) made up more than one-fifth of all runaways (eleven of fifty-two, or 21 percent). Of the thirty-one runaways about whom age information was supplied, more than two-thirds (twenty-one) were between the ages of fourteen and thirty, but more than one-fifth (seven persons) were described as more than forty years old, and one man was estimated to be fifty-seven to fifty-eight years old. The mean age of the thirty-one runaways was about 27.4 years. The six women about whom age was recorded were considerably older than male fugitives at the time of their first known flight; their mean age was 32.3 years. Of twenty-six males, the mean was 26.2 years. Half the women were between ages sixteen and twenty-five, and half were between thirty-six and fifty years old. While all but one of the recorded American-born Costa Rican slaves fled alone, almost two-thirds (eighteen) of the Africans fled in pairs or larger groups, including the lone African female fugitive. Africans who fled alone had either spent at least nine years in Costa Rica, or had come to Costa Rica by way of Portuguese colonies in Africa, a potentially significant finding discussed below. Among them, at least three West Central Africans embraced both strategies, fleeing alone or with companions at different points in their lives. Slightly less than one-third of the fifty-two fugitives (fifteen) are known to have run away more than once, or for periods of more than one year.

For the most part, these features of Costa Rican fugitives closely resemble those recorded for runaways other American regions. Young men, less likely to have started

families, universally outnumbered females among runaways. Only one man of the known fugitives in Costa Rica can be determined to have been a husband and father, (although there is no reason to believe he was the only one). When the elderly Juan Román fled his master in 1733, his son José Nicolás was already an adult and a freeman, well able to care for himself. Furthermore, Román's abscondment should be regarded as a temporary measure designed to pressure his master rather than an attempt at permanent flight.¹² Motherhood undoubtedly supplied the most important reason that women fled less frequently than men. Taking their children along exponentially increased risk and danger, and most women were unwilling to leave them behind. Women were much less likely to travel on work-related errands than men; consequently, their knowledge of the area beyond Cartago was much more limited and they were less able to claim plausible "excuses" for being away from home. These factors dramatically increased the chances they would be apprehended.¹³ Not surprisingly, the youngest and strongest males predominated among fugitives, but in Costa Rica more than one-fifth were men and women who, in the context of slavery, can only be described as elderly. For several of these older slaves, flight clearly represented a last, desperate resort, as will be discussed. By contrast, men and women more than forty years old made up just 4.5 percent of fugitives in the United States South between 1790 and 1816.¹⁴ The average age of male Costa Rican fugitives differed only slightly from those of runaways in parts of North America. Between 1730 and 1787, the mean age of male runaways was 27.8 in Virginia, and 26.5 in South Carolina. Unlike the available figures for Costa Rica, females in these

areas of mainland British America tended to be younger than male fugitives. For females, the means were twenty-four in Virginia and twenty-five in South Carolina.¹⁵

The racial and ethnic characteristics of the runaways suggest that creolization played a powerful role in slave resistance. Throughout the Americas, Africans proved proportionately more prone to flee than creoles. One reason was that they were less likely to have families or other strong ties to their masters' properties. Group flight was more characteristic of recently arrived Africans than of those who had spent much time in New World slavery, and Africans in Costa Rica conformed to a common pattern in their choice to abscond in groups rather than alone.¹⁶ In Costa Rica as in colonial Virginia, for example, the pattern transcended ethnic boundaries, perhaps, as Gerald Mullin suggested, representing a widely shared African sense that "resistance was a group activity."¹⁷

Some Africans fled almost as soon as the ships that carried them reached land. Recently arrived Africans often fled in pairs or small groups, and initially, ethnicity played a key role in selecting partners with whom to escape. In October 1700, the ship *Nuestra Señora de la Soledad y Santa Isabel* was forced by a storm to Costa Rica's Pacific port of La Caldera.¹⁸ On 6 November, local officials seized the ship's cargo of African slaves, and by the end of the month, they were being auctioned in Esparza.¹⁹ The ship's ethnically diverse cargo included Africans of West Central (*congo*) as well as Bight of Benin (*arará* and *popo*) and Bight of Biafra (*carabali*) origins.²⁰ At least one of the Africans preferred death to the miserable conditions in which the captives were being held: within a few weeks, a man got hold of a knife and killed himself.²¹

In February 1701, several of the captives fled.²² Ethnic origins clearly influenced their choice of companions. After a few weeks of freedom, two men of *casta congo*, both about twenty-five years old, were found by two Indian women in the pueblo of Tobosi near Cartago on 20 February.²³ Two days later, the Indian Marcos Martínez captured four more young African men, described as of the same *casta*, and returned them to Esparza.²⁴ In April, a man and a woman, both described as of *casta carabalí*, escaped together, but were soon recaptured and sold.²⁵ Africans recently arrived in an alien world, with no knowledge of the country or its language, no local allies to whom they could turn, and few resources on which they could rely, often turned to fellow captives of similar ethnic and linguistic backgrounds when they attempted to escape.

In exceptional circumstances, larger groups of fugitives were able to unite according to identities based in Africa. When they fled into the forest near Costa Rica's Atlantic coast in March 1710, the former captives of the *Christianus Quintus* and *Fredericus Quartus* immediately reorganized themselves in groups that roughly corresponded to their ethnic origins. When Captain Juan Bautista Retana captured a group of forty-five Africans in late April, all were described as of *casta mina*, natives of the Gold Coast and perhaps the Upper Slave Coast.²⁶ On the forced march to Cartago, three men and two women of the group managed to break away, but pardo militia officer Adjutant José de Chavarría recaptured them four days later.²⁷ Around the same time, Captain Juan Francisco de Ibarra captured another group of twenty-six Africans near Moín. When he brought sixteen of the captives to Cartago in June 1710, all were described as of *casta nangu* -- Yoruba-speakers from modern Togo and Benin.²⁸ When Africans seized the

chance to flee, they did not choose their companions at random, but often sought out men and women of similar ethnic and probably linguistic background.

But they also reached out to Africans of other ethnicities, even in their first moments on Costa Rican shores. The process of creolization had already begun by the time Africans arrived in the Americas. On the Middle Passage and in Africa itself, Africans had already begun to form bonds with men and women of different ethnic origins, and the process continued when Africans reached American shores.²⁹ When Captain Gaspar de Acosta Arévalo recaptured a third group of former captives of the Danish slave ships, he apprehended eighteen men and women of Slave Coast (*arará*) origin in the company of two women from the Gold Coast or perhaps more probably the Upper Slave Coast (*minas*) and two other men of an unknown but different ethnicity.³⁰

In Costa Rica, the process of forming relationships and alliances with members of other ethnic groups accelerated. Africans continued to flee in groups, but their companions soon came to reflect the strength of the relationships they formed in Costa Rica, including people of other ethnic origins.³¹ When he presided as judge over the confiscation of the Africans of the *Nuestra Señora de la Soledad y Santa Isabel* in 1700, the Lieutenant Governor of Esparza don Gregorio Caamaño illegally appropriated twelve of “the best of the group” for his own use, concealing them at the hacienda of don José de la Haya Bolívar.³² Caamaño soon sent the Africans of diverse ethnic origins to dive for pearls along the South Pacific coast of Chiriquí.³³ When a judge (*oidor*) of the Audiencia of Guatemala discovered Caamaño’s fraud in 1702, his property was ordered seized and auctioned, and Caamaño fled to Panama with his slaves.³⁴ Ten of them took advantage of

their master's legal troubles to flee, and made their way to Cartago. Constituting the largest known group of fugitives during the period of this study, they included three men of West Central African (*congo*) origin, four men from the Slave Coast (three *popos* and one *arará*), one man of Bight of Biafra origin (*carabalí*), one man described as of the unidentified *casta mora*, and a black creole.³⁵ Creole Lorenzo José must have decided to set out for Cartago – there is no evidence that any of the African men had been there before.³⁶ Thrown together as shipmates on the *Nuestra Señora de la Soledad* after their arrival in Panama, these men continued to bond at the hacienda of don José de la Haya Bolívar and, with a creole companion, on the boat where they lived and dived for pearls in the South Pacific. Despite their diverse ethnic origins, they soon united for the common objectives of their labor as divers, and eventually, flight. Running away together formed one of the most dramatic expressions of the close, cooperative relationships that soon developed between African and creole slaves.³⁷

Over time, Africans developed intimate relationships with members of other racial and ethnic groups, who might join them when they decided to flee. When Juan José, an African of Slave Coast (*arará*) origin, fled his master in 1705, his companions reflected ties formed in both the Old and New Worlds. He fled with Miguel, a fellow *arará* and slave of the same master, but also with Tomasina, his mestiza wife.³⁸ When Antonio, a *congo* whose story is discussed in detail below, escaped from the Cartago jail in 1722, he absconded with José Antonio, a Miskito Indian.³⁹

Cimarronaje

When the conquistador Hernán Sánchez de Badajoz established a short-lived settlement near the mouth of the Sixaola River in Talamanca in 1540, Pedro Gilofo, a slave of Senegambian origin, ran away from the Spanish settlement to live among “Indians of war” for more than twenty days.⁴⁰ Sánchez de Badajoz viewed such unauthorized relations between blacks and Indians with alarm, knowing that an alliance between the groups threatened the Spanish invasion. On 1 September 1540, Pedro’s master, Alonso García, testified that he had found Pedro among the Indians and brought him back to the Spanish camp, admitting that such contacts could harm the expedition. Another witness, Pablo Corzo, expressed a fear that if fugitive blacks like Pedro went unapprehended, they might become leaders of the unconquered Indians. Sánchez de Badajoz agreed with Corzo that Pedro’s flight merited the harshest punishment, “because there are other blacks and slaves in the encampment.” He ordered that Pedro be shot with arrows (saetas) until dead as an example to others who might flee. Juan de Aguilar, a black attendant of the governor, heard the reading of the sentence, and Perianes de Alonso, a free black man, witnessed Pedro’s execution the same afternoon.⁴¹

Pedro Gilofo provides an early example of *cimarronaje* in Costa Rica, which may be provisionally defined as escape with the aim to reside permanently beyond the borders of effective colonial settlement. Whether among the Indians or with other fugitive slaves, cimarrones attempted to build or join their own independent communities.⁴² In contrast

to neighboring Panama, there is little evidence of such activity in Costa Rica in the early colonial period. Although some contemporary scholars use *cimarronaje* and slave flight interchangeably,⁴³ individual, often temporary flight (*petit marronage*) must be distinguished from collective efforts to escape slavery and form permanent communities independent of colonial rule (*grand marronage*) before the relationships between them can become clear.⁴⁴ Although both forms of *cimarronaje* held the potential to undermine the economy of slavery and to serve as examples to other captives contemplating flight, individual flight by its very nature could do little to further the development of a collective slave consciousness.⁴⁵ Only *grand marronage* could provide a basis for a viable, independent identity based in community life. When these categories overlapped, however, as when a slave joined a permanent community of runaways for a time but eventually returned to his or her master, the returned captive could agitate among her fellow slaves and even organize a conspiracy for collective flight. Costa Rican history offers many examples of individual slaves who risked their lives to escape, but despite the ready availability of unoccupied land, only scant evidence of collective *cimarronaje*.

Individual *cimarrón* activity is documented for the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and almost certainly occurred earlier. María Manuela, a mulata about twenty-five years old, eluded her mistress for more than a year in the mountains outside Cartago. When she was recaptured in 1692, she soon escaped again.⁴⁶ Antonio Civitola, a *congo*, remained at large for about six months in 1719 before he was found in a small hut he had constructed on the outskirts of the capital.⁴⁷ Antonio, a mulato, was reportedly living “on the outskirts” of Cartago in 1730.⁴⁸ Fragmentary evidence suggests that self-liberated

blacks established a more permanent community in the Matina Valley, and that some lone runaways sought temporary refuge there. In 1720, Eugenia Vanegas, a middle-aged mulata slave of don Juan Francisco de Ibarra, mentioned “having fled this city [Cartago] to the plantain fields of the king, where she was for a year” about eight years before.⁴⁹ The “plantain fields of the king” (*plantanares del Rey*) may well have been an area of unclaimed (*realenga* or “royal”) lands planted with the crop. If Eugenia could live there undetected for a year, the area must have been both extensive and some distance from Cartago. Eugenia may have fled to the same plantain fields where other runaway slaves sought refuge throughout the early eighteenth century, along the Reventazón River in the Matina Valley. Nicolás, a West African of *casta mina* who could speak no Spanish, related in 1722 how he had survived for several months on “fruits of the bush” in a plantain field near the garrison of soldiers at the mouth of the Reventazón River.⁵⁰ In 1736, a group of twenty-two blacks and Indians who had been enslaved by the Miskito Indians established a settlement along the Reventazón. The blacks, believed to be the “heads” of the group, were found to include the same Nicolás who had arrived at the location fourteen years before. Nicolás had turned his knowledge of the area, acquired years before as a lone runaway, to help organize a mass flight from the Miskitos.⁵¹ Although little more than a hint, during a visit to the area the following year, Governor don Francisco Antonio de Carrandi y Menán alluded to a creek called Cimarrones.⁵² Another group of seventeen black and Indian refugees arrived at the Reventazón in October 1744, having escaped from the Miskitos and British of the island of San Andrés in the western Caribbean.⁵³ Today, near the Reventazón, a small river and township in

the Canton of Siquirres, Limón Province, conserve the name Cimarrones, perhaps in commemoration of a long-vanished settlement of runaway slaves.⁵⁴

Recapture

Dozens of slaves fled during the colonial period, but most were apparently recaptured or returned to their masters, often within a short period of time. Confident that their slaves would be captured, masters occasionally bought and sold slaves who were still at large.⁵⁵ Despite Costa Rica's challenging topography and sparse settlement, colonial officials mobilized their meager police and intelligence resources with surprising efficiency. Few passable roads, trails, or bridges traversed the mountains, rivers, and tropical forests of the interior. Colonial officials knew these well and covered them on horses or mules, aided by dogs in their search for runaways.⁵⁶ At certain river crossings, travellers in the area were sure to pass eventually. When *congo* slave Antonio escaped from the Cartago jail with an Indian companion in 1722, the governor immediately dispatched search parties to hunt for the fugitives at key crossings in the Pacific and Matina valleys. Known to be intimately familiar with the Matina area, the pair eluded capture for a month, but pardo militiamen eventually overtook them.⁵⁷

If escape into the countryside was difficult, blending into the cities was impossible. Cartago and Esparza were too small to offer the anonymity that fugitives needed to live unmolested. Local slaves on the city streets were recognized immediately. They rarely enjoyed even a few days at liberty, as did Tomás and Antonio, slaves of don Gregorio de

Caamaño, in 1705. Their master absent in Guatemala, the pair was sent from Cartago to Esparza with Caamaño's nephew, but were observed "in the charge of no one, but rather at their will," for a couple of days before being arrested.⁵⁸

Local fugitive slaves were soon spotted by authorities, but runaways from other provinces drew their attention just as quickly. No doubt seeking to start new lives in the anonymity of a new setting, fugitive slaves from other provinces regularly managed to make their way to Costa Rica, sometimes coming from great distances. In striking contrast to fugitives within Costa Rica, runaways from other provinces were overwhelmingly mulatos and creoles, which suggests that Africans were usually captured closer to home.⁵⁹ But like slaves of Costa Rican masters, fugitives from elsewhere were often identified and apprehended in a colony where people like "Silvestre the Frenchman" or José Nicolás López, "a foreign mulato," tended to be referred to as outsiders even in everyday speech.⁶⁰ Slavemasters from all over Central America had commercial and familial ties to Costa Rican elites, and often drew on them effectively to recover fugitive slaves. Juan de Díaz, a mulato also known as Juan de Herrera, escaped from a master in Nueva Segovia, Nicaragua (now Ocotal), near the modern border with Honduras. In November 1661, his master travelled to León, Nicaragua, where he authorized a Cartago resident to sell Juan, no doubt having heard that he was in Costa Rica. Juan was apprehended and sold in Cartago about four months later.⁶¹ Salvador, a black creole, fled from his master in the Nicaraguan port town of Realejo more than a year before he was captured at El Salto in Costa Rica's Bagaces Valley in 1673.⁶² This frontier area became a haven for runaway slaves and other outlaws: the El Salto River

formed the provincial border between Costa Rica and Nicoya, and authorities complained that fugitives crossed from one jurisdiction to the other at will, “whenever it strikes their fancy and they want to commit some evil, of the many they do customarily.”⁶³ Costa Rican Governor don Juan López de la Flor brought Salvador to his home in Cartago, where he lent the dissheveled fugitive some pants and a cape to wear while he went to send a message to the runaway’s master. When the governor returned, he found that Salvador had broken open a chest and made off with more than 200 pesos, as well as his new suit of clothes. Nevertheless, Salvador was soon recaptured.⁶⁴ Domingo de la Trinidad was a mulato purchased by an itinerant merchant in Guatemala City in 1676. Later transferred to the Corregidor of Realejo, Nicaragua, Domingo escaped, eventually to be captured and sold in Cartago in 1680.⁶⁵ In 1691, José Gómez Elgueros of Panama City learned that his slave José de Ibarra, a black creole and master sugar boiler valued at 500 pesos, was at large in Costa Rica. José, too was apprehended and sold to a Cartago master.⁶⁶

One fugitive from another province succeeded in passing as a free man in Costa Rica, at least for a time. In 1732, mulato Diego Campuzano presented a petition to the parish priest of Cartago, seeking the proofs of eligibility he needed to marry Manuela de Padilla, a free mulata. He claimed to be a free pardo from León, Nicaragua, the son of María Campuzano and an unknown father, and succeeded in persuading several friends to offer perjured testify to that effect.⁶⁷ Most convincing was Blas López, a thirty-year-old mestizo from León also then living in Cartago who claimed to have known Campuzano for eighteen to twenty years, and swore that he was both free and single.⁶⁸ Cartago

residents Francisco Nicolás de Guevara and Andrés Durán both testified that they had known Campuzano in León over a period of two to three years, and believed him to be free and unmarried.⁶⁹ Finding no impediment to the marriage, Father Manuel López Conejo granted his approval in February 1732. Diego and Manuela soon married, probably in July 1732, and their son, Antonio Martín, was baptized in November 1733.⁷⁰

Diego's life as a free man in Costa Rica lasted a little more than two years. In June 1734, don Juan Francisco de Ibarra learned that Campuzano was not a free pardo from Nicaragua, but a fugitive slave of don Miguel de Zelaya of Comayagua, Honduras. When Diego admitted as much, he was arrested. Manuela "did not know, nor [had she] arrived at the understanding, in any way" that her husband was a slave, and did not learn the truth until he was jailed as a fugitive.⁷¹ A year later, she petitioned the ecclesiastical judge for an annulment. Although the outcome of her request was not recorded, her plea was forwarded to León, Nicaragua to be considered by the bishop.⁷²

Although some fugitive slaves found allies of other ethnic groups to aid them in their escapes, free people also cooperated in apprehending the runaways. As military men, members of the free pardo militias routinely apprehended fugitive slaves, and collected extra pay for their efforts. In 1710, pardo Adjutant José de Chavarría captured five African runaways from the *Christianus Quintus* and *Fredericus Quartus*, and collected twelve pesos for the service.⁷³ In April 1721, pardo Sergeant Cristóbal de Chavarría appeared before Governor don Diego de la Haya Fernández and turned over a fugitive African he had taken into custody in the Matina Valley. Later that year, Andrés Calvo, the pardo ferryman at the Reventazón River, apprehended another escaped African

slave.⁷⁴ In May 1722, when the *congo* slave Antonio escaped from the Cartago jail with an Indian companion, Governor de la Haya dispatched two pardo militiamen to pursue the pair. José de Córdoba and Cristóbal Hidalgo enlisted the help of the same Andrés Calvo in an attempt to intercept the runaways at the Reventazón crossing. By 18 June, they had overtaken the fugitives on the road to Matina and remanded them to the Cartago jail. The governor ordered that Córdoba and Hidalgo be paid “the customary quantity” for their service.⁷⁵

Indians also joined occasionally in the apprehension of fugitives. It is hard to know whether they lacked sympathy for fugitive slaves, whether they were tempted to capture them with financial incentives, or whether they feared pressure from the provincial government in Cartago to surrender the runaways. The Indian pueblo of Tobosi, relatively near Cartago and along the road to Panama, made a tempting hideout for fugitives, but provided little protection. Slave hunters (*cuadrilleros*) caught up with two runaways from Panama there in 1686.⁷⁶ In February 1701, two Indian women of the same pueblo turned over a pair of *congo* fugitives who had escaped from Esparza.⁷⁷ Two days later, the Indian Marcos Martínez arrived in Esparza with four more young African men, described as of the same *casta*. While collecting honey in the bush near the Pacific coast at La Herradura, Martínez had found found them near starvation in a small makeshift hut. After giving them food, he lured them into accompanying him back to Esparza.⁷⁸ Around 11 p.m. on the night of 11 December 1719, Baltasar Calvo, the Indian jailer of Cartago, told the governor that he knew the whereabouts of a missing slave. But when Calvo accompanied a Spanish official on a search the following day, they were

unable to find the man.⁷⁹ A few weeks later, Calvo informed on a *congo* runaway who had been living in a small hut outside the city. This time the fugitive was captured, and Calvo collected three pesos in cacao for the information.⁸⁰ In the 1730s, a black slave of former governor don Baltasar de Valderrama escaped to the pueblo of Boruca in the South Pacific. Held for some days in the pueblo's jail, he was eventually brought to Cartago by two Indians, who demanded eight pesos each for their service.⁸¹

On occasion, even other slaves were enlisted to search for runaways, and they also received compensation. In October 1722, African-born slave Francisco Plaza was driving mules to Matina when he happened upon a *mina* fugitive, a countryman to whom "he spoke and understood his language." Plaza promptly turned the man over to the pardo ferryman at the Reventazón River.⁸²

Runaways confronted severe obstacles in their attempts to escape, and although some succeeded in evading capture for a time, the available documentation suggests that most were eventually caught. Despite vast distances, primitive communications, and a limited state presence, fugitives were regularly apprehended. Mounted officials such as the *Alcalde* of the *Santa Hermandad* (chief of a rural constabulary) tracked fugitive slaves while patrolling the roads, hiring auxiliary slave catchers if the situation demanded.⁸³ Men at checkpoints such as the crossing of the Reventazón River were alerted to be on the lookout for runaways. Mulato militiamen were dispatched to hunt for runaways, and pocketed supplementary income when they apprehended them. Indians also collected rewards for turning in runaways. Occasionally, even other slaves joined in the task.

A fugitive's greatest chances for permanent freedom lay in leaving Costa Rica altogether to start a new life as a stranger in another province. A majority of Costa Rican slaves fleeing to other provinces went to Nicaragua. Diego Leal, a mulato, fled his mistress in Aserri, reportedly to Granada, in 1669.⁸⁴ Silvestre García, a black creole originally from Granada who had been sold to a Cartago master, was believed to have absconded to his former home in 1675.⁸⁵ Miguel, a *congo*, ran away from his mistress in Esparza in 1688 and was also believed to be headed for the Granada area.⁸⁶ A few runaways succeeded in fleeing further. In 1640, Jerónimo de Retes of Cartago learned that his black creole slave, Francisco Valeriano, had been captured in Gracias a Dios, Honduras.⁸⁷ José de Arlegui, a mulato about twenty-two years old in 1708, took the opportunity to flee from his Costa Rican master while travelling with him in Nicaragua. Manuel Antonio de Arlegui heard that José had made his way to Guatemala City, more than a thousand miles from Cartago. He was eventually apprehended there, but not until more than six years later.⁸⁸

A handful of fugitives probably did make it to freedom. By 1713, Gil de Salazar, a mulato trained as a tailor, had gone missing for eight or nine years.⁸⁹ In the same year, Antonio Morales, also a mulato, had not been heard of for a decade.⁹⁰ If they survived, these men probably succeeded in passing as free mulatos in the provinces to which they fled.

Slave Refugees: Fugitives from other Provinces

Fugitives from other provinces, although mostly American-born, were more likely to flee in pairs or small groups than Costa Rican creole fugitives. It may be that although most preferred to run away alone, creoles and mulatos actually achieved more success when they escaped together. Although a majority of “foreign” fugitives who were apprehended in Costa Rica arrived alone, some came in pairs or small groups, often including family members. Catalina, an eight-year-old mulata girl, arrived in Costa Rica in 1629, having been “stolen” by a fugitive slave from Nicaragua, perhaps her father or another relative.⁹¹ In February 1672, María Bella, a slavemistress from León, Nicaragua, had received word that her slave Antonio, a twenty-year-old mulato, had fled to Costa Rica with his wife, Juana, a free mulata. The couple was believed to be on the way to Panama with several other runaway slaves from León. Antonio was apprehended in Cartago about four months later.⁹² Slaves of the same master frequently decided to abscond together. Tomás, 21, and Francisco, 18, mulato slaves of the chancellor of the cathedral of Tegucigalpa, Honduras, were captured and sold in Cartago in 1678.⁹³ Other runaways improvised alliances for their common objective. Juan de Dios, a mulato owned by a Panama City master, and Juan de Ortega, a black creole slave of a priest in Natá, Panama, may have teamed up while on the run. Both fled to Costa Rica on mules and were captured by a party of slave hunters in the Indian pueblo of Tobosi, about eight leagues (27 miles/44 km) from Cartago, in June 1686.⁹⁴ They were held in the Cartago

jail for more than six months before they saw a chance to flee again, taking with them another fugitive slave from Nicaragua who happened to be in jail at the time. The three escaped wearing the shackles in which they were imprisoned. Although a team of slave catchers pursued them for more than fifteen leagues (51 miles/83 km), they could not be apprehended.⁹⁵ Although creoles frequently fled alone, those who succeeded in running the farthest often relied on one or more partners.

Not surprisingly, fugitive Africans who arrived in Costa Rica from other provinces followed the familiar pattern of flight in pairs or small groups. In April 1721, two Africans of *casta mina* named Francisco and Nicolás arrived in Matina from Panama after more than a year on the run. Captured and brought to Cartago, they described a harrowing adventure. Francisco and Nicolás had been brought to Portobello by English slave traders. There, they and six other Africans were branded, sold, and put to work at a small sugarmill (*trapiche*) owned by Governor don José Díaz de Vivar, or as Nicolás described him in his native language, “a man who had a staff and a wig and a colored thing on the breast of his cassock.”⁹⁶ Ordered to cut and haul firewood, Francisco, Nicolás, and their fellow slaves were severely beaten by Santiago, a slave overseer of *casta congo*, when he found them chewing sugar cane. Fourteen months before they reached Matina, Francisco and Nicolás fled the mill with three other companions. At first they travelled on foot along the beaches, then fashioned rafts with which they crossed the Chagres River, later evading the sentinels at the Coclé River by crossing at night. They were then captured by some Indians, who they said “killed, cooked, and ate” three of their companions. Francisco and Nicolás managed to escape the Indians to the Matina

Valley, where they lost track of each other and narrowly avoided being captured again by the Miskitos.⁹⁷ More than eighteen months later, in November 1722, Francisco Plaza, a *mina* slave of doña Luisa Calvo, was driving some mules to Matina when he came across an African on the road. The man turned out to be Nicolás, who had survived on plantains and wild fruits for more than a year in hiding near the mouth of the Reventazón River.⁹⁸

Slaves who initially fled together might separate later to try their luck on their own. In March 1747, Francisco Javier, a zambo, and Antonio, an African of *casta mina*, fled their master, don Tomás de los Ríos, in Santiago de Alange, Panama. The pair had planned to take advantage of contacts with friends in Costa Rica; they were said to be “well known” there, “particularly to the servants of Father Cubero.”⁹⁹ Beyond doubt, these included José Cubero, the mulato slave of Father don Manuel Francisco Martín Cubero, who had made several trips to Panama (including journeys specifically to trade with don Tomás de los Ríos) with his master’s mule trains before he was freed in 1746.¹⁰⁰ At some point, the fugitives separated; only Antonio was captured at the home of Captain Francisco Monge in the Valley of Barva in July 1747. He was sold to Juan de Aguilar, a resident of Nicaragua, in January 1748.¹⁰¹

While fugitives from Spanish masters in other provinces were invariably returned when apprehended, Spanish law took a different view toward runaways from foreign colonies. By the early eighteenth century, royal *cédulas* promised freedom to slaves who fled to Spanish America from the colonies of Spain’s enemies. Although political considerations surely contributed to the policy, the *cédulas* often specified that the offer of freedom was designed to encourage slaves to convert to Catholicism.¹⁰² In Costa Rica,

the potential beneficiaries of this provision were most often men and women who arrived in Matina after fleeing the Miskito Indians and Miskito Zambos. In the 1690s, the Miskitos began raiding the cacao haciendas of Matina as well as Spanish-controlled areas of Honduras and Nicaragua. They often kidnapped both free and enslaved blacks and mulatos, as well as the Central American Indians who constituted their main prey. Within a few years, some of these black men found their way back to Costa Rica. But despite the royal *cédulas*, Costa Rican authorities responded ambivalently to slaves who fled the Miskitos.

If they had been slaves of Costa Rican masters before being taken prisoner by the Miskitos, black men who fled to Matina were often returned to slavery, even after decades as prisoners of “the enemy.” Kidnapped from a Matina hacienda sometime in the first decade of the eighteenth century, Carlos de Casasola had been the slave of a Miskito master for about twenty years. In recognition of “how well he had served him” and his advanced age, the Miskito had released Carlos on the shores of Matina around 1728. Carlos returned to Costa Rica, however, not as a free man, but as a slave of doña Agueda Pérez de Muro, whom he continued to serve in 1737.¹⁰³ Manuel García was also an old man of about fifty-five when he escaped the Miskitos to Matina in 1733. About thirty years before, he had been kidnapped from Matina with many others by a Miskito general with the diabolical name “Luther.”¹⁰⁴ Although his former master, Manuel García de Argueta, had since died, Manuel was surrendered to his former owner’s daughter, doña Rita García de Argueta, whom he continued to serve until 1742, when she sold Manuel, by then well past sixty, to Captain don Francisco Javier de Siles.¹⁰⁵

In a few cases, Costa Rican authorities freed former prisoners of the Miskitos. Nicolás and Juan Bautista, legally slaves of Captain José de Quirós and the heirs of Marcos Zamora, held intimate knowledge of the Miskito enemy which authorities judged to outweigh the property rights of their masters. When they returned to Matina in 1736, the cabildo of Cartago ordered them freed.¹⁰⁶ Blacks who had never been slaves of Spanish masters, but only of enemies such as the Miskitos or British, were sometimes ordered freed forthwith.¹⁰⁷

Flight and Patronage

Often, flight was not as simple as “fleeing slavery.” To escape one master, slaves might flee to another. This could constitute an end in itself, or a temporary measure, until the opportunity presented itself for another, cleaner escape. Many would-be runaways risked the uncertainty of serving a new master rather than continuing to suffer with the old. New patrons could offer some protection from the authorities or from former owners, but might turn out to be abusive masters themselves.

Francisco Angola simply refused to accept his enslavement. About thirty years old, a Catholic, and reasonably fluent in Spanish, by 1613, Francisco had travelled – and escaped from masters – all over the Spanish Main. About five years before, Francisco recalled, he fled his master, Juan Irazábal, a “Mexican” with a Basque surname, in Cuzco, Peru. Availing himself of an erstwhile patron, Francisco fled with Francisco Agustín, “who brought him in his service” to Lima, then continued to Trujillo and

Paita.¹⁰⁸ Somewhere along the way, Francisco slipped away from Agustín, and at Paita, boarded a ship for Panama City. From there, he intended to cross the isthmus to Portobello, but when a warrant arrived from Peru, he was arrested and thrown in the Panama City jail. Unexpectedly, a stranger named Captain Pedro Ochoa de Leguizamo stepped forward to issue a false statement claiming that he was Francisco's legitimate owner. Leguizamo certified that he had purchased Francisco in Cartagena, where Francisco had run away from him. In October 1608, Leguizamo's associate Captain Bartolomé Sánchez of Cartago swore a bond of 250 pesos for Francisco's release and sailed with him to Esparza, later taking him to Talamanca, and eventually to the Costa Rican capital.¹⁰⁹

With Sánchez's collaboration, Leguizamo fraudulently acquired an African male of prime working age, paying nothing at all. But why would Francisco agree to the scheme, convincing Panama City authorities that Leguizamo was his legal owner? Francisco must have preferred to take his chances with these strangers rather than return to the Peruvian master from whom he had fled, or continue to languish in jail in Panama City. Perhaps he anticipated another opportunity to escape on the long journey to Costa Rica. Most compellingly, Leguizamo promised to free Francisco legally if he would accompany him to the newly established Spanish settlement at Talamanca. In return for that promise, Francisco assured his jailers that Leguizamo was his master, and was allowed to leave with him and Sánchez.¹¹⁰

Although Francisco went to Talamanca, he soon doubted whether Leguizamo ever intended to free him – Leguizamo tried to sell Francisco to several colonists while there.

None would agree even to a cheap sale, as Leguizamo could provide no legal proof of ownership of the African in his company.¹¹¹ Repenting of the plan, Francisco told anyone who would listen that Leguizamo was not his master -- he told Felipe Monge so “every day,” even advertising that he was a fugitive from Cuzco. But despite the public nature of his plight, Francisco could find no one to intervene to help him. The governor of the settlement, don Gonzalo Vázquez de Coronado, was a close associate of Leguizamo who could not be expected to take the side of the African. When Francisco tried to flee, Monge persuaded him to return to Leguizamo, a friend who had stood in the wedding parties of two of Monge’s children.¹¹² A few months later, Leguizamo left Talamanca with Francisco for Cartago, where he bolstered his spurious claim to ownership of Francisco by including him in his testament.¹¹³ When Leguizamo died, Francisco passed to the power of his executor don Gonzalo Vázquez de Coronado.¹¹⁴

Displaying a power of attorney from Leguizamo, in November 1611, Vázquez de Coronado sold Francisco to another Cartago resident, Juan de Mora. Francisco served Mora for a few months, but soon fled; he was at large when Mora arranged to exchange him with don Pedro Ocón y Trillo for a female slave in March 1612. The deal would take effect “as soon as Francisco comes to the house of the said don Pedro de Ocón y Trillo and is in his service.” From that day forward, Ocón y Trillo assumed all risks for the confirmed runaway.¹¹⁵ Francisco remained nominally in Ocón y Trillo’s service for just four weeks before being sold to Ambrosio de Brenes in April 1612. At the time of the sale, he was again a fugitive.¹¹⁶

A year later, Brenes had apprehended Francisco but sought to exchange him for a more manageable female slave. Brenes contracted Fernando de Luna, a Panamanian merchant then in Cartago, to bring a slave woman from Panama, paying him with Francisco and an additional fifty pesos in cash. Francisco returned with Luna to Los Remedios, Panama, where he remained with his new master for about a month and a half.¹¹⁷ According to Luna, throughout that time Francisco refused to answer when called or to obey his commands, “saying I was not his true master,” a claim which Francisco repeatedly “published” throughout the town. The growing notoriety of Francisco’s claim forced Luna to address the charge legally.¹¹⁸ Although he admitted fleeing from his master in Cuzco, Francisco claimed to have been “deceived” into going to Panama City, where he was again “deceived” by Leguizamo into going to Costa Rica.¹¹⁹ Francisco repeated his story before Juan de Arrola, governor of the Province of Veragua and Coclé. In turn, Luna claimed he had been defrauded by Ambrosio de Brenes, and insisted he was under no obligation to supply Brenes with a female slave.¹²⁰ When Governor Arrola ordered Francisco be taken to the Panama City jail to be held in custody until his master in Cuzco could be contacted, Francisco escaped again. Several witnesses testified that he had last been seen on the road to the Boruca Indian territory in Costa Rica.¹²¹

A few months later, Francisco turned up again in Cartago. He explained that he and his hitherto unmentioned wife had fled to Costa Rica after Luna had threatened to separate the couple and struck Francisco in the head with a machete. After hiding around Cartago for some time, Francisco had finally gone to the house of Ambrosio de Brenes,

“because he knows no other.”¹²² For his part, Brenes accused Luna of “double dealing” and inducing Francisco to make up the story in an attempt to void Luna’s obligation to surrender the female slave he owed Brenes at the same time he availed himself of Francisco’s labor.¹²³ In November 1613, Costa Rican Governor Captain don Juan de Mendoza y Medrano ordered Francisco returned to Luna, and required Luna to surrender an African woman, Lucía Angola, to Ambrosio de Brenes in fulfilment of the contract pending final resolution of the case.¹²⁴ A few months later, Luna appealed the order to the Audiencia of Guatemala. In April 1614, the President and Oidores of the Audiencia overturned the governor’s decree and ordered Lucía be returned to Luna. However, they made no disposition for Francisco, and his subsequent fate is unknown.¹²⁵

Although we can take for granted Francisco’s determination to be free, equally evident is his realization that he could not simply “escape slavery” in a society that upheld the institution. As João José Reis has written of Brazil, slavery did not end at the gates of any particular property, but was enshrined in law and constituted part of the socially accepted order.¹²⁶ In Costa Rica, no *cimarrón* communities existed which fugitives might join. Other than residing permanently among unconquered Indians -- a choice that Francisco must have considered, both in Talamanca and in Boruca, and for reasons unknown to us, rejected -- there was simply nowhere a fugitive slave could go and hope to remain free. The willingness of Cartago slaveholders repeatedly to buy and sell Francisco while he was at large reflected their reasonable confidence in his imminent capture. In such circumstances, the determination of one man to escape permanently might count for little.

Although forced to accept that reality, Francisco never abandoned his striving for freedom, as his many escapes attest. Rather, he increased his chances of success by seeking out new patrons who could, if not protect him, at least distance him from the old masters he sought to escape. Francisco Agustín served that purpose in Peru. Pedro Ochoa de Leguizamo, a man of few scruples as Francisco surely recognized, offered a way out of the Panama City jail, and however suspect his word might be, the alluring promise of permanent, legally recognized freedom. When Leguizamo betrayed him, Francisco searched for other patrons in Talamanca such as Felipe Monge, who also disappointed him. Although several Spaniards believed Francisco's story that Leguizamo was not his legal owner, none stepped forward to help him. In Cartago, a close-knit elite sided with Leguizamo, also failing to come to his aid. Taken back to Panama by Luna, Francisco appealed to the Governor of Veragua, another potential patron. Francisco may have been willing to await a legal resolution of his case, but when Luna threatened to separate him from his wife and physically attacked him, Francisco took flight again. He brought his wife on the perilous, thousand-mile trip to Cartago, where he eventually sought the help of Ambrosio de Brenes, a man he knew as an adversary of the master who had abused him. His plight dismissed by the Governor of Costa Rica and ignored by the Audiencia of Guatemala, we do not know how Francisco continued to struggle for his freedom.

Francisco's experience as a slave in the New World allowed him to recognize the opportunities that he could turn to flight. Although he had resided in America for at least five years by 1613, part of the answer to his success may also be found in Francisco's

African background. Throughout the Americas, by the eighteenth century, *angolas* and *congos* had acquired a reputation as inveterate runaways. Slavemaster stereotypes obviously cannot be accepted at face value, but insofar as they differed from one ethnic group to another, they could represent a distorted reflection of African cultural practices.¹²⁷ In this case, historians of various American colonies have concluded that West Central Africans were overrepresented among runaways, although they disagree about the reasons.¹²⁸ In Costa Rica, *angolas* and *congos* accounted for more than one-fifth of all known fugitive slaves, a figure wildly out of proportion to the number of West Central Africans in the slave population. The *casta* names *angola* and *congo* were applied to only about five percent (sixty-two) of slaves in the roughly 1,200 testaments, dowry inventories, donations, and promissory notes recorded between 1607 and 1750 that specified slaves' origins. Several of these mentions referred to the same individuals, so the West Central African component of Costa Rica's general slave population was in reality even smaller. Furthermore, the overrepresentation of West Central Africans among fugitives in Costa Rica is somewhat misleading. Four of the eleven cases occurred in a single incident, when a group of *congo* youths escaped while they were being held in miserable conditions waiting for auction in 1701. During those terrible months, two *carabalies* of Bight of Biafra origin fled as well; opportunity clearly played the decisive role in this case.¹²⁹ Ultimately, however, any slave flight can be explained away as due to unique circumstances. In the end, the captives themselves determined the significance of such moments. And circumstances cannot fully explain the *ways* in which Africans chose to flee.

The flight of West Central Africans often took a specific form – that of fleeing to new masters who could provide refuge from the old -- which had roots in Africa as well as America. In the first half of the seventeenth century, the vast majority of West Central African captives entering the Atlantic slave trade were Kimbundu-speakers from the area under Portuguese military control, and it is highly likely that Francisco came from the conquered region.¹³⁰ Having arrived in Peru by 1608, Francisco might well have been enslaved during the ruthless campaigns of Portuguese Governor Manuel Cerveira Pereira (1603-1607) against the *ngola* (ruler) of Ndongo; slave traders followed his armies “like vultures.”¹³¹ Many captives were exported directly to Spanish America and Brazil, but tens of thousands remained as slaves of the Portuguese or the African rulers (*sobas*) who had submitted to them. Because manumission was unheard of, slaves could hope to improve their condition only through flight or suicide. Throughout the seventeenth century, thousands of slaves fled the Portuguese and their allies to neighboring, unconquered regions. Unable to survive in abandoned territories, they sought refuge with African rulers such as those of Kasanje, nearest Luanda, and especially Kisama, south of the Kwanza River, which the Portuguese never brought fully under their control.¹³² In the 1650s, the Capuchin missionary Giovanni Antonio Cavazzi de Montecuccolo described how slaves, “who always seek to improve their lot,” sought out new masters whom they agreed to serve for life in return for refuge from their current owners.¹³³ In the slave societies of Angola, fugitives fled not to freedom – which could only be truly achieved by returning to their homelands – but to new patrons and masters who could provide some protection against the old, and provide better living conditions such as

lessened physical abuse, access to land, and a greater degree of control over their children and families.¹³⁴ West Central Africans such as Francisco Angola and others successfully employed the same tactic in Costa Rica.

In July 1717, Juan Damián, a *congo*, and Gregorio Caamaño, a *popo*, appeared before Governor don Pedro Ruiz de Bustamante to complain of “ill treatment” by their mistress, doña Agueda Pérez de Muro, and to ask to be sold to another owner. Because they also accused their mistress of smuggling, the governor immediately promised them the protection of “Royal Justice.” He also demonstrated his complete lack of concern for their allegations of abuse by neglecting to question them on any subject other than the commercial activities of their mistress.¹³⁵ Nevertheless, Gregorio and Juan Damián initially achieved their goal in being sold to another master. The governor confiscated the men from their mistress, and in September 1718, publicly auctioned both to Sergeant Major don Francisco de la Madriz Linares.¹³⁶ Pérez de Muro contested the confiscation of her slaves and appealed the case to the Royal Audiencia of Guatemala, which in March 1723 decreed that Gregorio and Juan Damián be returned to her.¹³⁷ A year later, Juan Damián was surrendered to Pérez de Muro’s husband, don Francisco Garrido; Gregorio passed to his power in July 1724.¹³⁸

Both Juan Damián and Gregorio Caamaño had fled other masters years before. Juan Damián was one of four *congo* youths who arrived on the *Nuestra Señora de la Soledad y Santa Isabel* in 1700 and fled from Esparza in February 1701.¹³⁹ Gregorio, a *popo*, probably arrived in Costa Rica at the same time, and was one of nine Africans who fled don Gregorio Caamaño around 1703. On that occasion, he had already succeeded in

being sold to another master, and was purchased by don Diego de Barros y Carvajal.¹⁴⁰ Fleeing to new masters formed a tactic both Juan Damián and Gregorio used at various times throughout their lives. By 1717, they had gained experience and developed relationships in Costa Rica that emboldened them to challenge their mistress before the governor and achieve their goal of sale to another master. Although they were eventually forced to return to doña Agueda Pérez de Muro, neither remained in her service for long. Both Juan Damián and Gregorio formed part of her daughter's dowry in 1727, when doña Josefa de Casasola y Córdoba married Bernardo García de Miranda.¹⁴¹ Despite their contentious past relationship, Juan Damián might have reconciled with his former mistress; doña Agueda and don Francisco Garrido stood as godparents to one of his daughters in 1727.¹⁴² For Gregorio Caamaño, flight formed one strategy among several in his struggle for freedom. After a succession of owners, he was finally manumitted in 1733.¹⁴³

Victorino López, a mulato, also escaped at least twice, biding his time for almost a decade between flights. Initially purchased in Villa de los Santos, Panama, Victorino was taken to Villa de Nicaragua (now Rivas) by travelling merchant Captain don Carlos Francisco de Sifuentes. In 1706, Victorino fled and made it as far as Cartago, where he was jailed.¹⁴⁴ As Sifuentes's agent, Father don Diego de Angulo Gascón sold Victorino to Captain Blas González Coronel, who had perhaps captured him in his capacity of *Alcalde Mayor Provincial* of the *Santa Hermandad*.¹⁴⁵ A few weeks later, in September 1706, González Coronel used Victorino and five other of his slaves as collateral against a bond of 1,500 pesos.¹⁴⁶ Victorino remained in González Coronel's service until 1714, when a

judge ordered him to surrender Victorino to Josefa Francisca Cartín, one of his creditors.¹⁴⁷ When he recognized a second chance, Victorino took advantage of the circumstances to flee. Rather than striking out on his own as he had in the past, he chose to hide out at the home of Pedro Martínez in the Valley of Aserri.¹⁴⁸ Victorino's relationship to Martínez is unknown, but farmers in the valleys west of Cartago sometimes provided shelter to fugitives in exchange for cheap labor.¹⁴⁹ The problem became widespread enough that Governor don Lorenzo Antonio de Granda y Balvín issued an edict against hiding fugitive servants and slaves in 1707, an order repeated by Governor don Diego de la Haya about a decade later.¹⁵⁰ In March 1715, Victorino was found out and returned to Cartín. Governor don José Lacayo de Briones fined Martínez ten pesos for having harbored the fugitive, and Cartín sold Victorino to an Esparza master for just 250 pesos the following month.¹⁵¹

In a fortuitous set of circumstances, the mulato slave Antonio Camelo, too, might have gained his freedom after first taking flight. Raised in the home of Captain don Miguel Calvo in Cartago, when Calvo died in 1715, José Felipe Calvo inherited the thirty-year-old Antonio from his father.¹⁵² At some point in the next fifteen years, José Felipe left Cartago for Santiago de Alange in Panama, leaving his slaves in the custody of his brother-in-law Francisco Chavarría. It is possible that Antonio took advantage of his master's absence to flee. In 1730, by then about forty-five years of age, Antonio had been "found living on the outskirts of" Cartago as a fugitive before being recaptured. Whether ignorant of the flight or because of it, José Felipe Calvo sent a power of attorney

from Panama offering Antonio his freedom in exchange for 100 pesos, although it is not certain Antonio ever acquired it.¹⁵³ [RL56]

Another Antonio, a *congo*, also employed the tactic of improving his lot by fleeing from one master to another. Brought to Matina by English contrabandists around 1700, just a few months after arrival, Antonio had been kidnapped by the Miskitos and taken to a town he called Tita, probably on the coast of Honduras, where he became the slave of a Miskito named “Llile” (Gilles?). Antonio explained that he had always wanted to escape from the Miskitos because of the “bad treatment they gave him,” and when his master separated him from his wife, a Dorasque Indian fellow slave, around 1719, he strengthened his resolve. Finally, in March 1722, Antonio escaped to Matina with José Antonio, a Tójar Indian and fellow slave of “Llile.”¹⁵⁴ Considering that Antonio had originally been brought by smugglers, Costa Rican Governor don Diego de la Haya Fernández declared him Crown property and ordered him auctioned as a slave.¹⁵⁵ Four days after the auctions began in Cartago’s central plaza, Antonio and José Antonio fled the Cartago jail. A month later, they were recaptured by pardo soldiers in Matina.¹⁵⁶ On 21 June 1722, Antonio was sold to Francisco Javier Oreamuno, who divided his residence between Cartago and Panama City. In 1724, Oreamuno sent Antonio to Esparza to be embarked for Panama. But from Esparza, Antonio escaped with a mulato companion to Nicaragua.¹⁵⁷

In May 1725, Antonio sought out the governor of Nicaragua, don Tomás Marcos Duque de Estrada, and appealed to him for his protection. Antonio related to the Nicaraguan governor a new and expanded narrative of his escape that differed

significantly from the one he had offered Costa Rican authorities. For twenty-two years, he now claimed, he had been a slave of the Miskito governor Aníbal (Hannibal), eventually marrying one of Aníbal's daughters and two other women. Perhaps having learned of the tenor of the royal *cédulas* promising freedom, Antonio claimed he had become "displeased with such a life, and remembering that he deserved the holy water of baptism, resolved to seek Christianity to comply with the divine precepts," fleeing "from those barbarians" to Matina. Not only were his motives pure, but Antonio now professed invaluable knowledge of Miskito military strategy and tactics. He claimed to have accompanied the Miskitos on several raids on Nicaraguan territory, including an attack on Chontales and an expedition to Lake Nicaragua and the San Juan River in which the Miskitos had successfully evaded the Spanish garrison the Castle of San Juan. Antonio knew the routes and points of entry the Miskitos used for their incursions into Nicaragua, as well as the locations and populations of the Miskito settlements themselves. He offered the governor his services as a guide and spy for any surveillance or military operation against the Miskitos, asking only one thing in return: "the benefit of tranquility and freedom."¹⁵⁸

Governor Duque de Estrada was particularly intrigued by Antonio's offer because he had just completed construction of a coast guard galliot "for the punishment of the said barbarians," and believed Antonio's knowledge could contribute to the success of a planned punitive expedition against the Miskitos. By January 1726, he had already dispatched Antonio to the Castle of San Juan, where Antonio was briefing the commander of the fort, don Pedro Marencos. Duque de Estrada concluded that the law

favoring Antonio for having “fled from the dominion of the enemy,” and had decided to “protect him and give him the security of freedom.”¹⁵⁹

Although surely exceptional, Antonio’s story reflected a strategy used by many fugitive slaves. Antonio attempted to persuade a succession of patrons to grant him his freedom. If they disappointed him, he relied on his own resources to flee again. When he fled to Matina, Antonio hoped to be freed by the governor of Costa Rica.¹⁶⁰ In his March 1722 statement to Costa Rican Governor don Diego de la Haya Fernández, Antonio said that he knew the Miskito Governor Aníbal well, but that his own master was the Miskito “Llile.” He related some details of Miskito activities he had heard from Miskito headmen Aníbal, Bernabé (Barnaby), and Pítar (Peter) while in his master’s company, but these evidently failed to impress De la Haya. Of his motives for fleeing the Miskitos, Antonio mentioned “bad treatment” and separation from his wife, but said nothing of a yearning for Catholicism.¹⁶¹ Antonio’s Costa Rican master, Fermín de Oses, had long been dead, and when Oses’s heirs failed to claim Antonio, Antonio must have been devastated when De la Haya ordered he be auctioned off as a slave.¹⁶² Even so, he did not attempt to flee immediately, but remained in Cartago until 1724, when his new master determined to send him to Panama. He then fled and sought another powerful patron, this time more successfully.

Antonio’s statement to Nicaraguan Governor don Tomás Marcos Duque de Estrada in 1725 reflected a more sophisticated knowledge of the factors likely to convince Spanish officials to extend freedom to a fugitive slave. After emphasizing his desire to live among Catholics, Antonio was baptized in the cathedral of Granada in November

1726.¹⁶³ More importantly, he refashioned himself as an expert in Miskito military affairs, now claiming to have been a slave and kinsman of the Miskito governor Aníbal, and to have participated (albeit unwillingly) on several Miskito expeditions against the Spaniards. Francisco Javier de Oreamuno did not hesitate in describing these claims as false and “sinister.”¹⁶⁴ Certainly Antonio’s first and second statements showed contradictions, and his second declaration to the governor of Nicaragua enhanced his importance. On one level, Antonio’s claim to have married a daughter of Aníbal and to have accompanied the Miskitos on raids of Nicaragua may have exaggerated his own stature and access to military secrets. On another, it illustrated that Antonio understood the importance of gaining the trust and even intimacy of his patrons. If his subsequent behavior is any guide, over a period of twenty years, Antonio must have tried any number of ploys to convince his Miskito masters to free him. When persuasion failed to achieve the desired result, Antonio fled, as he did later again and again before finally convincing the governor of Nicaragua to manumit him.

A Choice of Masters: Flight as a Means of Influencing Sales

While some runaways sought out patrons as steps on a path to permanent escape, other slaves resorted to flight for more limited objectives, such as to convince a hated owner to sell them. In such cases, slaves fled precisely in order to seek out new patrons. Flight became a strategy not to “escape slavery,” but to ameliorate the immediate conditions under which slaves lived. An incident from the early eighteenth century shows the

convoluted context in which two African slaves combined their connections to powerful whites, ethnic ties to free blacks, their own bold action, and the help of other slaves to improve their situation. Miguel and Juan José, both Slave Coast natives of *casta arará* owned by don José de Casasola y Córdoba, combined these factors in a successful escape -- not to freedom, but to another master. Miguel and Juan José had fled by January 1705, when Casasola authorized two associates travelling to Panama to apprehend them, “removing them from the power of the person or persons who might have them.”¹⁶⁵ Casasola charged that his slaves had been induced to run away by Sergeant Major don Gregorio de Caamaño, the former Lieutenant Governor of Esparza, himself a fugitive.¹⁶⁶ Having been ordered by the Audiencia of Guatemala to repay more than 9,000 pesos to the royal treasury in 1701, Caamaño had fled from La Caldera to Panama with his slaves and property, reportedly planning to escape permanently to Spain.¹⁶⁷ In February 1705, however, he had been sighted again in Costa Rica.¹⁶⁸

Around December 1704, Caamaño had sent Gregorio Caamaño, an African slave of Casasola’s father-in-law and the namesake of his former owner and continuing patron, to Casasola with an offer to buy Juan José.¹⁶⁹ Juan José himself had previously asked Captain Diego de Barros y Carbajal to intercede with Casasola to effect the sale, but Casasola had refused.¹⁷⁰ Thereafter, Juan José and Miguel fled. Caamaño’s complicity in their action became clear when he sent his nephew to Casasola, offering to exchange two of Caamaño’s slaves for the fugitives Juan José and Miguel.¹⁷¹

To make good their escape, Miguel and Juan José needed one of Caamaño’s boats and the help of his slaves. They counted on Francisco de Caamaño, a local freedman also of

casta arará and former slave of the man whose surname he bore, to alert them when all was ready. Francisco de Caamaño stated that the day before the slaves fled, Juan José had asked him “where was the said don Gregorio, and if his boat was made up and ready, and where were the slaves of the said don Gregorio Caamaño.”¹⁷² Francisco de Caamaño did not mention whether he and Juan José exchanged these remarks in Spanish or in an Ewe-Fon language they might have shared. He denied having given Juan José any useful information. Neither Casasola nor the officials who heard the case gave any indication that they doubted Caamaño’s version of the story, nor that they found any significance in the common ethnicity of the slaves and the free black man whose help they had sought in their escape. A week after Casasola presented his petition, Governor Diego Herrera de Campuzano learned that Caamaño had fled the province again, presumably taking Juan José and Miguel with him.¹⁷³

Some slaves used flight to gain a specific objective, such as to force a master to sell them. Francisco, an African, was brought by smugglers to Matina early in the term of Governor don Francisco Serrano de Reina (1695-1704). First purchased by don Pedro Ortiz de Rosas, Rosas soon traded Francisco to his father-in-law don Pedro de Alvarado for another slave, probably before 1700.¹⁷⁴ Sent to work on Alvarado’s hacienda in the Valley of Bagaces, Francisco fled to Nicaragua, “where he sought a master.” The ploy proved successful: the son of Francisco’s master, Gil de Alvarado, followed him to Nicaragua and sold him to Andrés Arias of Granada.¹⁷⁵ Other slaves were forced to go to more drastic lengths. In 1692, María Manuela, a mulata about twenty-five years old, had been fugitive in the mountains near Cartago for more than a year. Her mistress, doña

Juana Núñez Trupira (elsewhere Trujira), described María Manuela as “of such an evil nature that I have no profit from her at all.” When Trupira succeeded in having her captured and returned to her house, María Manuela ran away again. She now refused to return to Trupira, and threatened that “if they compel her to do so she will have to take her own life.”¹⁷⁶ Complaining of “bad treatment,” María Manuela had repeatedly sought the intercession of civil authorities before presenting herself at the home of parish priest Agustín de Torres, asking for his protection until someone could be found to buy her.¹⁷⁷ Recognizing the “known danger to her life,” *Alcalde* Nicolás de Céspedes ordered that María Manuela be sold. She was sold the same day to Juan Hidalgo for 400 pesos.¹⁷⁸ For María Manuela, flight was but one of the drastic means by which she tried to relieve her own suffering. Similarly, in the 1720s Eugenia was sent by her master with an agent to be sold in Panama. Don Pedro de Castellanos was forced to return with Eugenia to La Caldera, as Eugenia had convinced him that she would flee or commit suicide if left in Panama. In her desperation to return to Costa Rica, Eugenia said that whatever Panamanian “gave his money [for her] would lose it, because she would have to hang herself and did not know what else to do.” She demanded that authorities “put me in Cartago,” because “I must not serve against my will.”¹⁷⁹

Desperation moved slaves to combine flight with other drastic actions. In April 1723, Captain Juan Cortés, a free mulato who lived in the Valley of Barva west of Cartago, accused his slave, Antonia, a mulata about forty years old, of having set a series of fires to his house, sugarmill, and cane field.¹⁸⁰ Born in Cartago, Antonia had long been a slave of Cortés’s family, having been owned first by his grandparents, Clara Morera and

Bernardo Cortés, and then by his mother, María Rodríguez.¹⁸¹ Neighbor Francisco Ruiz declared that Antonia held “much hate and ill will” toward the younger Cortés. For her part, Antonia denied that she felt “any ill will at all” toward Cortés, insisting that the reverse was true.¹⁸² In any case, Antonia had often been truant from her master. On one occasion, she hid out with the slaves and servants of neighbor Francisco Loria in the kitchen, a separate building from Loria’s main house that also served as servants’ quarters. When Loria learned she was there, he ordered his slave Matías to return her to Cortés. But on the way, Antonia slipped away and spent the night outdoors among the *itaba* trees near Loria’s house. That night, Cortés’s *trapiche* burned. The next morning Antonia turned up again at Loria’s. When Loria returned her to Cortés, Cortés told Loria of the fire and asked him to keep Antonia until he could dispose of her. In January 1723, Cortés sold Antonia to neighbor Francisco Ruiz, but his troubles did not end there.¹⁸³ In April 1723, Cortés’s cane field burned, and again, he suspected Antonia.¹⁸⁴

For reasons not made explicit in the documentation, a few days after filing his initial complaint, Cortés changed his story completely. He now claimed never to have actually sold Antonia to Ruiz; he had only sent her to live with Ruiz in contemplation of the sale. He withdrew his accusation of arson against Antonia, now saying that his suspicions of Antonia’s guilt had derived from “only the most remote indications,” and that “I have no doubt that I was under a wrong impression that the said mulata could have been the motor of the fires.” Promising he would in no way punish Antonia for his mistaken accusations, Cortés asked the judge to return her to him.¹⁸⁵

Informed of Cortés's new strategy, Antonia told judge Juan de Ugalde that she did not wish to be returned to Cortés. She asked instead that he concede her "a paper of sale to seek an owner to content her."¹⁸⁶ Ugalde forwarded the suggestion to Cortés, who replied that "it is not to my convenience that [Antonia] stay in this province." He asked to be allowed to sell her to a party who would take her abroad, repeating his promise not to punish her.¹⁸⁷ On 25 April 1723, Ugalde conceded Cortés's request, under the stipulated conditions, and returned Antonia to her owner. He sold her the next day to Governor don Diego de la Haya Fernández.¹⁸⁸ Antonia's desperate actions ultimately resulted not only in her removal from the home of Juan Cortés, but from the province in which she had always lived.

In other cases, slaves fled to former owners, from whom they had received better treatment than their present ones. In 1735, Francisco Canela, an elderly slave of *casta congo* already more than sixty years old, appeared at the home of Francisco Garrido. He implored Garrido to buy him, appealing to "that love which he has for us because he was a slave of doña Agueda Pérez de Muro, my legitimate wife."¹⁸⁹ True, Francisco had been a slave of doña Agueda and her first husband, don José de Casasola y Córdoba, but that had been more than thirty years before. Casasola had sold Francisco to Captain Francisco de Bonilla in 1703.¹⁹⁰ By 1708, Francisco worked in the service of *Alférez* Tomás de Chaves, Bonilla having mortgaged him for 200 pesos.¹⁹¹ The following year, Bonilla formalized the transfer, when Chaves purchased Francisco for 400 pesos.¹⁹² Francisco remained in the service of Chaves and his wife Juana de Solís for more than a quarter of a century, no doubt working mainly in sugar production in the family's

trápiche on the banks of the Virilla River in the Valley of Curridabat.¹⁹³ Although Francisco's specific reasons for seeking to return to his former mistress were not recorded, by 1735, Francisco had begun to suffer serious health problems including heart trouble. Garrido acceded to his request, writing to Solís that he would either pay for Francisco in cacao or supply another slave in his place. Solís chose the latter option, and accepted Cristóbal Manzano, 50, in Francisco's stead.¹⁹⁴

Occasionally, slaves fled their masters and appealed directly to the governor of Costa Rica pleading for his protection. Francisco Caracata, a Slave Coast native of *casta arará*, was brought to Matina by English smugglers around the turn of the eighteenth century.¹⁹⁵ In Costa Rica, he became a confirmed runaway. By 25 September 1719, Caracata had been away from his master for more than forty days. Don Manuel de Arburola's repeated attempts to find him had so far met with no success.¹⁹⁶ A few days later, Francisco was apprehended in Matina and surrendered to the overseer of his master's cacao hacienda.¹⁹⁷ When Caracata was brought to his master imprisoned him in a room of his house. Although he was sick and chained, Caracata managed to break first one of his chains, then a bar on one of the windows, and escape the house. Having searched the mountains and estates near Cartago to no avail, Arburola planned to look for him next in Matina.¹⁹⁸ Late on the night of 17 January 1721, Francisco appeared at the home of Governor don Diego de la Haya Fernández, still wearing a chain and lock around his right leg.¹⁹⁹ Francisco's body bore signs of ill health and probably abuse, such as swelling of the knees and abscesses on his chest and shoulder blades. Described as about fifty years old, he was probably much younger.²⁰⁰ Although the governor did not bother to record what

Francisco wanted of him, if he sought to be sold to another master, he achieved his aim. In April 1722, Caracata was sold to don Francisco Javier de Oreamuno for just 100 pesos.²⁰¹

Francisco Cubero, a mulato, had lived all of his twenty years in the home of his mistress, doña Catalina González del Camino, who died in November 1745.²⁰² He must have known each of his mistress's children, and when he faced the prospect that one of them would soon become his new owner, Francisco fled. In July 1746, González del Camino's son and widower wrote that despite "the inquiries that have been made, it is not known which direction he took." Accordingly, Francisco was discounted from the property adjudicated to González del Camino's heirs.²⁰³ A month after her other slaves had been distributed among her survivors, Francisco presented himself to the *Alcalde Provincial* Sergeant Major don José Antonio de Oreamuno, requesting "that he might be sold to a master of his liking." Oreamuno conferred with González del Camino's heirs, and with their consent, Francisco was sold to don Francisco Fernández de la Pastora.²⁰⁴

Despite its rugged geography and mild climate – conditions which favored the growth of *cimarrón* communities elsewhere – unconquered areas of Costa Rica never provided a haven for significant numbers of fugitive slaves. Most slaves who struck out on the roads were soon captured and returned to their masters. Those who hid out in the woods were found out, or eventually returned of their own accord. Little is known of the relationships between people of African descent and Costa Rica's indigenous peoples, but most fugitives apparently failed to find refuge among unconquered Indians. A few joined the

Miskito Zambos, but this was to risk enslavement by a new master; at least two African men repented of the decision and returned to Costa Rica years later. A slave's best chance of success lay in escaping to another Spanish province. Better able to blend into their new host societies than Africans, mulatos proved most successful at this strategy, but they, too, accounted for only a handful. With permanent escape offering slight chance of success, slaves often chose to flee not to "escape slavery," but to seek another master who could provide protection against the old. Although this strategy alleviated some of the immediate problems confronting many slaves, ultimately, it reinforced and even enhanced the power of masters as a class by reaffirming their role as protectors of their social subordinates. In retrospect, slave flight, a permanent feature of Costa Rican slavery, might appear to have been little more than an ongoing nuisance. But as many masters owned only one or two slaves, the flight of a slave could mean serious disruptions, for example, if slaves fled at the time of the cacao or sugar harvests; and sometimes economic hardship, as when widows relied on their slaves for income. When masters depended so immediately on their slaves, flight could prove more than an inconvenience.

Violent Resistance

Costa Rican documents keep remarkably silent about violent resistance by slaves. The scant evidence that exists appears most often as chance comment in a document about other matters. In 1678, for example, Captain don Francisco de Salazar recorded in his

will that the previous year his slave Segundo, a sixteen-year-old mulato, had been garrotted by Captain don José de Alvarado for “having resisted.”²⁰⁵ No record of the original charges against Segundo appears to have survived. Similarly, the following year, the cabildo of Cartago met to choose a new *Alguacil Mayor*. According to the cabildo’s minutes, the acting *Alguacil*, the Adjutant Francisco Sáenz de Espinoza, “is in bed because Juan Antonio, mulato slave of the Captain Juan Flores, treacherously stabbed him, as a result of which he has little hope of living.”²⁰⁶ No case file on Juan Antonio has been preserved. According to records of funds collected for the renovation of the parish church of Cartago, Juan Antonio was executed by *Alcalde* Sebastián de Zamora, and buried 10 August 1679.²⁰⁷ In 1687, doña Francisca Sánchez de Orozco petitioned the governor of Costa Rica to return her the goods she had brought to her marriage as dowry. Against her will, her husband had mortgaged two of her mulato slaves, Santiago and Santamaría. The men were now imprisoned in Esparza, accused of complicity in the murder of Alonso Mateos, to whom they had been mortgaged.²⁰⁸ Again, records of the criminal charges against Santiago and Santamaría cannot be located. Apparently, they were acquitted of those charges, as they appeared years later in the testament of Sánchez de Orozco’s widowed husband.²⁰⁹ Santiago, however, was later executed for murder, probably as the result of another incident.²¹⁰ In other cases, not even the charges against the accused have survived, and only the names – sometimes not even those -- of the black men and women executed remain. In 1681, an unnamed mulata was hanged.²¹¹ Antonio, a black, was executed in 1694.²¹²

In contrast to the numerous, if poorly documented, cases of individual resistance, there is less direct evidence of slave rebellion in Costa Rica during the entire colonial period. Occasionally, however, slavemasters made cryptic references to conspiracies among slaves which, again, went unrecorded in other documents. In 1720, Captain Manuel García de Argueta recalled that some slaves “have treacherously killed their masters . . . in this city, [and have been] hanged in the public square for such crimes and others.”²¹³ Decades after the events documented above, García must have referred to more recent incidents unrecorded in other documents. Most tantalizing of all, a 1732 letter from Governor don Baltasar Francisco de Valderrama to his Lieutenant in Matina clearly referred to a slave uprising there:

The thing about the blacks was looked at and has been looked at with the care and prevention that its nature and consequences demand, and already a provision was made for its remedy, as your relative Captain don Francisco Garrido, bearer of this [letter], will communicate to you; of this, in the end it is better that they should have been removed as Your Honor says . . . we would be free if at the first insolence Your Honor had hanged one, because in an uprising there is nothing better nor more lawful than to remove the leader [*cabeza*]; and because that did not happen, so that such boldness would not happen again, it is good that those who were the leaders be removed by their owners and they be given some punishment . . . because if it is tolerated there will be more and more . . . let the owners be advised for their compliance.²¹⁴

Valderrama’s reference to a verbal “provision” to be communicated by the bearer of the letter clearly indicates that the instructions for dealing with the slave uprising were oral, and probably never written down. Although the documents do not clarify the “nature and consequences” of this incident, rumblings of slave conspiracies in Matina continued more than two years later. José Felipe Bermúdez, Lieutenant General in the Matina Valley, made another oblique reference in a 1734 letter to the governor:

“Regarding the black slaves, I am informed of what I must do whenever it be necessary.”²¹⁵

Without better documentation, it is impossible to offer a definitive judgment on the impact of violent slave resistance. Such occurrences do not seem to have effected the everyday functioning of the slave system in Costa Rica more than temporarily, however, including the broad freedom of movement accorded to slaves.

Honor among Slaves

Less dramatic examples of resistance occurred when slaves verbally demanded respect from their social superiors. Although enslaved, they refused to accept that they were inferior, despite laws that disadvantaged them as “common” or “vile people.”²¹⁶ Through words alone, captives challenged the hierarchy of masters and slaves, implicitly refuting a major premise of slavery itself – that it was justified by black inferiority.²¹⁷ In the Mediterranean and Latin America, furthermore, such verbal challenges, especially those uttered in public, threatened another fundamental concept underpinning the social order -- honor.²¹⁸ William Ian Miller has defined honor as “above all the keen sensitivity to the experience of humiliation and shame.”²¹⁹ Honor manifested itself in decidedly different ways for men and women, although a concern for reputation was paramount to both. For men, defending the public esteem of oneself and one’s family mattered most; for women, the reputation of sexual purity as a virgin or faithful wife was most important, and also reflected upon the family in turn. Public insults to honor demanded public rectification,

through violence or legal action. Ostensibly, only the honor of members of the Spanish ruling class was beyond reproach, but in practice, people at all levels of society laid claim to honor in varying degrees, and they sometimes proved bold enough to question the honor of their social superiors.²²⁰ As Captain don José Mier de Cevallos wrote to the provincial governor in 1716, “there are some mestizos, zambos, and free mulatos in this province who are so haughty and arrogant that, [even] in the midst of their poverty, they do not humble themselves, nor subject [themselves] to the service of the Spaniards . .

..”²²¹

To the disgust of Spaniards, this “arrogant” self-confidence and sense of self-worth extended even to slaves. For enslaved men, a sense of honor, independence, and even equality with white men sometimes developed from a knowledge of their importance in production. This sense proved especially strong in Matina, where enslaved men lived and worked largely free of the supervision or interference of whites. After building their own homes and managing the cacao haciendas in every way, some slave men understandably felt a sense of proprietorship and regarded the semiannual visits of the hacendados as unwelcome intrusions. In 1696, the Spanish Captain Juan de Bonilla travelled to Matina for the June harvest on an errand from doña Josefa de Santiago y Aguiar, who wished to ensure that no one collected cacao from her properties until her son arrived to supervise. Upon arrival, Bonilla found Francisco de Flores collecting cacao from doña Josefa’s groves. When Bonilla asked him on whose authority he was picking the fruit, Flores replied that he had been sent by Gregorio Sanabria, the mulato

slave of doña Ambrosia de Echavarría Navarro. Sanabria had sent Flores to collect a debt of two *zurrone*s (436 lb./198 kg.) that Benito Mejía, doña Josefa's slave, owed him.²²²

Infuriated by the slave's initiative, the next day, Captain Juan de Bonilla went with three servants to Echavarría Navarro's hacienda and called out to Gregorio, "Come here, mulato, where will your shamelessness end? On whose authority did you go to pick cacao?" Gregorio replied, "on [my] authority alone." He never claimed to have acted on orders from his mistress, which would likely have absolved him of responsibility. When Bonilla called him a scoundrel (*desvergonzado*), Gregorio rejoined that the shameless one was Bonilla, "for coming to his [Gregorio's] house to treat him like that."²²³ Bonilla then raised the stakes by calling Gregorio a dog, at which Gregorio warned him to "watch how he talked," and observed that "there were many kinds of dogs, there were Spanish dogs, too."²²⁴ Enraged, Bonilla took a machete from his belt and was about to start at Gregorio when he thought better of it and "contained [himself]" and "as a Spaniard and a man of honor," told Gregorio, "come now, man, let's leave it like that." Unsatisfied with the Spaniard's offer of a truce, Gregorio threw the contents of a cup of chocolate menacingly at Bonilla's feet and wished aloud that they were alone. Bonilla turned and made his exit, later to seek legal satisfaction for the insults. Gregorio was imprisoned in the Cartago jail in July 1696.²²⁵

Captain Juan de Bonilla fully expected subordination from the mulato slave, but Gregorio Sanabria refused to accept that his enslavement or color required him to submit to insults, even from a Spanish "man of honor." Insolent speech gave slaves the power to strike at their masters with the weapon of shame, and Gregorio hit back.²²⁶ By implying

that Bonilla was a “Spanish dog,” Gregorio rejected the idea that whites had honor by definition, and demanded respect though a mulato slave. By throwing the cup of chocolate at Bonilla’s feet, Gregorio dared the Spaniard to try to subdue him by violence. At that critical moment, both the ideology and the reality of white superiority hung in the balance. If Gregorio succeeded in thrashing Bonilla, he would not only prove the falsity of white superiority, but momentarily defeat the violence that ultimately underpinned it.²²⁷ Recognizing the stakes, already humiliated before his servants, Bonilla retreated to safer ground – the Spanish judicial system, where the odds were stacked overwhelmingly in his favor -- and attempted to secure a legal restoration of his honor. The son of the mulata slave María Sanabria, Gregorio had been born around 1662 and raised in the home of doña Juana Moscoso.²²⁸ Although brought up in slavery and, beyond any doubt, aware of the Spanish American assumption of white superiority, Gregorio gave no indication that he accepted that premise. On the contrary, he openly disdained the implication that he owed whites any special deference. According to historian William E. Wiethoff, in the United States South, mulatos demonstrated more aptitude for verbal insolence than Africans, because the former were more acculturated, and possessed better language skills and knowledge of slave “rights.”²²⁹

In Costa Rica, too, mulatos used their cultural fluency to challenge whites at their most vulnerable point: their honor. Like Gregorio Sanabria, the mulata slaves Ana and Mauricia had grown up in the home of their mistress, daughter and granddaughter of the enslaved woman Juana.²³⁰ As Gregorio challenged Captain Juan de Bonilla to defend his honor through violence, in 1755, Ana and Mauricia questioned the sexual purity of

several Spanish women in their Cartago neighborhood. According to one witness, one Sunday after High Mass, doña Lucía de Alvarado, wife of don José Nicolás de Bonilla, called Ana “the biggest whore.” Ana allegedly replied that she was as much of a whore as doña Lucía, and that when her husband Bonilla was away, Alvarado went walking the streets.²³¹ With this rejoinder, the slave woman Ana, the single mother of Mauricia, compared her sexual reputation to that of a married Spanish woman, and judged the behavior of the latter more shameless than her own. According to other accounts, Ana had made similar allegations against the honor of doña Lucía’s unmarried younger sisters, charging that they had installed false bars in their windows that they removed at night to let men enter their bedrooms.²³² According to the Indian servant Bernardo Campos, Ana and Mauricia had shouted the insults so loudly that he heard them from inside Bonilla’s house, notwithstanding that he had been slaughtering a cow at the time.²³³ No doubt to vindicate the honor of his household from such a public insult, don José Nicolás de Bonilla charged the slave women with slander, and Ana was held in the Cartago jail. The mulatas’ accusations sufficiently piqued the curiosity of the presiding judge, don Tomás López del Corral, that he made a special outing to Bonilla’s house to inspect the windows in question. He found them “fully secure, and with no sign of recent manufacture.”²³⁴

In contrast to Gregorio Sanabria, Ana and Mauricia denied that they had challenged the honor of the Spanish women; in a lifetime of slavery, they had learned “verbal and nonverbal devices to mask their insolence.”²³⁵ When confronted with the statements of witnesses, Ana denied she “would ever have dared do such a thing” as insult doña Lucía

de Alvarado, claiming that in reality she had been insulting one of doña Lucía's servants, who often provoked her. Ana's mistress, doña Francisca de Miranda, confirmed that Bartola, a free mestiza servant of Bonilla's, and Efigenia, his slave, taunted Ana almost daily. Ana added that she was well aware of the chastity of doña Lucía and her younger sisters because of the proximity of their homes.²³⁶ Bonilla rejoined that Ana only denied her words because she was "afraid of punishment." He maintained that Ana had directed her slanderous words to his sisters-in-law, and refused to accept Ana's retraction of the insults, because "this might be permissible when the words were proffered by a person of quality (*calidad*) and distinction, [but] not by a person so vile and of such low station as a mulata slave of bad origins."²³⁷ Bonilla argued that her race and her tainted lineage meant that Ana could not undo the damage she had done with her public insults. Soon after, however, "persons of authority and respect, to whom I owe all [my] attention" persuaded Bonilla to drop the lawsuit if Ana and Mauricia would publicly disavow the aspersions they had cast on Bonilla's sisters-in-law.²³⁸ *Alcalde Ordinario* Captain don Félix García de Casasola ordered Ana freed forthwith. Aware of the "vexation and unpleasantness (*desazón y disgusto*)" between the two houses, García de Casasola warned their inhabitants, "masters as well as servants," to avoid any further nettlesome incidents.²³⁹ But more than two weeks later, Bonilla complained that Ana had still not public recanted her insults, and ultimately appealed the case to the Audiencia of Guatemala.²⁴⁰

Insolent speech held no power to overthrow the slave system, but it did call into question the bases of that system. By insulting their social superiors, slaves rejected the

very superiority of their masters. Through their verbal challenges, slaves vocally defied the justifications of their oppression. Such insolence hinted at a more pervasive discontent that was less often given voice. Although colonial society might attempt to reduce them to the status of “things,” slaves never accepted that view of themselves.²⁴¹

Conclusion

Slavery itself generated resistance, and slaves in Costa Rica resisted their oppression in myriad ways ranging from verbal insolence to violence. At its most basic, their resistance showed that slaves refused to accept that their condition made them less human than others or condemned them to suffer inhuman treatment. This formulation does not vicariously impute a coherent desire to destroy the system of slavery to Costa Rican slaves, but recognizes that they fought to improve the conditions in which they lived even as slaves. Such an elastic definition, however, can encompass muttered words or even secret thoughts as well as concrete actions, threatening to render the concept of resistance meaningless by confusing intentions with consequences. Historians, as did the slaves they study, should strive toward a realistic understanding of whether various forms of resistance held the potential to improve the conditions in which slaves lived, which succeeded in doing so, and which failed.

Slave resistance in Costa Rica remained overwhelmingly at the individual level. Even when successful, individual resistance could do no more than a slave intended it to do – to ameliorate his or her own suffering. Although individual slaves might hope to solve

personal problems through resistance, their actions could not directly lessen the plight of their fellow slaves, and ultimately held no potential to threaten slavery in the colony. Verbal challenges could provide some psychological satisfaction and even restore a measure of dignity to slaves, but no more. For most slaves, the potential costs of insolence probably outweighed the benefits. Fugitive slaves, whether they escaped alone or in groups, were usually recaptured. Sporadic and temporary, although flight could cause big problems for individual masters, it posed only a minimal threat to the functioning of slavery in the colony. Furthermore, although the common strategy of fugitive slaves to seek out new patrons could undermine particular masters, it only increased the power of others. Even – perhaps especially -- when successful at solving immediate problems, seeking new patrons discouraged slaves from relying on each other or forming common cause with members of other oppressed groups, instead enhancing the power of the master class. *Cimarrón* communities or alliances with Indians, either of which could have presented a serious challenge to the slaveholding system, failed to materialize. In the few documented instances of slave violence, individual slaves struck at individual adversaries, no doubt for their own individual reasons. Their actions were rewarded with capital punishment. Although such desperate acts surely reflected a more general current of discontent among slaves, swift repression warned against similar incidents. The odds against slave uprisings were even greater; none went beyond the conspiracy stage.

Basic realities of slavery in Costa Rica conditioned the types of resistance that emerged there. Scattered and often isolated from their fellow slaves, Costa Rican slaves

by and large failed to develop the collective consciousness that might have enabled them to present a serious challenge to the slave system itself – not an entirely unrealistic notion in a colony with a relatively small investment in slavery. While their attempts to improve their lives proved disruptive to individual masters, they remained limited and containable. Ultimately, the Costa Rican colonial system proved well able to accommodate slave resistance.

¹ Trevor Burnard, *Mastery, Tyranny, and Desire: Thomas Thistlewood and His Slaves in the Anglo-Jamaican World* (Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina, 2004), 138 (quoted); Norrece T. Jones, Jr., *Born a Child of Freedom, Yet a Slave: Mechanisms of Control and Strategies of Resistance in Antebellum South Carolina* (Hanover, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press, 1990), 10.

² Such language was particularly common in letters of manumission; for one of many examples, see Carta de libertad de 5 esclavos, Cartago, 28 March 1726, Archivo Nacional de Costa Rica, San José (hereafter ANCR), Protocolos Coloniales de Cartago (hereafter P.C.) 899, fols. 24-25.

³ Petición de doña Agueda Pérez de Muro, presentada en Cartago, 9 Jan. 1719, ANCR, Sección Complementario Colonial (hereafter C.C.) 4111, fol. 36.

⁴ Petición del Cap. Manuel García de Argueta, presentada en Cartago, 13 July 1720, ANCR, Sección Colonial Cartago (hereafter C.) 243, fols. 25-25v.

⁵ Agostino Marques Perdigão Malheiros, *A escravidão no Brasil: Ensaio histórico-jurídico-social* (Rio de Janeiro, 1866-1867).

⁶ Rina Cáceres, “Costa Rica, en la frontera del comercio de esclavos africanos,” *Reflexiones* (Facultad de Ciencias Sociales, Universidad de Costa Rica), no. 65 (Dec. 1997), 12.

⁷ Solomon Northup, *Twelve Years a Slave: Narrative of Solomon Northup, a Citizen of New-York, Kidnapped in Washington City in 1841 and Rescued in 1853, from a Cotton Plantation near the Red River in Louisiana* (Auburn: Derby and Miller, 1853), 240.

⁸ Gerald W. Mullin, *Flight and Rebellion: Slave Resistance in Eighteenth-Century Virginia* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1972), 39-47; John Hope Franklin and Loren Schweninger, *Runaway Slaves: Rebels on the Plantation* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 232-233.

⁹ For one such example, see El Ayudante Francisco Hernández Barquero reclama pago por la aprehensión de algunos esclavos, fugitivos de Panamá, ANCR, C.C. 3925 (Cartago, 1686).

¹⁰ Auto del Gobernador para la aprehensión del negro Antonio Civitola, Cartago, 27 Dec. 1719, ANCR, C. 259, fol. 5; Auto para que el Cap. Manuel de Arburola ponga en el Juzgado el negro Francisco, y su respuesta, Cartago, 20 Nov. 1720, ANCR, C. 232, fol. 7.

¹¹ Robinson Herrera found no evidence of *bozales* among female runaways in early sixteenth-century Guatemala. Herrera, "The People of Santiago: Early Colonial Guatemala, 1538-1587" (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 1997), 284. Similarly, African women accounted for just three of 142 female fugitives in colonial Virginia. Mullin, *Flight and Rebellion*, 105.

¹² Petición de Juan Román, negro esclavo, presentada en Cartago, 30 July 1733, C.C. 4292, fol. 1; ANCR, Petición del Cap. Juan de Ocampo Golfín, defensor del negro Román Sánchez (alias Juan Román), presentada en Cartago, 25 Aug. 1733, ANCR, C.C. 4292, fol. 13.

¹³ Deborah Gray White, *Ar'n't I a Woman? Female Slaves in the Plantation South* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1985), 70-74; Franklin and Schweninger, *Runaway Slaves*, 212; Camp, Stephanie M. H. *Closer to Freedom: Enslaved Women and Everyday Resistance in the Plantation South*. Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 2004), 36-38.

¹⁴ Franklin and Schweninger, *Runaway Slaves*, 331.

¹⁵ Lathan Algerna Windley, *A Profile of Runaway Slaves in Virginia and South Carolina from 1730 through 1787* (New York: Garland, 1995), 164.

¹⁶ Philip D. Morgan, *Slave Counterpoint: Black Culture in the Eighteenth-Century Chesapeake and Lowcountry* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998), 447-448; Franklin and Schweninger, *Runaway Slaves*, 229, 232.

¹⁷ Morgan, *Slave Counterpoint*, 447; Mullin, *Flight and Rebellion*, 42 (quoted), 43.

¹⁸ Auto de visita, Puerto de la Caldera, 29 Oct. 1700, ANCR, C. 109, fol. 6v.

¹⁹ Auto de comiso de 41 negros y negras, Esparza, 6 Nov. 1700, ANCR, C. 109, fol. 7; Auto de depósito de 41 negros y negras, Esparza, 7 Nov. 1700, ANCR, C. 109, fol. 8; Auto de almoneda, Esparza, 30 Nov. 1700, ANCR, C. 109, fol. 16v. Although the initial proceedings generated by the judges don Gregorio de Caamaño y Juan Antonio de Bogarín referred to 41 blacks, Bogarín later revealed that the *Nuestra Señora de la Soledad y Santa Isabel* actually brought 54 Africans. Declaración de Juan Antonio Bogarín, 18 Aug. 1703, Archivo General de Indias, Seville (hereafter AGI), Audiencia de Guatemala (hereafter G.) 359, pieza 5, fols. 29v. Caamaño falsified the documents to conceal his own appropriation of "a dozen of the best blacks." Declaración del Cap. Francisco de los Reyes, Cartago, 9 July 1703, AGI, G. 359, pieza 5, fol. 5v

²⁰ Certificación de una venta de esclavos celebrada en el 1 de noviembre de 1700, Esparza, 24 Aug. 1701, ANCR, Sección Guatemala (hereafter G.) 188, fol. 10.

²¹ Carta de don José de Guzmán al Presidente de la Audiencia de Guatemala, Cartago, 2 Jan. 1701, AGI, G. 359, pieza 6, fol. 5v; Requerimiento al Gobernador de Costa Rica don Francisco Serrano de Reina, y su respuesta, Cartago, 12 Jan. 1701, ANCR, C. 109, fol. 51v.

²² Petición del Alf. Ambrosio Hernández, presentada Esparza, 12 March 1701, ANCR, C. 109, fol. 32; AGI, G. 359, pieza 6, fol. 107.

²³ Auto de los jueces don Gregorio de Caamaño y Juan Antonio de Bogarín, Esparza, 20 Feb. 1701, ANCR, C. 109, fol. 27. But see also the later statement of Bogarín, when he claimed that these slaves were illegally concealed by Caamaño, leaving doubt as to whether they actually fled. Declaración de Juan Antonio Bogarín, Cartago, 21 Aug. 1703, AGI, G. 359, pieza 5, fol. 38.

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- ²⁴ Auto de manifestación de 4 negros, Esparza, 22 Feb. 1701, ANCR, C. 109, fol. 28.
- ²⁵ Auto de almoneda, Esparza, 15 April 1701, ANCR, C. 109, fols. 32v-33.
- ²⁶ Inventario de los cinco negros traídos de Matina por el Cap. Antonio de Soto y Barahona, Cartago, 1 May 1710, ANCR, C. 187, fols. 69v-70v; Inventario de los 38 negros traídos de Matina por el Teniente Juan Bautista Retana, Cartago, 11 May 1710, ANCR, C. 187, fols. 97-100v.
- ²⁷ Memoria de los gastos en el mantenimiento de los negros, presentada por Juan López Carrera y Soto, Cartago, 24 July 1710, ANCR, C. 182, fol. 43v; Aprecio de los negros, Cartago, 18 Aug. 1710, ANCR, C. 182, fol. 58; Inventario de los cinco negros traídos de Matina por el Cap. Antonio de Soto y Barahona, Cartago, 1 May 1710, ANCR, C. 187, fols. 69v-70v.
- ²⁸ Inventario de 16 negros y negras, Cartago, 11 June 1710, ANCR, C. 187, fols. 147-149. For the identification of the “*nangu*” with the Ana subgroup of the Yoruba, see Russell Lohse, “Africans in a Colony of Creoles: The Yoruba in Colonial Costa Rica” in *The Yoruba Diaspora in the Americas*, ed. Toyin Falola and Matt D. Childs (Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press), forthcoming.
- ²⁹ Sidney W. Mintz and Richard Price, *The Birth of African-American Culture: An Anthropological Perspective* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1992; first published as *An Anthropological Approach to the Afro-American Past*. Philadelphia : Institute for the Study of Human Issues, 1976).
- ³⁰ Inventario de 22 negros y negras traídos de Matina por el Cap. Gaspar de Acosta Arévalo, Cartago, 14 April 1710, ANCR, C. 187, fols. 12-13v. The two men were called *carabali* by their new captors, indicating an origin in the Bight of Biafra, but this identification was clearly mistaken, as neither ship obtained Africans east of Ouidah in modern Benin.
- ³¹ Philip Morgan notes groups of both African and creole slave fugitives in colonial South Carolina, as does Brenda E. Stephenson in colonial Virginia, who makes an argument similar to that made here. Morgan, *Slave Counterpoint*, 448; Brenda E. Stephenson, *Life in Black and White: Family and Community in the Slave South* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), 169-170.
- ³² Declaración del Cap. Francisco de los Reyes, Cartago, 9 July 1703, AGI, G. 359, pieza 5, fols. 5v (quoted), 9.
- ³³ Razón del Teniente General don Diego de Barros de quien hubo su esclavo Francisco Congo, Cartago, 30 May 1720, ANCR, C. 265, fol. 2v; Reconocimiento del despacho presentado por don Diego de Barros, Cartago, 3 June 1720, ANCR, C. 265, fol. 3v.
- ³⁴ Decreto de don Gabriel Sánchez de Berrospe, Presidente de la Real Audiencia, Guatemala, 5 Jan. 1702, ANCR, C. 109, fols. 59-60; Auto del Lic. don Francisco de Carmona, juez comisario, Cartago, 31 May 1703, ANCR, G. 128, fol. 6v; Auto del Lic. don Francisco de Carmona, juez comisario, Cartago, 25 May 1703, AGI, G. 359, pieza 4, fol. 3; Respuesta del Gobernador don Francisco Serrano de Reina, Cartago, 30 May 1703, ANCR, G. 128, fol. 4.
- ³⁵ Razón del Teniente General don Diego de Barros de quien hubo su esclavo Francisco Congo, Cartago, 30 May 1720, ANCR, C. 265, fol. 2v; Reconocimiento del despacho presentado por don Diego de Barros, Cartago, 3 June 1720, ANCR, C. 265, fol. 3v; Declaración de José Congo, negro esclavo de doña Agueda Pérez de Muro, Matina, 5 Dec. 1719, ANCR, C. 251, fol. 3v.

³⁶ Philip Morgan argues that in colonial South Carolina, “creoles were often the dominant partners” in groups of runaways that included both Africans and creoles. *Slave Counterpoint*, 462.

³⁷ Gomez, *Exchanging Our Country Marks*, 195-197.

³⁸ Petición del Maestre de Campo don José de Casasola y Córdoba, presentada en Cartago, 12 Feb. 1705, ANCR, C.C. 3978, fol. 2.

³⁹ Autos del gobernador, Cartago, 19 March 1722, ANCR, C. 292, fols. 6, 8.

⁴⁰ “Juicio promovido por Rodrigo de Contreras contra Hernán Sánchez de Badajoz en la costa del Mar del Norte, al cual se acumularon los procesos entablados por Juan de Bastidas y Juan Luis contra el dicho . . .” [1540], in Vega Bolaños, ed., *Colección Somoza*, 6:495, 497.

⁴¹ “Juicio promovido por Rodrigo de Contreras,” 6:495, 496 (quoted), 497.

⁴² See Richard Price, “Introduction: Maroons and Their Communities,” in *Maroon Societies*, ed. Price, 2nd ed. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1979), 1-30; João José Reis and Flávio dos Santos Gomes, “Introdução: Uma história da liberdade,” in *Liberdade por um fio*, ed. Reis and Gomes (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 1996), 9-25.

⁴³ For example, see Rina Cáceres, *Negros, mulatos, esclavos y libertos en la Costa Rica del siglo XVII* (Mexico: Instituto Panamericano de Geografía e Historia, 2000), 85-86; Carolyn E. Fick, *The Making of Haiti: The Saint Domingue Revolution from Below* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1992), chapter 2.

⁴⁴ See Gabriel Debien, *Les esclaves aux Antilles françaises, XVIIe-XVIIIe siècles* (Basse-Terre, Guadeloupe: Societe d'Histoire de la Guadeloupe, 1974), 424; João José Reis, “Fugas, revoltas e quilombos: Os limites da negociação,” in *Negociação e conflito: A resistência negra no Brasil escravista* (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 1989), 62-78.

⁴⁵ Munford, *Black Ordeal*, 3:924.

⁴⁶ Petición de doña Juana Núñez de Trupira, presentada en Cartago, 1 July 1692, ANCR, P.C. 842, fol. 63.

⁴⁷ Auto de aprehensión del negro Antonio Civitiola, Cartago, 27 Dec. 1719, ANCR, C. 259, fol. 5.

⁴⁸ Poder para vender a 2 esclavos, Cartago, 31 Oct. 1730, P.C. 903, fols. 18-18v.

⁴⁹ Declaración de Eugenia, mulata esclava del Sarg. Mr. don Juan Francisco de Ibarra, Cartago, 7 Sept. 1720, ANCR, C. 241, fol. 28.

⁵⁰ Declaración de Nicolás, negro de casta mina, Cartago, 25 April 1723, ANCR, C. 283, fols. 10v-11, quoting fol. 11; Auto sobre haber traído un negro que salió al paraje de la Reventazón, Cartago, 2 Nov. 1722, ANCR, C. 283, fol. 9v.

⁵¹ Auto de cabildo, Cartago, 3 Sept. 1736, ANCR, Sección Municipal 772, fols. 107v (quoted), 108; for identification of Nicolás, see also Venta de esclavo, Cartago, 17 Nov. 1725, ANCR, P.C. 898, fols. 168-170; Obligación del Cap. de Caballos José de Quirós, Cartago, 22 Jan. 1727, ANCR, P.C. 900, fols. 12-13.

⁵² *Viaje del Gobernador Carrandi Menán al Valle de Matina. Año 1738* (San José: Imprenta Nacional, 1850), 5-6.

⁵³ Carta de Esteban Ruiz de Mendoza al Gobernador de Costa Rica, Fuerte de San Fernando de Matina, 15 Oct. 1744, ANCR, C. 455, fols. 1-2v; see also Tatiana Lobo Wiehoff, “Los primeros pobladores de San José,” in Lobo and Mauricio Meléndez Obando, *Negros y blancos: Todo mezclado* (San José: Editorial de la Universidad de Costa Rica, 1997), 24-29.

⁵⁴ Carlos Meléndez, “El negro en Costa Rica durante la colonia,” in Meléndez and Quince Duncan, *El negro en Costa Rica*, 9th ed. (San José: Editorial Costa Rica, 1989; first published 1972), 26; Tatiana Lobo Wiehoff, “Cimarrones,” in Lobo Wiehoff and Mauricio Meléndez Obando, *Negros y blancos: Todo mezclado* (San José: Editorial de la Universidad de Costa Rica, 1997), 34.

⁵⁵ See Permuta de esclavos, Cartago, 10 March 1612, ANCR, G. 34, fol. 52; Venta de esclavo, Cartago, 28 April 1612, ANCR, G. 34, fol. 17; Poder para vender a una esclava, Cartago, 30 Sept. 1724, ANCR, P.C. 897, fols. 94v-95v; Robinson Herrera, “‘Por que no sabemos firmar’: Black Slaves in Early Guatemala,” *The Americas* 57, no. 2 (Oct. 2000), 254.

⁵⁶ Segunda declaración de Suyntin y Antonio, zambos mosquitos, Cartago, 3 May 1710, ANCR, C. 187, fol. 93v.

⁵⁷ Auto del Gobernador don Diego de la Haya Fernández, Cartago, 19 May 1722, ANCR, C. 292, fols. 5v-6; Carta de Bernardo Pacheco al Gobernador, Matina, 23 May 1722, ANCR, C. 292, fol. 7v; Auto del gobernador, Cartago, 18 June 1722, ANCR, C. 292, fol. 10.

⁵⁸ Carta del Cap. Alvaro de Nava, Esparza, 28 Feb. 1705, ANCR, C.C. 3978, fol. 8.

⁵⁹ Gad J. Heuman notes that in nineteenth-century Barbados, mulato slaves succeeded in remaining at large for periods three times longer than Africans, black creoles for twice as long. Heuman, “Runaway Slaves in Nineteenth-Century Barbados,” *Slavery and Abolition* 6, no. 3 (Dec. 1985), 103.

⁶⁰ Defunciones de Cartago y cuentas presentadas por concepto de entierros [1677-1678], Archivo de la Curia Metropolitana de San José (hereafter ACMSJ), Sección Fondos Antiguos (hereafter SFA), Sección Documentación Encuadernada (hereafter SDE), Caja 9, fol. 17v; Declaración de Ana María Solano del Carmen de Villalobos, Cartago, 5 Aug. 1757, Archivo General de la Nación, Mexico (hereafter AGN), Inquisición, vol. 929, exp. 25, fol. 368.

⁶¹ Juan Tercero de Montalvo, vecino de Nueva Segovia, da poder a don Salvador Jirón para vender un esclavo, León, Nic., 16 Nov. 1661, ANCR, P.C. 815, fols. 199-200; Venta de esclavo, Cartago, 22 March 1662, ANCR, P.C. 815, fols. 202-203.

⁶² Obligación de don José de Escalante Paniagua, Cartago, 12 Dec. 1673, ANCR, P.C. 821, fol. 28.

⁶³ Declaración de José de la Cerda, San Francisco del Higerón, 25 Jan. 1715, AGI, Escribanía 353B, fol. 666; Carta requisitoria del Teniente de Gobernador de Esparza don Francisco Duque de Estrada al Alcalde Mr. de Nicoya, San Francisco del Higerón, 25 Jan. 1715, AGI, Escribanía 353B, fol. 670 (quoted).

⁶⁴ Obligación de don José de Escalante Paniagua, Cartago, 12 Dec. 1673, ANCR, P.C. 821, fol. 28.

⁶⁵ Venta de esclavo, Cartago, 19 Nov. 1680, ANCR, P.C. 830, fols. 20-22v; José Gómez de Villalobos sustituye un poder en el Cap. don José de Escalante Paniagua, Realejo, Nic., 20 May 1680, P.C. 830, fol. 25.

⁶⁶ El Alf. José Gómez Elgueros da poder al Cap. don Matías González Camino para aprender y vender a un esclavo, Panama, 4 Sept. 1691, ANCR, P.C. 842, fols. 99-102; Venta de esclavo, Cartago, 8 Aug. 1692, ANCR, P.C. 842, fols. 96v-98v; Testamento de don Sebastián de Sandoval Golfín, Cartago, 9 March 1697, ANCR, P.C. 849, fol. 27.

⁶⁷ Petición de Diego Campuzano, presentada en Cartago, 26 Jan. 1732, ACMSJ, SFA, SDE, Caja 14, fol. 284.

⁶⁸ Declaración de Blas López, mestizo, Cartago, 29 Jan. 1732, ACMSJ, SFA, SDE, Caja 14, fols. 284v-285v.

⁶⁹ Declaración de Francisco Nicolás de Guevara, Cartago, 29 Jan. 1732, ACMSJ, SFA, SDE, Caja 14, fols. 285v-286; Declaración de Andrés Durán, mulato libre, Cartago, 30 Jan. 1732, ACMSJ, SFA, SDE, Caja 14, fol. 286v.

⁷⁰ Auto de aprobación, Cartago, 1 Feb. 1732, ACMSJ, SFA, SDE, Caja 14, fol. 287. The recorded marriage of "José Campuzano" to "María Padilla" by Fr. José Antonio Díaz de Herrera in Cartago on 4 July 1732 almost certainly refers to this marriage. ACMSJ, Libros de Matrimonios de no. 3/Family History Library, Salt Lake City, Utah (hereafter FHL), VAULT INTL film 1219727, item 8. Partida de bautizo de Antonio Martín, hijo de Diego Campuzano y de Manuela Padilla, Cartago, 13 Nov. 1733, ACMSJ, Libros de Bautizos de Cartago, no. 5/FHL, VAULT INTL film 1219701, item 5.

⁷¹ Petición del Sarg. Mr. don Juan Francisco de Ibarra, presentada en Cartago, 28 June 1734, ACMSJ, SFA, SDE, Caja 15, fol. 47; Declaración de Diego Campuzano, 28 June 1734, ACMSJ, SFA, SDE, Caja 15, fols. 47-47v; Declaración de Manuela Josefa de Padilla, Cartago, 28 June 1734, ACMSJ, SFA, SDE, Caja 15, fol. 48.

⁷² Auto de remisión, Cartago, 30 June 1735, ACMSJ, SFA, SDE, Caja 15, fols. 48-48v.

⁷³ Tercera liquidación de los gastos par la manutención de los negros, Cartago, 18 Aug. 1710, ANCR, C. 182, fol. 58.

⁷⁴ Auto del recibo de un negro, Cartago, 8 April 1721, ANCR, C. 283, fol. 2v.; Auto sobre haber traído a este juzgado el canero Andrés Calvo un negro que salió aquel paraje del Reventazón, Cartago, 2 Nov. 1722, ANCR, C. 283, fol. 9v.

⁷⁵ Auto para despachar órdenes, Cartago, 19 May 1722, ANCR, C. 292, fols. 5v-6; Auto del gobernador, Cartago, 18 June 1722, ANCR, C. 292, fol. 10; Orden del gobernador, Cartago, 5 June 1722, AGCA, A1 (6), exp. 1057, leg. 73 (quoted).

⁷⁶ Petición del Ayudante Francisco Hernández Barquero, presentada en Cartago, 16 Sept. 1687, ANCR, C.C. 3925, fol. 1.

⁷⁷ Auto de los jueces don Gregorio de Caamaño y Juan Antonio de Bogarín, Esparza, 20 Feb. 1701, ANCR, C. 109, fol. 27.

⁷⁸ Auto de manifestación de 4 negros, Esparza, 22 Feb. 1701, ANCR, C. 109, fol. 28.

⁷⁹ Notificación de hallarse el negro Diego en casa de su amo, Cartago, 12 Dec. 1719, ANCR, C. 258, fol. 6.

⁸⁰ Auto de aprehensión del negro Antonio Civitiola, Cartago, 27 Dec. 1719, ANCR, C. 259, fol. 5; Recibo de tres pesos que entregó el gobernador al alguacil Baltasar Calvo, Cartago, 29 Dec. 1719, ANCR, C. 259, fol. 8.

⁸¹ “Informe del gobernador D. Francisco de Carrandi y Menán al presidente de Guatemala sobre el estado de las misiones en la provincia de Costa Rica. - Año de 1737,” in Fernández, ed., *Colección de documentos*, 9: 260-261.

⁸² Auto sobre haber traído a este juzgado el canero Andrés Calvo un negro que salió aquel paraje del Reventazón, Cartago, 2 Nov. 1722, ANCR, C. 283, fol. 9v (quoted); Declaración de Nicolás, negro de casta mina, Cartago, 25 April 1723, ANCR, C. 283, fol. 11.

⁸³ Petición del Ayudante Francisco Hernández Barquero, presentada en Cartago, 16 Sept. 1687, ANCR, C.C. 3925, fol. 1.

⁸⁴ Doña Isidora Zambrano da poder a don Pedro de Colina, su hijo, para que en Granada pueda prender, asegurar y vender un esclavo, Aserri, 1 July 1669, ANCR, P.C. 817 bis., fols. 496-497.

⁸⁵ Doña María de Sandoval da poder a los Capitanes don Francisco Navarrete y Jerónimo de Villegas, vecinos de Granada, para que persigan, recobren y vendan un esclavo, Cartago, 16 May 1675, ANCR, P.C. 824, fols. 13-14.

⁸⁶ El Cap. Rodrigo Vásquez Coronado da poder al Cap. don Fernando Pérez de Vera, vecino de Granada, para que venda a un esclavo, Cartago, 30 March 1688, ANCR, P.C. 837, fols. 15-15v.

⁸⁷ *Indice de los protocolos de Cartago*, 1:79; Cáceres Gómez, “Negros, mulatos,” 149.

⁸⁸ El Alf. Manuel Antonio de Arlegui da poder al Mtre. de Campo don José de Casasola y Córdoba para reclamar a un esclavo, Cartago, 9 April 1708, ANCR, P.C. 865, fol. 48v; Doña Gracia Gertrudis de Hoces Navarro otorga poder para que don Félix Esteban de Hoces Navarro, estante en Guatemala, venda a un esclavo, Cartago, 24 Dec. 1714, ANCR, P.C. 873, fols. 179-180,

⁸⁹ Testamento del Cap. don Fernando de Salazar, Cartago, 14 Jan. 1678, ANCR, P.C. 825, fol. 65v; Carta dote, Cartago, 13 Aug. 1699, ANCR, M.C.C. 797, fol. 29; *Indice de los protocolos de Cartago*, 2: 235.

⁹⁰ *Indice de los protocolos de Cartago*, 2: 239.

⁹¹ Concierto de muchacha, Cartago, 27 July 1629, ANCR, P.C. 802, fol. 4.

⁹² Poder para vender un esclavo, León, Nic., 5 Feb. 1672, ANCR, P.C. 820, fol. 7; Venta de esclavo, Cartago, 9 June 1672, ANCR, P.C. 820, fols. 5-6; Cáceres, “Negros, mulatos,” 147-148.

⁹³ Venta de esclavos, Cartago, 29 Jan. 1678, ANCR, P.C. 825, fols. 87-89.

⁹⁴ Petición del Ayudante Francisco Hernández Barquero, presentada en Cartago, 16 Sept. 1687, ANCR, C.C. 3925, fol. 1.

⁹⁵ Petición del Mre. de Campo don Miguel de Echavarría Navarro, presentada en Cartago, 1693, ANCR, C.C. 3925, fol. 11v.

⁹⁶ Declaración de Nicolás, negro de casta mina, Cartago, 25 April 1723, ANCR, C. 283, fol. 10v (quoted); Declaración Francisco, negro de casta mina, Cartago, 15 April 1721, ANCR, C. 283, fols. 3-3v.

⁹⁷ Declaración Francisco, negro de casta mina, Cartago, 15 April 1721, ANCR, C. 283, fols. 3-3v, quoting fol. 3v; Razón del Gobernador don Diego de la Haya Fernández, Cartago, 20 April 1721, C. 283, fol. 4; Declaración de Nicolás, negro de casta mina, Cartago, 25 April 1723, ANCR, C. 283, fols. 10-11.

⁹⁸ Auto sobre haber traído un negro que salió al paraje de la Reventazón, Cartago, 2 Nov. 1722, ANCR, C. 283, fols. 9-9v; Declaración de Nicolás, negro de casta mina, Cartago, 25 April 1723, ANCR, C. 283, fol. 11; see also Obedecimiento y suplica del Gobernador de Costa Rica a una Real Provisión de la Audiencia de Guatemala, Río de las Ciruelas de los Valles de Barva, 2 Nov. 1724, AGI, G. 455, fols. 637v-638.

⁹⁹ Carta de Tomás Fernando de los Ríos, Santiago de Alange, 31 May 1747, ANCR, P.H. 592, fol. 22.

¹⁰⁰ Petición de José Cubero, mulato libre, presentada en Cartago, 1749, ACMSJ, Caja 18, fols. 456-456v; Carta de libertad, 13 Oct. 1746, ANCR, P.C. 934, fols. 77-78.

¹⁰¹ Auto del Cap. don Juan de Ocampo Golfin, Teniente de Gobernador, Valle de Barva, 2 July 1747, ANCR, P.H. 592, fol. 23; *Indice de los protocolos de Cartago*, 3: 436.

¹⁰² Real cédula, Campo Real de Castel David, 1 July 1704, AGCA, A1.23, leg. 1524, fols. 158-159. See also the survey of intercolonial slave flight in Julius S. Scott, "The Common Wind: Currents of Afro-American Communication in the Era of the Haitian Revolution" (Ph.D. diss., Duke University, 1986), 92-103.

¹⁰³ Declaración de Carlos de Casasola, esclavo, Matina, 2 Oct. 1737, AGI, G. 302, fols. 1013v, 1015; printed as "Declaración de Carlos Casarola [sic]," *Wani* (Managua), no. 10 (May-August 1991): 84-90.

¹⁰⁴ Declaración del negro Manuel García, Cartago, 20 Dec. 1733, ANCR, C. 325, fols. 240-241; Carta del Teniente de Gobernador José Felipe Bermúdez al Gobernador de Costa don Baltasar Francisco de Valderrama, Matina, 29 Dec. 1733, ANCR, C. 325, fol. 239.

¹⁰⁵ Venta de casa, trapiche, platanares y esclavo, Cartago, 29 Nov. 1742, ANCR, P.C. 927, fols. 107v-109v.

¹⁰⁶ Auto de cabildo, Cartago, 3 Sept. 1736, ANCR, Municipal 772, fols. 108-108v; Auto de cabildo, Cartago, 3 Sept. 1736, ANCR, C. 325, fol. 283.

¹⁰⁷ Carta del Gobernador don Antonio Vázquez de la Cuadra a los negros y demás personas que con ellos habitan, Cartago, 23 June 1736, ANCR, C. 325, fols. 278-278v.

¹⁰⁸ Declaración de Francisco Angola, Pueblo Nuevo de Nuestra Señora de los Remedios, Veragua, 9 May 1613, ANCR, G. 34, fol. 5.

¹⁰⁹ Declaración de Francisco Angola, Pueblo Nuevo de Nuestra Señora de los Remedios, Veragua, 9 May 1613, ANCR, G. 34, fols. 5-6; Petición de Fernando de Luna, presentada en Cartago, 23 Sept. 1613, ANCR, G. 34, fols. 3-4; Certificación del Cap. Pedro de Ochoa Leguizamo, Panama, 31 Oct. 1608, ANCR, G. 34, fol. 35; Testimonio de la fianza otorgada por el Cap. Bartolomé Sánchez, Panama, 31 Oct. 1608, ANCR, G. 34, fols. 35-36.

¹¹⁰ Declaración de Francisco Angola, Pueblo Nuevo de Nuestra Señora de los Remedios, Veragua, 9 May 1613, ANCR, G. 34, fol. 6; Declaración de Miguel Calvo, Cartago, 4 Nov. 1613, ANCR, G. 34, fol. 78; Declaración de Felipe Monge, Cartago, 9 Nov. 1613, ANCR, G. 34, fols. 83-84.

¹¹¹ Declaración de Francisco Angola, Pueblo Nuevo de Nuestra Señora de los Remedios, Veragua, 9 May 1613, ANCR, G. 34, fol. 6; Declaración de Alonso Domínguez, Cartago, 5 Nov. 1613, ANCR, G. 34, fol. 80; Declaración de Salvador de Torres, Cartago, 21 Nov. 1613, ANCR, G. 34, fol. 87.

¹¹² Declaración de Felipe Monge, Cartago, 9 Nov. 1613, ANCR, G. 34, fol. 84 (quoted); Declaración de Alonso Domínguez, Cartago, 5 Nov. 1613, ANCR, G. 34, fol. 80; El Cap. Pedro Ochoa Leguizamo otorga poder al Adelantado don Gonzalo Vásquez de Coronado para vender el esclavo Francisco Angola, Cartago, 10 March 1611, ANCR, G. 34, fols. 13-14.

¹¹³ Testamento del Cap. Pedro de Ochoa Leguizamo, Cartago, 12 Feb. 1611, ANCR, G. 34, fol. 56.

¹¹⁴ Declaración de Francisco Angola, Pueblo Nuevo de Nuestra Señora de los Remedios, Veragua, 9 May 1613, ANCR, G. 34, fol. 6.

¹¹⁵ Ibid., fols. 5-6; Petición de Fernando de Luna, presentada en Cartago, 23 Sept. 1613, ANCR, G. 34, fols. 3-4; El Cap. Pedro Ochoa Leguizamo otorga poder al Adelantado don Gonzalo Vásquez de Coronado para vender un esclavo, Cartago, 10 March 1611, ANCR, G. 34, fols. 13-14; Venta de esclavo, Cartago, 14 Nov. 1611, ANCR, G. 34, fols. 13-16; Permuta de esclavos, Cartago, 10 March 1612, ANCR, G. 34, fols. 51-53, quoting fol. 52.

¹¹⁶ Venta de esclavo, Cartago, 28 April 1612, ANCR, G. 34, fols. 16-18.

¹¹⁷ Permuta de esclavos, Cartago, 28 March 1629, ANCR, G. 34, fols. 40-42; Declaración de Francisco Angola, Pueblo Nuevo de Nuestra Señora de los Remedios, Veragua, 9 May 1613, ANCR, G. 34, fol. 6.

¹¹⁸ Petición de Fernando de Luna, presentada en Cartago, 1 Oct. 1613, ANCR, G. 34, fol. 26.

¹¹⁹ Petición de Fernando de Luna, presentada en Cartago, 23 Sept. 1613, ANCR, G. 34, fol. 3.

¹²⁰ Declaración de Francisco Angola, Pueblo Nuevo de Nuestra Señora de los Remedios, Veragua, 9 May 1613, ANCR, G. 34, fols. 5-6; Petición de Fernando de Luna, Cartago, presentada 23 Sept. 1613, ANCR, G. 34, fols. 3-4.

¹²¹ Petición de Fernando de Luna, presentada Pueblo Nuevo de Nuestra Señora de los Remedios, Veragua, 30 July 1613, ANCR, G. 34, fol. 8; Declaración de Lázaro Martín de Albis, Pueblo Nuevo de Veragua, 30 July 1613, ANCR, G. 34, fols. 8-9; Declaración de Domingo de Luna, Pueblo Nuevo de Veragua, 30 July 1613, ANCR, G. 34, fol. 9.

¹²² Declaración de Francisco Angola, Cartago, 16 Oct. 1613, ANCR, G. 34, fol. 26 (quoted); Declaración del Cap. Juan de las Alas, Cartago, 14 Oct. 1613, ANCR, G. 34, fol. 95.

¹²³ Petición de Ambrosio de Brenes, presentada en Cartago, 27 Nov. 1613, ANCR, G. 34, fol. 46; Petición de Ambrosio de Brenes, presentada en Cartago, 16 Oct. 1613, ANCR, G. 34, fol. 25.

¹²⁴ Auto del gobernador, Cartago, 16 Nov. 1613, ANCR, G. 34, fol. 43.

¹²⁵ Auto de los Sres. Presidente y Oidores de la Real Audiencia, Guatemala, 28 April 1614, ANCR, G. 34, fols. 98-99.

¹²⁶ Reis, "Fugas, revoltas e quilombos," 66.

¹²⁷ Ira Berlin and Philip D. Morgan, "Introduction: Labor and the Shaping of Slave Life in the Americas," in *Cultivation and Culture: Labor and the Shaping of Slave Life in the Americas*, ed. Berlin and Morgan (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1993), 12; Michael A. Gomez, "African Identity and Slavery in the Americas," *Radical History Review*, no. 75 (1999), 117-119.

¹²⁸ Jean Fouchard, *The Haitian Maroons: Liberty or Death*, trans. A. Faulkner Watts (New York: Edward W. Blyden Press, 1981), 11-141; Debien, *Les esclaves aux Antilles*, 449; Daniel C. Littlefield, *Rice and Slaves: Ethnicity and the Slave Trade in Colonial South Carolina* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1981), 120 (table), 126-127.

¹²⁹ Auto de almoneda, Esparza, 15 April 1701, ANCR, C. 109, fols. 32v-33; Auto de almoneda, Esparza, 20 Feb. 1701, ANCR, C. 109, fol. 27; Almoneda de dos esclavos, Esparza, 24 Feb. 1701, C. 109, fol. 29.

¹³⁰ Joseph C. Miller, "Central Africa during the Era of the Slave Trade, c. 1490s-1850s," in *Central Africans and Cultural Transformations in the American Diaspora*, ed. Linda Heywood (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 46; David Birmingham, *Trade and Conflict in Angola: The Mbundu and Their Neighbours under the Influence of the Portuguese, 1483-1790* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966), 78; idem, *The Portuguese Conquest of Angola* (London: Oxford University Press for the Institute of Race Relations, 1965), 25.

¹³¹ Birmingham, *Trade and Conflict*, 80; Jan Vansina, *Kingdoms of the Savanna* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1966), 128 (quoted).

¹³² Beatrix Heintze, "Asiles toujours menacés: Fuites d'esclaves en Angola au XVIIIe siècle," in *Esclavages: Histoire d'une diversité de l'océan Indien à l'Atlantique sud*, ed. Katia de Queirós Mattoso (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1997), 102, 109, 110; Joseph C. Miller, *Way of Death: Merchant Capitalism and the Angolan Slave Trade, 1730-1830*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1988), 37-38.

¹³³ Giovanni Antonio de Montecucullo, *Descrição histórica dos três reinos Congo, Matamba, e Angola* trans. and ed. Graziano Maria da Legguzzano (Lisbon: Junta de Investigações do Ultramar, 1965; first published, Bologna, 1687), 1:159, 161.

¹³⁴ Heintze, "Asiles toujours menacés," 101, 105-106, 108-109.

¹³⁵ Auto del Mtre. de Campo don Pedro Ruiz de Bustamante, Gobernador de Costa Rica, Cartago, 14 July 1717, ANCR, C.C. 4111, fols. 1-1v, 2v; Declaración de Juan Damián, negro esclavo ladino de doña Agueda Pérez de Muro, Cartago, 14 Aug. 1717, ANCR, C.C. 4111, fols. 3-5; Declaración de Gregorio Caamaño, negro esclavo de doña Agueda Pérez de Muro, Cartago, 14 Aug. 1717, ANCR, C.C. 4111, fols. 5v-8. The *castas* of the men are identified in Confesión de Juan Damián, negro esclavo de casta congo, ANCR, G. 181, fol. 2; Razón del Teniente General don Diego de Barros de quien hubo su esclavo Francisco Congo, Cartago, 30 May 1720, ANCR, C. 265, fol. 2v.

¹³⁶ Almoneda de dos esclavos, Cartago, 25 Sept. 1718, ANCR, C.C. 4111, fol. 24v.

¹³⁷ Petición de doña Agueda Pérez de Muro, presentada en Cartago, 9 Jan. 1719, ANCR, C.C. 4111, fols. 35-36v; Real Provisión, Guatemala, 11 March 1723, ANCR, C.C. 4142, fols. 1v-2v.

¹³⁸ Notificación al Sarg. Mr. don Francisco de la Madriz Linares y su respuesta, Cartago, 6 March 1724, C.C. 4142, fol. 5v; Recibo del negro Gregorio Caamaño por el Cap. don Francisco Garrido, Cartago, 19 July 1724, ANCR, C.C. 4142, fol. 9.

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- ¹³⁹ Auto de almoneda, Esparza, 20 Feb. 1701, ANCR, C. 109, fol. 27; Almoneda de dos esclavos, Esparza, 24 Feb. 1701, C. 109, fol. 29; Venta de dos esclavos, Cartago, 2 May 1704, P.C. 860, fols. 10-12.
- ¹⁴⁰ Razón del Teniente General don Diego de Barros de quien hubo su esclavo Francisco Congo, Cartago, 30 May 1720, ANCR, C. 265, fol. 2v; Reconocimiento del despacho presentado por don Diego de Barros, Cartago, 3 June 1720, ANCR, C. 265, fol. 3v.
- ¹⁴¹ Carta dote de don Bernardo García de Miranda a favor de doña Josefa de Casasola y Córdoba, Cartago, 4 Jan. 1727, ANCR, P.C. 900, fol. 3v.
- ¹⁴² Partida del bautizo de Francisca Benita, hija legítima de Damián de Muro y de Isabel del Carmen, Cartago, 21 Dec. 1727, ACMSJ, Libros de Cartago, no. 5/FHL, VAULT INTL film 1219701, item 5.
- ¹⁴³ Carta de libertad, Cartago, 2 March 1733, ANCR, P.C. 910, fol. 8.
- ¹⁴⁴ Poder para aprehender a un esclavo, Granada, Nic., 19 May 1705, ANCR, P.C. 862, fols. 55v, 56-57v, 58-59v.
- ¹⁴⁵ Venta de esclavo, Cartago, 7 Sept. 1706, ANCR, P.C. 862, fols. 58-59v.
- ¹⁴⁶ Obligación del Cap. Blas González Coronel y su mujer doña Bernarda de Fonseca, Cartago, 30 Sept. 1706, ANCR, P.C. 860, fol. 94v.
- ¹⁴⁷ Testamento del Sarg. Mr. Blas González Coronel, Cartago, 2 Aug. 1710, ANCR, P.C. 868, fol. 72v; Testamento del Sarg. Mr. Blas González Coronel, Cartago, 19 July 1714, ANCR, P.C. 873, fol. 89; Venta de esclavo, Cartago, 15 April 1715, ANCR, P.C. 887, fols. 65v-68v.
- ¹⁴⁸ Auto del gobernador, Cartago, 5 March 1715, AGI, Escribanía 353B, fol. 104.
- ¹⁴⁹ For an example, see Declaración de Juan Ramírez y de Paula Sánchez, su mujer, naturales del Pueblo de Tobosí, Cartago, 20 Aug. 1726, ANCR, C.C. 169, fols. 26v-27.
- ¹⁵⁰ Auto de buen gobierno, Cartago, 2 May 1707, ANCR, C. 157, fol. 7v; Auto, Aserri, 26 Aug. 1720, ANCR, P.S.J. 411, fol. 40.
- ¹⁵¹ Auto del gobernador, Cartago, 5 March 1715, AGI, Escribanía 353B, fol. 104; Venta de esclavo, Cartago, 15 April 1715, ANCR, P.C. 887, fols. 65v-68v.
- ¹⁵² Adjudicación de bienes a José Felipe Calvo, Cartago, 7 June 1715, ANCR, M.C.C. 695, fol. 78v; Recibo de 884 pesos por José Felipe Calvo, Cartago, 25 June 1715, ANCR, M.C.C. 695, fols. 91-91v.
- ¹⁵³ Petición de Francisco Manzano al gobernador de Costa Rica don Baltasar Francisco de Valderrama, presentada en Cartago, 31 Oct. 1731, ANCR, P.C. 903, fols. 18-18v (quoted); Poder para vender a un esclavo y a manumitir otro, Santiago de Alange, Veragua, 4 Jan. 1730, ANCR, P.C. 903, fol. 19.
- ¹⁵⁴ Declaración del negro Antonio Congo, Cartago, 8 March 1722, ANCR, C. 290, fols. 2 (quoted), 2v.
- ¹⁵⁵ Auto de sentencia sobre el negro Antonio Congo, Cartago, 12 May 1722, ANCR, C. 292, fols. 3v-4.
- ¹⁵⁶ Almoneda de esclavo, Cartago, 15 May 1722, ANCR, C. 292, fols. 5-5v; Auto para despachar órdenes, 19 May 1722, ANCR, C. 292, fols. 5v-6; Auto del gobernador, Cartago, 18 June 1722, ANCR, C. 292, fol. 10.

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- ¹⁵⁷ Razón de almoneda de esclavo, Cartago, 21 June 1722, ANCR, C. 292, fols. 11-11v; Petición de don Francisco Javier de Oreamuno, presentada en Cartago, 28 Sept. 1725, AGCA, A2 (6), exp. 193, leg. 12, fol. 6.
- ¹⁵⁸ Auto del Almirante don Tomás Marcos Duque de Estrada, Gobernador de Nicaragua, Masaya, Nic., 12 Jan. 1726, AGCA, A2 (6), exp. 193, leg. 12, fol. 12.
- ¹⁵⁹ Auto del Almirante don Tomás Marcos Duque de Estrada, Gobernador de Nicaragua, Masaya, Nic., 12 Jan. 1726, AGCA, A2 (6), exp. 193, leg. 12, fols. 12, 12v. Francisco Javier de Oreamuno appealed his ownership of Antonio to the Audiencia of Guatemala. The case continued in 1727, but its final outcome was not recorded. AGCA, A2 (6), exp. 193, leg. 12.
- ¹⁶⁰ Auto del Almirante don Tomás Marcos Duque de Estrada, Gobernador de Nicaragua, Masaya, Nic., 12 Jan. 1726, AGCA, A2 (6), exp. 193, leg. 12, fol. 12.
- ¹⁶¹ Declaración de Antonio Congo, Cartago, 8 March 1722, ANCR, C. 290, fols. 2-3.
- ¹⁶² Entrega de los autos mortuales de Fermín de Oses, Cartago, 29 April 1722, ANCR, C. 292, fol. 2; Notificación al albacea el Cap. Antonio de Soto y Barahona, y su respuesta, Cartago, 11 May 1722, ANCR, C. 292, fols. 3-3v; Auto de sentencia sobre el negro Antonio Congo, Cartago, 12 May 1722, ANCR, C. 292, fols. 3v-4.
- ¹⁶³ Fe del bautizo de Antonio Luis, negro adulto que se huyó del enemigo, Granada, Nic., 15 Nov. 1726, AGCA, A2 (6), exp. 193, leg. 12.
- ¹⁶⁴ Petición de don Francisco Javier de Oreamuno, presentada en Cartago, 28 Sept. 1725, AGCA, A2 (6), exp. 193, leg. 12, fols. 6, 6v.
- ¹⁶⁵ El Mtre. de Campo don José de Casasola y Córdoba da poder a los Capitanes don Pedro Ortiz de Rosas y Francisco de Cossío Mier para recaudar dos esclavos fugitivos, Cartago, 26 Jan. 1705, ANCR, P.C. 861, fol. 6v.
- ¹⁶⁶ Petición del Maestre de Campo don José de Casasola y Córdoba, presentada en Cartago, 12 Feb. 1705, ANCR, C.C. 3978, fol. 2.
- ¹⁶⁷ Decreto de don Gabriel Sánchez de Berrospe, Presidente de la Real Audiencia, Guatemala, 5 Jan. 1702, ANCR, C. 109, fols. 59-60; Auto del Lic. don Francisco de Carmona, juez comisario, Cartago, 31 May 1703, ANCR, G. 128, fol. 6v; Auto del Lic. don Francisco de Carmona, juez comisario, Cartago, 25 May 1703, AGI, G. 359, pieza 4, fol. 3; Respuesta del Gobernador don Francisco Serrano de Reina, Cartago, 30 May 1703, ANCR, G. 128, fol. 4.
- ¹⁶⁸ Carta del Teniente de Gobernador de Esparza Alvaro de Navas al Maestre de Campo don Diego Herrera Campuzano, Gobernador de Costa Rica, Esparza, 17 Feb. 1705, ANCR, C.C. 3978, fol. 1.
- ¹⁶⁹ Petición del Maestre de Campo don José de Casasola y Córdoba, presentada en Cartago, 12 Feb. 1705, ANCR, C.C. 3978, fol. 2; Reconocimiento del despacho presentado por don Diego de Barros y Carbajal, Cartago, 3 June 1720, ANCR, C. 265, fol. 3v.
- ¹⁷⁰ Declaración del Cap. Diego de Barros y Carbajal, Cartago, 12 Feb. 1705, ANCR, C.C. 3978, fol. 3v.

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- ¹⁷¹ Petición del Maestre de Campo don José de Casasola y Córdoba, presentada en Cartago, 12 Feb. 1705, ANCR, C.C. 3978, fol. 2; Declaración de Tomás Martínez, Cartago, 12 Feb. 1705, ANCR, C.C. 3978, fol. 3.
- ¹⁷² Declaración de Francisco Caamaño, negro libre, Cartago, 12 Feb. 1705, ANCR, C.C. 3978, fol. 4.
- ¹⁷³ Auto del gobernador, Cartago, 21 Feb. 1705, ANCR, C.C. 3978, fol. 5v.
- ¹⁷⁴ Testamento de don Pedro de Alvarado, Cartago, 5 Sept. 1700, ANCR, P.C. 854, fol. 27.
- ¹⁷⁵ Declaración de Antonio de Rosas, negro esclavo del Cap. Juan Sancho de Castañeda, Matina, 6 Dec. 1719, ANCR, C. 231, fol. 11 (quoted); Razón dada por don Gil de Alvarado sobre el negro Francisco, Cartago, 11 July 1720, ANCR, C. 231, fol. 26.
- ¹⁷⁶ Petición de doña Juana Núñez de Trupira, presentada en Cartago, 1 July 1692, ANCR, P.C. 842, fol. 63.
- ¹⁷⁷ Auto del Alf. Nicolás de Céspedes, Regidor Perpetuo y Alcalde Ordinario Más Antiguo de Cartago, Cartago, 1 July 1692, ANCR, P.C. 842, fol. 64; Petición de doña Juana Núñez de Trupira, presentada en Cartago, 1 July 1692, ANCR, P.C. 842, fols. 63-63v.
- ¹⁷⁸ Auto del Alf. Nicolás de Céspedes, Regidor Perpetuo y Alcalde Ordinario Más Antiguo de Cartago, Cartago, 1 July 1692, ANCR, P.C. 842, fol. 64; Venta de esclava, Cartago, 1 July 1692, ANCR, P.C. 842, fols. 56v-58v.
- ¹⁷⁹ María de los Angeles Acuña, "Mujeres esclavas en la Costa Rica del siglo XVIII: Estrategias frente a la esclavitud," *Diálogos: Revista Electrónica de Historia* (Costa Rica) 5, nos. 1-2 (April 2004-February 2005), 13. Available at: <http://historia.fcs.ucr.ac.cr/sitio/artic.html>.
- ¹⁸⁰ Auto del Cap. Juan de Ugalde, Teniente de Gobernador y Juez del Campo del Valle de Barva, Cartago, 14 April 1723, ANCR, C.C. 5815, fol. 1; Notificación al Alf. Juan Cortés y su respuesta, Cartago, 19 May 1720, ANCR, C. 248, fol. 3v; Venta de esclava, Barva, 7 Jan. 1723, ANCR, P.S.J. 412, fols. 4-5; Confesión de Antonia, mulata esclava, Cartago, 14 April 1723, ANCR, C.C. 5815, fol. 1v.
- ¹⁸¹ *Indice de los protocolos de Cartago*, 2: 223; Venta de esclava, Barva, 7 Jan. 1723, ANCR, P.S.J. 412, fols. 4-5.
- ¹⁸² Declaración de Francisco Ruiz, Cartago, 20 April 1723, ANCR, C.C. 5815, fol. 5; Confesión de Antonia, mulata esclava, Cartago, 14 April 1723, ANCR, C.C. 5815, fol. 2.
- ¹⁸³ Declaración de Matías Jiménez, mulato esclavo de Francisco Loria, Cartago, 23 April 1723, ANCR, C.C. 5815, fol. 5v; Declaración del Alf. Francisco Loria, Cartago, 20 April 1723, ANCR, C.C. 5815, fol. 4; Declaración de Pedro Hidalgo, de color pardo, Cartago, 23 April 1723, ANCR, C.C. 5815, fol. 6; Venta de esclava, Barva, 7 Jan. 1723, ANCR, P.S.J. 412, fols. 4-5.
- ¹⁸⁴ Confesión de Antonia, mulata esclava, Cartago, 14 April 1723, ANCR, C.C. 5815, fol. 2.
- ¹⁸⁵ Petición del Cap. Juan Cortés, presentada en Cartago, 24 April 1723, ANCR, C.C. 5815, fols. 8-8v, quoting fol. 8.
- ¹⁸⁶ Notificación a Antonia, mulata esclava, y su respuesta, Cartago, 24 April 1723, ANCR, C.C. 5815, fol. 9.

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- ¹⁸⁷ Petición del Cap. Juan Cortés, presentada en Cartago, 25 April 1723, ANCR, C.C. 5815, fol. 10.
- ¹⁸⁸ Diligencia y entrega de Antonia, mulata esclava del Cap. Juan Cortés, al suso dicho, Cartago, 25 April 1723, ANCR, C.C. 5815, fol. 10v; Venta de esclava, Cartago, 26 April 1723, ANCR, P.C. 896, fols. 46-47v.
- ¹⁸⁹ Permuta de esclavos, Cartago, 18 Oct. 1735, ANCR, P.C. 913, fol. 79.
- ¹⁹⁰ Venta de hacienda de cacao, Cartago, 1703, ANCR, P.C. 857, fols. 32v-33v; Venta de esclavo, Cartago, 9 Feb. 1709, ANCR, P.C. 867, fols. 10-11v.
- ¹⁹¹ Testamento del Alf. Tomás de Chaves, Cartago, 15 Sept. 1708, ANCR, P.C. 865, fol. 81v-82.
- ¹⁹² Venta de esclavo, Cartago, 9 Feb. 1709, ANCR, P.C. 867, fols. 10-11v.
- ¹⁹³ Testamento del Alf. Tomás de Chaves, Cartago, 15 Sept. 1708, ANCR, P.C. 865, fol. 81, 81v-82; *Indice de los protocolos de 2*: 227-228; Testamento de los cónyuges Alf. Tomás de Chaves y Juana de Solís, San Antonio de Curridabat, 4 August 1717, ANCR, P.C. 883, fol. 27; Testamento del Alf. Tomás de Chaves y de su mujer Juana Paula de Solís, San Antonio de Curridabat, 27 Feb. 1724, ANCR, P.H. 575, fol. 11.
- ¹⁹⁴ Permuta de esclavos, Cartago, 18 Oct. 1735, ANCR, P.C. 913, fol. 80.
- ¹⁹⁵ Declaración de Francisco Caracata, negro esclavo de casta arará, Cartago, 18 Jan. 1720, ANCR, C. 232, fol. 12.
- ¹⁹⁶ Notificación al Cap. don Manuel de Arburola, y su respuesta, Cartago, 25 Sept. 1719, ANCR, C. 232, fol. 4.
- ¹⁹⁷ Razón dada por Jacinto de Rivera sobre el negro Francisco, Cartago, 30 Sept. 1719, ANCR, C. 232, fol. 4v.
- ¹⁹⁸ Auto sobre el negro Francisco y respuesta del Cap. Manuel de Arburola, Cartago, 10 Nov. 1719, ANCR, C. 232, fol. 6v; Auto para que el Cap. Manuel de Arburola ponga en el Juzgado el negro Francisco, quien respondió haberse huido, Cartago, 20 Nov. 1719, ANCR, C. 232, fol. 7v; Diligencia en la que dice doña Josefa de Oses no afianza el negro por estar enfermo y ser cimarrón, Cartago, January 1720, ANCR, C. 232, fol. 14.
- ¹⁹⁹ Diligencia en la que consta haber parecido el negro Francisco Caracata en la puerta de la casa del Gobernador, Cartago, 18 Jan. 1720, ANCR, C. 231, fol. 12.
- ²⁰⁰ Reconocimiento y abalúo del negro Francisco, Cartago, 18 Jan. 1720, ANCR, C. 232, fol. 13.
- ²⁰¹ Razón del remate del negro Francisco Caracata, Cartago, 22 April 1722, ANCR, C. 232, fol. 54.
- ²⁰² Inventario de los bienes de doña Catalina González del Camino, Cartago, 19 Nov. 1745, ANCR, M.C.C. 797, fol. 18.
- ²⁰³ Petición del Lic. don Manuel Francisco Martínez Cubero y de don José de Mier Cevallos, presentada en Cartago, 15 July 1746, ANCR, M.C.C. 797, fol. 84v (quoted); Cuentas, división y partición de los bienes de doña Catalina González del Camino, Cartago, 22 July 1746, M.C.C. 797, fol. 88v.
- ²⁰⁴ Venta de esclavo, Cartago, 16 Aug. 1746, ANCR, P.C. 934, fols. 66-68, quoting fol. 66.

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- ²⁰⁵ Testamento del Cap. don Fernando de Salazar, Cartago, 14 Jan. 1678, ANCR, P.C. 825, fol. 68.
- ²⁰⁶ Nombramiento de Alguacil Mayor, Cartago, 5 July 1679, ANCR, C. 1143, fol. 52.
- ²⁰⁷ Razón del entierro de Juan Antonio, mulato esclavo, Cartago, 10 Aug. 1679, ACMSJ, S.F.A., D.E., Caja 9, fol. 22v.
- ²⁰⁸ Declaración de doña Francisca Sánchez de Orozco, Cartago, 19 Sept. 1687, ANCR, C.C. 3914, fol. 2v.
- ²⁰⁹ Testamento del Alf. José de Quesada, Cartago, 13 Jan. 1716, ANCR, P.C. 878, fol. 10.
- ²¹⁰ Testamento del Alf. José de Quesada, Cartago, 12 April 1723, ANCR, Protocolos Coloniales de San José (hereafter, P.S.J.) 412, fols. 16-16v.
- ²¹¹ Razón del entierro de una mulata que ahorcaron, Cartago, 11 Aug. 1681, ACMSJ, S.F.A., D.E., Caja 9, fol. 29.
- ²¹² Razón del entierro de Antonio, negro que ajusticiaron, Cartago, 14 Jan. 1694, ACMSJ, S.F.A., D.E., Caja 9, fol. 57v.
- ²¹³ Petición del Cap. Manuel García de Argueta, presentada en Cartago, 13 July 1720, ANCR, C. 243, fols. 25-25v.
- ²¹⁴ Gobernador don Baltasar Francisco de Valderrama al Teniente General de Matina don Diego de Barros y Carbajal, Cartago, 21 March 1732, ANCR, C. 325, fols. 212-212v.
- ²¹⁵ Carta del Teniente General José Felipe Bermúdez al Gobernador Valderrama, Cartago, 28 April 1734, ANCR, 325, fols. 248-248v.
- ²¹⁶ Petición del Sarg. Mr. don Juan Francisco de Ibarra, presentada en Cartago, 4 Nov. 1720, ANCR, G. 185, fol. 85 (quoted).
- ²¹⁷ William E. Wiethoff, *The Insolent Slave* (Columbia, S.C.: University of South Carolina Press, 2000), 1.
- ²¹⁸ J. G. Peristiany, "Introduction," in *Honour and Shame: The Values of Mediterranean Society*, ed. J.G. Peristiany (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1966), 9-18; Julian Pitt-Rivers, "Honour and Social Status," in *Honour and Shame*, 19-77.
- ²¹⁹ William Ian Miller, *Humiliation and Other Essays on Honor, Social Discomfort, and Violence* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1993), 116.
- ²²⁰ Patricia Seed, *To Love, Honor and Obey in Colonial Mexico: Conflicts over Marriage Choice, 1574-1821* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1988), 137; Ann Twinam, "Honor, Sexuality, and Illegitimacy in Colonial Spanish America," in *Sexuality and Marriage in Colonial Latin America*, ed. Asunción Lavrin (Lincoln, Neb.: University of Nebraska Press, 1989), 123-124; Lyman L. Johnson and Sonya Lipsett-Rivera, eds., *The Faces of Honor: Sex, Shame, and Violence in Colonial Latin America* (Albuquerque, N.M.: University of New Mexico Press, 1988), esp. Sandra Lauderdale Graham, "Honor among Slaves," 201-228.
- ²²¹ Petición del Cap. don José de Mier Cevallos al Gobernador don Diego de la Haya Fernández, presentada en Cartago, 11 July 1720, ANCR, C. 266, fol. 31.

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- ²²² Querrela por el Cap. Juan de Bonilla, presentada en Cartago, 17 July 1686, ANCR, C.C. 6403, fol. 1.
- ²²³ Querrela por el Cap. Juan de Bonilla, presentada en Cartago, 17 July 1696, ANCR, C.C. 6403, fols. 1, 1v; Declaración de Manuel de Mora, Cartago, 30 Aug. 1696, ANCR, C.C. 6403, fol. 6.
- ²²⁴ Declaración de Francisco de Flores, Cartago, 30 Aug. 1696, ANCR, C.C. 6403, fol. 5v.
- ²²⁵ Querrela por el Cap. Juan de Bonilla, presentada en Cartago, 17 July 1696, ANCR, C.C. 6403, fol. 1v; Declaración de Manuel de Mora, Cartago, 30 Aug. 1696, ANCR, C.C. 6403, fol. 6; Prisión del mulato esclavo Gregorio Sanabria, Valle de Matina, 25 July 1696, ANCR, C.C. 6403, fols. 3-3v.
- ²²⁶ Wiethoff, *Insolent Slave*, 1.
- ²²⁷ Cf. the famous fight between Frederick Douglass and the “nigger-breaker” Edward Covey. *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass*, in Henry Louis Gates, ed., *The Classic Slave Narratives* (New York: Signet, 2002; first published 1845), 383 (quoted), 393-395; William S. McFeely, *Frederick Douglass* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1991), 44-48.
- ²²⁸ Donación de esclavos, Cartago, 29 May 1665, ANCR, P.C. 817, fol. 15; Testamento de María Sagaste, Cartago, 19 November 1690, ANCR, P.C. 839, fols. 114v., 115.
- ²²⁹ Wiethoff, *Insolent Slave*, 6, 7.
- ²³⁰ Testamento de doña Ana María Maroto, Cartago, 28 Feb. 1737, ANCR, P.C. 916, fol. 22v.
- ²³¹ Declaración de José Antonio Pérez, Cartago, 27 May 1755, ANCR, C.C. 6229, fol. 6v.
- ²³² Petición de José Nicolás Bonilla, presentada en Cartago, 26 May 1755, ANCR, C.C. 6229, fols. 1-2.
- ²³³ Declaración de Bernardo Campos, indio natural del pueblo de Curridabat, Cartago, 27 May 1755, ANCR, C.C. 6229, fols. 3v-4.
- ²³⁴ Auto del Alcalde Ordinario don Tomás López del Corral, Cartago, 26 May 1755, ANCR, C.C. 6229, fols. 3 (quoted), 8v.
- ²³⁵ Wiethoff, *Insolent Slave*, 7.
- ²³⁶ Confesión de Ana Miranda, mulata esclava, Cartago, 31 May 1755, ANCR, C.C. 6229, fols. 10-10v; Petición de doña Francisca de Miranda al Alc. Ordinario, presentada en Cartago, 28 June 1755, ANCR, C.C. 6229, fol. 17.
- ²³⁷ Petición de don José Nicolás de Bonilla al Alc. Ordinario y Teniente de Gobernador, presentada en Cartago, 10 June 1755, ANCR, C.C. 6229, fols. 12-12v; Petición de don José Nicolás de Bonilla al Alc. Ordinario y Teniente de Gobernador, presentada en Cartago, 16 June 1755, ANCR, C.C. 6229, fol. 15v.
- ²³⁸ Petición de don José Nicolás de Bonilla al Alc. Ordinario y Teniente de Gobernador, presentada en Cartago, 29 June 1755, ANCR, C.C. 6229, fol. 20v.
- ²³⁹ Sentencia del Alc. Ord. Cap. don Félix García de Casasola, Cartago, 5 July 1755, ANCR, C.C. 6229, fol. 25v.

²⁴⁰ Petición de don José Nicolás de Bonilla al Alc. Ordinario, presentada en Cartago, 21 July 1755, ANCR, C.C. 6229, fol. 32; Poder de don José Nicolás de Bonilla al Cap. de Caballería Cristóbal Ignacio de Soria, Bagaces, 12 Feb. 1756, ANCR, G. 311, fol. 39.

²⁴¹ Jacob Gorender, “Violência, consenso e contratualidade,” in *A escravidão reabilitada* (São Paulo: Editora Ática, 1990), 22.

CHAPTER 7

MORE THAN SLAVES: FAMILY AND FREEDOM

The survivors of the *Christianus Quintus* and the *Fredericus Quartus* began to form families and communities immediately upon arrival in Costa Rica, and even before. In the radically new contexts of American slavery, both the form and content of those families and communities differed radically from those the captives had known in the Gold Coast and the Slave Coast. Unfortunately, Costa Rican sources contain few descriptions of families among slaves other than those sanctioned by the Roman Catholic Church; they allow few glimpses of family forms that slaves might have organized partly according to their own distinct values. But like associations based on ethnicity, place of residence, or common labor, the ability to create and maintain a family depended on the concrete opportunities slaves had to forge and pursue relationships with others. In family life as in other aspects of their lives, Costa Rican slaves faced serious restrictions, threats, and obstacles. The nature of the relationships and families that enslaved people in Costa Rica formed varied according to several factors imposed by the unusual structure of slavery in the colony.

For African, creole, and mulato slaves alike, gender constituted the most important determinant of family life. Enslaved women in Costa Rica almost never married legally. The vast majority of enslaved children in Costa Rica, as in all slaveholding and slave societies, were born to unwed mothers. African men, on the other hand, married more frequently, and when they did, overwhelmingly chose free wives. For creole men, race

proved almost as important a factor in family formation as gender. In striking contrast to other slaveholding societies, enslaved black men married more frequently than mulatos, pursuing a strategy one historian has called “marriage as slave emancipation.”¹[R59]

Family life under slavery was inherently unstable. Most slave mothers never saw their children grow to adulthood. Like other slave women in Costa Rica, the women brought by the Danish ships lost their children in a variety of ways. High infant mortality claimed many. Other mothers were separated from their children by sale, donation, to satisfy their masters’ debts, or even by manumission. Notwithstanding a pervasive discourse of paternalism, the actions of most Costa Rican masters indicate that they felt little reluctance to separate slave families, even those who had lived in their homes for generations[R60].

The unusually strict gender division of labor in Costa Rica posed an ultimately insuperable obstacle to the formation of slave families and the reproduction of a distinct slave culture. Masters tended to confine female slaves to their own homes, constraining their opportunities to pursue outside relationships. The disadvantages attending their condition meant that few solemnized their unions in the Catholic Church. With traditional families almost impossible to attain, slave women created other kinds of families. Their children, born in slavery and sometimes the daughters and sons of their own masters, guaranteed the perpetuation of the institution. There is little direct evidence to suggest that enslaved women derived tangible benefits from such illicit and unequal interracial relationships. Although women and children achieved more success in

attaining their freedom than adult men, few were able to do so, and it was not unusual for three generations of slaves to reside in a masters' home. On the other hand, many men, especially Africans, enjoyed an exceptional autonomy due to the nature of their work. Although such relative independence seldom led directly to their own freedom, enslaved men developed strong relationships with free people, including women, who were likewise able to move at will -- contributing to enslaved men's overwhelming preference to marry free women who were usually of other racial origins. Choosing exogamy, a strategy common to Africans and creoles, blacks and mulatos, reflected slave men's conscious strategy of ensuring that their children be born in freedom, but also indicated their rejection of enslaved women, especially black women -- a lesson not lost on their sons. Slave men's aggressive pursuit of exogamy could have undermined the growth of the slave population through a net loss in the number of children born in slavery. The confinement of enslaved women to the masters' homes, however, helped effectively to offset this potential, ensuring the reproduction of the slave population in the absence of a reliable connection to the Atlantic slave trade^[R61].

Single Mothers and Their Children

Not long after their arrival in 1710, several of the African women brought on the *Christianus Quintus* and *Fredericus Quartus* gave birth to daughters and sons. All of their creole children were born out of wedlock, and no priest, master, or public official bothered to record any information about the children's fathers, if they knew or cared.

Petrona, a Yoruba (*aná*) sold to doña Cecilia Vásquez de Coronado of the Valley of Bagaces in October 1710, gave birth to María about 1712; José Patricio followed around 1714, and Julián about 1718.² María, also a Yoruba slave in the same household, saw her daughter Josefa baptized in May 1713.³ Gertrudis, a Slave Coast native (*arará*) about twenty years old when the Danish ships brought her to Matina, soon had two sons, Toribio and Juan, both baptized in Cartago in 1714. Juan's baptismal record specified that his mother was unmarried (*soltera*), an observation that was unusual because it was generally considered unnecessary.⁴

Like everywhere else in the Americas, the vast majority of children who were born in slavery in Costa Rica were born to legally single mothers. For most of those children, no information at all was recorded about their fathers. About thirty-eight of the 360 slaves baptized in the parish church of Cartago between 1599 and 1750 can be identified as adult Africans. Of the remaining 322, 296 (92 percent) were listed without a father.⁵ In Esparza, just thirteen slave children were baptized between 1708, the earliest year for which records survive, and 1750. Eleven were listed with no indication of paternity, but two slave children baptized in 1746 and 1748 were born to married couples.⁶

Historians of all slave and slaveholding societies confront formidable difficulties when they seek to reconstruct the dimensions and patterns of slave families. Testaments, bills of sale, postmortem property inventories, baptism records, and other documents usually list mothers and children with no mention of a father.⁷ Even the literature of United States slavery – by far the most extensive – has focused primarily on married slave women (women in long-term consensual unions), saying surprisingly little about

single slave mothers. Such basic questions as “Who fathered their children? Who provided them emotional support? Was there a single female network?” remain largely unanswered.⁸ In the literature of other slave and slaveholding societies, researchers have debated such issues as the roles of African culture or female agency in shaping slave families, often drawing on anecdotal evidence or inferences from more oblique sources such as plantation records. Lacking narrative descriptions of slave life, the Costa Rican sources contain even less information than those of other colonies on such fundamental questions. None of the early colonial official censuses contain demographic information on slaves.⁹ Because of this limitation, stable as well as transitory sexual relationships among slaves and between slaves and free people are usually impossible to establish. The only sure conclusion is that the vast majority of children born in slavery were born to unmarried women whose relationships to their children’s fathers went unrecognized in Church and civil law.

The failure of Costa Rican priests and other observers to record the names of slave children’s fathers does nothing to prove that those men were entirely absent from the lives of enslaved children -- only that the overwhelming majority of the sexual relationships that produced slave children took place outside Catholic matrimony.¹⁰ On the other hand, unlike in other areas, the single-parent, female-headed slave family predominated in Costa Rica for the simple reason that most slave mothers lived in masters’ homes where no slave men resided[R62]. Although it is certainly possible that they did, there is no self-evident reason to assume that enslaved men belonging to other masters were able to maintain relationships with their children or their mothers.

Elsewhere in the Americas, female-headed families tended to decline as slave communities in general acquired greater stability over several generations.¹¹ In Costa Rica, such stability rarely had the chance to develop. Owners of small properties like the typical Costa Rican slavemaster sold slaves and therefore broke up slave families much more frequently than did large planters.¹² As I will discuss, slave children were frequently sold, rarely with their mothers and almost never with their fathers. And even in the exceptional case that several generations of slaves resided in a single household, these usually consisted of females and their children and grandchildren; adult males were generally absent. No appeals to the cultural or individual agency of enslaved women are necessary to explain the structure of the slave family in Costa Rica. The illegitimacy of enslaved children emerged as the norm not from the weight of the African past nor necessarily from the preferences of enslaved women, but as the inevitable result of master-slave social relations in Costa Rica.¹³

Table 7.1

Illegitimate Children by Race and Condition, Cartago, 1595-1750

Race/Condition of Child	Total Children	Illegitimate Children	Percent Illegitimate
Black Slave	72	63	88
Mulato Slave	82	76	93
Slave Unidentified by Color	168	158	94
Total Slaves	322	297	92
Indian	414	110	27
Mestizo	678	197	29
Free Mulato	509	166	33
Spanish	1,191	34	3
Unidentified by Color	4,021	1,515	38
Total Children	7,135	2,319	33

Table 7.2

Illegitimate Children by Race and Condition, Esparza, 1708-1750

Race/Condition of Child	Total Children	Illegitimate Children	Percent Illegitimate
Black Slave	5	5	100
Mulato Slave	7	6	86
Slave Unidentified by Color	1	0	0
Total Slaves	13	11	85
Indian	26	6	23
Mestizo	74	23	31
Free Mulato	318	55	17
Free Black	12	2	17
Zambo	30	4	13
Spanish	74	6	8
Unidentified by Color	58	6	10
Total Children	605	102	17

Table 7.3

Illegitimate Children Born to Female Slaves and Servants, Cartago, 1595-1750

Race/Condition of Mother	Total Children	Illegitimate Children	Percent Illegitimate
Black Slave	82	73	89
Mulato Slave	75	73	97
Slave Unidentified by Race	99	88	89
Total Slaves	256	234	91
Indian <i>Criada</i>	69	45	65
Mestiza <i>Criada</i>	5	5	100
<i>Criada</i> Unidentified by Race	18	9	50
Total <i>Criadas</i>	92	59	64

Sources: ACM, Libros de bautizos de Cartago (1599-1750), nos. 1-6/FHL, VAULT INTL film 1219701, items 1-5; film 1219702, items 1-3; ACM, Libros de Bautizos de Esparza (1706-1819)/FHL, VAULT INTL film 1223548, item 5.

Note: The main reasons for discrepancies between the numbers of slave children and slave mothers are (1) baptized children were registered without mention of either parent; (2) children were described as of a different race than their mothers.

Although women of all racially subordinated groups gave birth to illegitimate children (*hijos naturales*) in disproportionately high numbers, the ratios of servant and slave children born out of wedlock were especially high.¹⁴ In Cartago, the ratio of illegitimate births among free *casta* and Indian women showed minimal differences. Priests there recorded one-quarter of Indian children, for example, without their fathers between 1599 and 1750. Mestizo children baptized during the same period were noted as born out of wedlock in 29 percent of cases. One-third of free mulato children and nearly 40 percent of children whose racial category went unrecorded, most of whom were probably of

mixed ancestry, were born to single mothers.¹⁵ The three-times-greater ratio of enslaved mulato children born out of wedlock in Cartago compared to free mulato children already suggests that “cultural” reasons cannot explain the prevalence of illegitimacy among slaves. Data from the North Pacific, a region where people of African descent comprised a majority of the population, reinforce the point. Baptismal records from Esparza indicate an overall illegitimacy ratio less than half that of Cartago (17 compared to 38 percent). The overwhelming majority of the 360 free mulato, free black, and free zambo children baptized in the Esparza church between 1708 and 1750 were born to married couples – 83, 84, and 87 percent respectively. Almost all of the few slave children baptized there, by contrast, were born out of wedlock (11 of 13, or 85 percent).¹⁶

Other, less extensive data suggest further that the near-total illegitimacy among children born to enslaved women can be attributed to slavery itself rather than simply conditions of domestic servitude. Women specifically identified as domestic servants (*criadas*) in Cartago homes, mostly Indians, appeared mainly in baptismal records of the early seventeenth century. The ratio of out-of-wedlock children born to them was extremely high, but nonetheless more than 25 percent lower than that among slave children overall.¹⁷ Although in many respects, slave and free servant women lived in identical conditions, even those legally free servants bound to masters exercised greater control over their sexuality and family lives than slaves.

Although non-marital sexual relationships and out-of-wedlock births were the norm among slave and servant women, they forcefully rejected the idea that their color explained these circumstances or that the condition of servitude made them less

respectable than women of a purportedly superior race. Although a Spanish adversary claimed that because they were “subject to servitude,” mulata slaves were “vile [and] of low station, bold and shameless,” two enslaved women loudly insisted that they were every bit as honorable as Spanish women reputed to be chaste wives or virgins.¹⁸ In May 1755, doña Lucía de Alvarado, wife of Captain José Nicolás de Bonilla, and her unmarried sisters shouted that the mulata slaves Ana and Mauricia were whores. Shouting at the top of her voice in a Cartago street packed with churchgoers, Ana rejoined that she “was as much a whore as [doña Lucía] was, [and] that when [doña Lucía’s] husband was not here she went out streetwalking.” As for doña Lucía’s sisters, the slave women alleged that they had installed removable bars in their windows so that men could enter their rooms at night.¹⁹

Free servants, too, denied that servitude made them any more promiscuous than other women – a view sometimes espoused by *castas* as well as Spaniards. In 1735, Juan Barrantes, the legitimate son of a mulato ex-slave, vehemently denied that he had had sexual relations with the mestiza *criada* Josefa de Vida Martel. Repeating the dominant class’s view of the sexuality of working women, Barrantes attempted to refute the paternity charge by arguing that domestic service itself proved that Josefa was a whore. He alleged that because she was “always coming out in the streets and the fields,” Josefa was a “public streetwalker at all hours, a servant with no modesty (*recogimiento*) nor virtue (*honestidad*) nor subjection as is proved by the continual servitude in which she has lived.”²⁰ In her response, Josefa dismissed the premise that her color or condition robbed her of virtue, an aspersion directed at enslaved as well as free servant women:

“My being a mestiza, as the said Barrantes says, does not preclude me from being virtuous (*honesta*) and entirely truthful . . . and it is no defense to say that I am a streetwalker, and that I go about in the fields, because as a servant I am required to go where my mistress orders”²¹ By making a clear distinction between “walking the streets” at the order of her mistress, as her station required, and doing so of her own will, Josefa appeared to accept the implication that the virtue of an unsupervised woman was suspect. She insisted, however, that her race bore no relation to her morality and that her class did not, in itself, deny her of honorable reputation.

Miscegenation, Slavery, and Freedom

In societies almost obsessively concerned with honor, the dominant ideology assumed that slave children were bastards and their mothers therefore licentious, facts so entrenched in “common sense” that they merited no comment, let alone explanation.²² But another important assumption, one equally taken for granted in colonial societies, was only confirmed by the absence of the father in the documents. Masters and officials described many of the children born to African mothers as mulatos, as were all of Petrona’s three children, born in Bagaces between 1712 and 1718.²³ Historians of U.S. slavery have long used the proportion of mulatos among slaves as “a clue, albeit a rough one, to the incidence of interracial sex.”²⁴ Especially in Latin America, however, the meaning of the term “mulato” cannot be regarded as self-evident. It did not always indicate the child of one black and one white parent, but was rather applied in an

impressionistic manner, presumably according to the physical appearance of the child in question, among other factors.²⁵ In Costa Rica, children born to Indian mothers, for example, were often called *mulatos*, especially in the Central Valley. The term *zambo*, suggesting a mixed Indian and African biological heritage, appears only rarely in Cartago documents (although regularly in Esparza).²⁶ Most often, mulato children were the children of mulato parents. Between 1599 and 1738, the baptismal records of Cartago never classified any child of two black parents as a mulato.²⁷ Mulato children of black mothers were invariably assumed to be the products of racial mixture, and a significant although unknowable proportion were children of white masters and their black slaves.

Sexual relationships between masters and slaves were inherent to slavery itself. Historians of antebellum United States slavery have estimated the mulato slave population in the mid-nineteenth century at between 5 and 15 percent of the whole; based on the low figure, they calculate that 58 percent of enslaved women faced a white man's sexual advances at some time between the ages of fifteen and thirty. Several factors demonstrably increased the likelihood of such contacts. Some of course, were intangible, such as whether a particular white man found a particular slave woman attractive; others are susceptible to quantification.²⁸ In a statistical analysis based on the 1850 U.S. census, Richard Steckel concluded that the proportion of mulatos among the slaves on 750 Southern properties (1) decreased with the size of the property, (2) increased on properties that had no separate dwellings for slaves, (3) decreased with the number of slaves per dwelling, and (4) increased with the number of adult white men in the area. In

towns and in homes without separate slave quarters, the probability that a slave child was mulatto was approximately twice as high as in the countryside.²⁹

Considering Costa Rican slavery in light of Steckel's conclusions suggests that miscegenation, and likely master-slave miscegenation, was extremely common. The vast majority of female slaves in Costa Rica lived in conditions where most if not all of Steckel's factors favoring miscegenation applied. Most enslaved women and girls lived in their masters' homes or in small buildings such as kitchens just outdoors – not in separate slave quarters at some distance from the “big house.” A majority lived in Cartago, where they were often the only slaves of their masters, and almost always one of just a handful. In the capital and on the small farms of the valleys surrounding it, virtually all slave women interacted daily with white men including their masters, male family members and friends, and others. Simply put, it was the frequency and intensity of contacts between enslaved women and white men that promoted miscegenation. Any such contact could lead to an interracial sexual relationship, and the days and lives of slave women in Costa Rica were full of them^[R63].

The quality of master-slave sexual relationships demonstrably ranged from violent rapes to mutual affection. Coercion, however, formed an intrinsic part of a social relation in which one party exercised unquestioned control over another. An enslaved woman could never fully consent to a relationship with her master, simply because she was not free to choose it.³⁰^[R64] In that sense, sexual coercion formed as much a part of slavery in Africa as it was in America.

For many African women, sexual exploitation was a familiar aspect of slavery. In many if not most of the societies where Africans lived before being sold to Costa Rica (excepting those in the Bight of Biafra region), female slaves were more highly valued than males, largely for sexual and reproductive purposes.³¹ The nature and terms of such relationships varied according to the cultural norms and economic structures of each society, as well for myriad other reasons, including personal and circumstantial ones. In many West and West Central African societies, slavery followed the condition of the mother, as in the Americas. This pattern acquired a crucial political dimension in matrilineal societies: as enslavement stripped women of all legally recognized kinship ties, children born to them were entirely dependent on their free fathers. By fathering slave children, masters expanded their number of dependents and hence their wealth and political power; in fact, slaves can be seen as the only recognized form of private property in many African societies.³² In this light, the oft-cited integration of slaves into African kinship networks – particularly of enslaved “wives” into polygynous households -- does not mark such an important distinction from American slavery as some apologists have argued.³³ Slave concubines or wives and their children sometimes enjoyed customary rights, however, unthinkable under the laws of American slavery. Societies as diverse as the Wolof of Senegambia, the Ga of the Gold Coast, or the Yoruba of the Bight of Benin, for example, automatically granted freedom to the mothers of their masters’ children. Under Islamic law, the slave mother of her master’s child automatically acquired her freedom after his death.³⁴

In New World colonies, of course, no law mandated the manumission of slave concubines or their children by their masters. Some contemporary critics charged that in Costa Rica, female slaves were prized as much for their reproductive capacity as for their labor. In 1684, Fray Juan de Rojas, Bishop of Nicaragua and Costa Rica, wrote to the king from León:

. . . The enormous greed of many [of Your] subjects who have unmarried slave women, Lord, they have the the growth of their wealth and property in these [women]; because in order that the slaves multiply through births, [the masters] allow them to live in licentiousness, so that from year to year there is no [slave woman] who does not give a male or female slave to her owner, whom they sell to enrich themselves, [the slave children] being able to serve. The fertile slave woman is the most esteemed and they sell for the highest prices like the mares in Spain, for she who has a womb is worth more than the others and so the slave women are more valued by those who buy them.³⁵

To remedy such “licentiousness,” Bishop Rojas proposed a radical solution: in the case of unmarried slave women, he advised, the legal principle dictating that the condition of children follow that of their mothers (*partus sequitur ventrem*) should be suspended. In this way, he reasoned, masters would suffer financially when their female slaves gave birth to illegitimate children, and unmarried slave women could expect no rewards or favors for increasing their masters’ slaveholdings. The bishop sought not to endorse manumission, however -- only to curtail promiscuity. He pointed out that slavemasters could continue to reap handsome profits by selling only slave children born to married couples.³⁶_[R65]

Fray Juan never visited Costa Rica (although he did send a representative to tour the province), and the applicability of his assertions to the province may be questioned.³⁷ Nevertheless, there is no doubt that Costa Rican slaveowners valued and sometimes

rewarded enslaved mothers who gave birth to many children. In July 1720, for example, Inés de Olivares freed her slave María de Brenes in a codicil to her testament, citing “the love that she has had for the said mulata María and [for] her good service, besides having given birth to twelve children [while] in [Olivares’s] power.” About sixty years old, María gained her freedom when her mistress died four days later.³⁸ Juana had six living children in 1697 when her mistress, Jerónima Barrantes, promised her freedom after Barrantes’s death.³⁹ María Barquero likewise promised freedom to her “white mulata creole” slave Vicenta Josefa after her own death. Born about 1691, Vicenta had grown up in Barquero’s family and given birth to many children, seven of whom survived in 1733.⁴⁰

Costa Rican archives contain few traces of masters’ sexual relationships with the female slaves, and even fewer documented instances conclusively prove their paternity of slave children. White masters almost never officially recognized their enslaved mulato children. A well-known exception, don Miguel Calvo recognized the four children of his former mulata slave, Ana Cardoso, as his own in his 1715 testament.⁴¹ Ana Cardoso was born a slave of doña Ana Pereira Cardoso about 1650. When she was twenty years old, Ana was purchased by don Tomás Calvo and his wife, doña Eugenia de Abarca, for 400 pesos. Ana became involved in a sexual relationship with the couple’s son, Miguel, when he returned from León, Nicaragua, where he had studied as a seminarian.⁴² In the course of two decades, Ana bore at least five children by don Miguel Calvo, and eventually gained her freedom as a consequence of this relationship. In February 1687, doña Eugenia de Abarca sold her mulato grandson Francisco to his father don Miguel,

who freed the boy the same day.⁴³ Francisco's mother, however, remained a slave. In 1691, Abarca freed two more of Ana's daughters, María, born about 1682, and Feliciana, born some three years later. Ana herself was offered a nominal freedom in 1689, provided she remain in the home and service of Eugenia de Abarca until the latter's death. Doña Eugenia de Abarca died in 1702, leaving her freed grandchildren to grow up in the company of their father, don Miguel Calvo.⁴⁴ Ana Cardoso presumably acquired her freedom in fact as well as in law at that time. Two more children of Ana and don Miguel, Ana Micaela and José Felipe, were born legally free around 1691 and 1694.⁴⁵

Miguel Calvo's paternity of the children was well-known in Cartago, where they grew up in their father's household in the central city, served by slaves and in all respects accustomed to the privileged lifestyle of the local elite. In 1715, María Calvo stated in an official document that "our father and ourselves . . . always lived in the same house without any separation."⁴⁶ Five years later, she found occasion to remind the governor of Costa Rica that her "natural father" had been "one of the wealthiest" men in the province.⁴⁷ Don Miguel Calvo helped to establish his children as not only free, but wealthy members of Cartago society. He arranged marriages for his daughters with respectable free mulato men and provided them with considerable sums of money. He provided "natural daughter" Feliciana with a sizeable dowry of 600 pesos at the time of her marriage to Sergeant Francisco de Echavarría. In 1711, he gave her a mulato slave boy, five-year-old Blas, as a gift.⁴⁸ When María Calvo married Adjutant José de Chavarría, a free mulato originally from León, Nicaragua, in 1697, she brought a dowry of a declared value of 769 pesos.⁴⁹ Calvo recalled that he had given Ana Micaela goods

worth more than 1,000 pesos when she married mulato silversmith Captain José de Carranza, including the value of an enslaved woman, Juana.⁵⁰

In 1715, Miguel Calvo composed his will, in which he provided for his children and their mother. In the decade between the birth of her last child and the time Calvo composed his will, Ana Cardoso had apparently become estranged from the father of her children.⁵¹ At the time of Calvo's death, Ana Cardoso was to be allowed her choice of goods from his estate, not to exceed 200 pesos in value.⁵² In contrast, Calvo recognized all of his children as his natural heirs, ensuring that they would be able to inherit his wealth and "enjoy it with God's blessings."⁵³ In his will, Calvo bequeathed to his sons the means to succeed in agriculture or a trade. Each received an inheritance worth 884 pesos. As an unmistakable sign of status, Calvo bequeathed slaves to at least four of his five children. María, his favorite, received his home in the center of Cartago, confirming her status as one of the local elite. In 1748, by then an old woman, a priest flattered her pretensions by recording her name as "doña María Calvo."⁵⁴

Miguel Calvo's recognition, manumission, and support of his children by a slave mother were extraordinary if not unique in Costa Rican history. Masters virtually never recognized their enslaved children, at least not officially. Sometimes the disclosure of the paternity of a mulato slave child came out long after the master's death. In 1729, doña Josefa de la Haya Bolívar promised manumission to her slave, Juana, should she survive doña Josefa's own death. Juana was the daughter of María, a mulata who had been given to Haya Bolívar and her late husband, Captain Francisco de los Reyes Benavides, as part of her dowry. María had presumably died at some time between 1723 and 1729, still a

slave. In her testament, Haya Bolívar declared that Juana was the daughter of her husband and “the sister of my children, and as such we have raised and reputed her.” Reyes’s legitimate, white children had foregone their legal right to inherit their half-sister and agreed to Juana’s manumission because of a repugnance to “enslave their own blood.”⁵⁵ The “quarteroon” Juana de los Reyes, taking the surname of her father, gained her freedom on 4 September 1730 after appearing before a magistrate in the Valley of Barva.⁵⁶ Doña Josefa had extended less charity to her husband’s grandchildren, however. They were to remain slaves of “their own blood,” at least for a time. Juana’s four-year-old daughter, Juana Efigenia, was to be used as the endowment to establish a chaplaincy (*capellanía*) for one of Haya Bolívar’s grandsons. If and when her white cousin was ordained a priest, Juana Efigenia would be freed. Haya Bolívar’s son would inherit Juana’s one-year-old daughter, his niece Petronila, provided he never sold or mortgaged her, because she was “part of his blood,” to which he should always remain “attentive.”⁵⁷ Juana’s children, some free, some enslaved, remained in Haya Bolívar’s family, of which they formed an unequal part. When doña Josefa died in 1730, Captain Francisco Montoya de Espinosa bought Juana’s youngest daughter, five-month-old Juana Teresa, for 100 pesos. On 17 September 1730, Juana Teresa’s uncle Captain don Miguel de los Reyes y Bolívar purchased her from Montoya and promptly manumitted her.⁵⁸

Similarly, don Tomás de la Madriz recognized his paternity of the five sons of his wife’s slave, María Josefa, only years after his wife’s death. At an undetermined date between 1726 and 1730, doña Nicolasa Guerrero donated the mulata María Josefa to her illegitimate daughter, doña Antonia de la Granda y Balvín.⁵⁹ Doña Antonia’s marriage to

don Tomás de la Madriz became acrimonious, and at some point don Tomás began to have sexual relations with María Josefa, whose feelings about the relationship will never be known. Doña Antonia proved her jealousy of the relationship through her actions. Claiming she needed money to buy adequate clothing for her family to attend mass, doña Antonia mortgaged María Josefa's daughter Juana Manuela, just fifty days old, for 100 pesos while her husband was away in Panama in 1737. No further record of Juana Manuela appears in Cartago notarial records.⁶⁰ Eight years later, doña Antonia donated two of María Josefa's sons, Francisco Justo and Isidro de la Paz, to her husband. In the next few years, María Josefa bore two more sons, Joaquín and Luis Fernando. In her 1746 testament, doña Antonia stipulated that María Josefa be sold to pay for the costs of her burial and funeral services. Don Tomás, however, failed to comply with her dying wish. In the three years after doña Antonia's death, he freed María Josefa, Joaquín, and Luis Fernando, both sons about four at the time. Another son, José Ricardo, was born after María Josefa's manumission. De la Madriz finally freed Justo and Isidro in 1757, when they were about eighteen years old. In his 1764 testament, don Tomás detailed his property and declared his sons and those of María Josefa his sole heirs.⁶¹

More often, rumors identified masters as the fathers of enslaved children, although documents never confirmed their paternity. Feliciana was born to Dominga, a mulata slave of doña Mariana Solano y Vásquez de Coronado and Captain Francisco Fallas de la Vega, around 1702. Feliciana gave birth to two daughters while their slave.⁶² On her deathbed in October 1729, doña Mariana dictated that Feliciana be freed. Remembering "having raised her since she was born in our house" and watching her "growing up with

our children,” Captain Fallas manumitted Feliciana two months later by way of “rewarding her for [her] service and good work.”⁶³ Two years later, after Fallas had also died, his daughter and heir doña Josefa Victoria Fallas y Solano freed Feliciana’s eight-year-old daughter Polonia (or Apolonia), citing “the love I hold for her and other just reasons that I have.”⁶⁴ In 1733 doña Josefa promised Feliciana’s second daughter, Antonia, that she would be freed once her mistress died, but that until that time, “she must attend, serve, and accompany [Fallas y Solano] like the slave that she is.” Fallas y Solano relented and granted Antonia her full freedom in 1756.⁶⁵ More than half a century after first promising Antonia her freedom, when she composed her own will in 1782, doña Josefa insisted that Antonia and her sister Polonia had always been “free persons and only companions.” Fallas y Solano had sold Polonia a piece of land in Palo Grande, Dos Cercas (now San Ramón de los Desamparados, near San José). According to her neighbors, Polonia owed her privileged treatment to the fact that her father had been Captain Francisco Fallas.⁶⁶

In most cases, the manumission documents of young children merely suggest master paternity without providing concrete indications of it. In 1735, for example, Captain Cayetano de Sandoval provided for the freedom of two-year-old Alejandro, a “white mulato.” A widower, Sandoval had inherited a mulata slave from his late wife. “For just causes that move me to [free him],” he declared, “I have promised the said mulata, mother of Alejandro, to liberate her son from the subjection and captivity in which he was born.” Sandoval claimed that he had “raised [Alejandro] as a son.” Although such statements were often merely formulaic declarations, Sandoval specified obliquely that

there were “more important circumstances that move me to [free him] that, because it is not necessary to express them, I omit.” Although Alejandro was to be free from that day forward, he was nonetheless to serve Sandoval’s brother until the boy had “age and ability (*suficiencia*).” Because it mentioned no specific time-frame, the clause left Alejandro’s freedom in Sandoval’s hands, to be dispensed as his “former” master wished. Referring to this stipulation of the manumission, Sandoval recognized, “I am still not paying nor remunerating the service that his said mother has done for me”; that is, he acknowledged that merely promising freedom for Alejandro did not fulfill his obligation to Alejandro’s mother, who would remain a slave. Sandoval would free Alejandro and repay his debt to the boy’s mother only at some as yet undetermined time in the future. In the meantime, Alejandro’s freedom surely rested on his mother’s future “good service,” which possibly included continuing sexual favors.⁶⁷

The assertion that enslaved women sexually manipulated their masters has deep roots in the historiography of slavery, and much evidence has been amassed to support it. Most scholars of slave societies have concluded that women and children, particularly mulatto children, benefited most from manumission, and they usually calculate that women made up about two-thirds of slaves freed.⁶⁸ Such findings have led many writers to argue explicitly that enslaved women and their children gained their freedom as a result of such relationships; at least one has claimed that sexual relationships between masters and slaves challenged the bases of the institution of slavery itself.⁶⁹ Writers employ a simple procedure to derive the statistics on which they base such assertions:

they categorize the manumitted slaves by gender, race, and age, count them, and divide the tallies by the total number of slaves manumitted.⁷⁰

Applying this methodology to Costa Rica yields some intriguing results.⁷¹ In total manumissions between 1648 and 1750, females enjoyed only a slight advantage over men (72 of 131, or 55 percent), significantly lower than the two-thirds majority reported for most areas of Latin America. In contrast to most slave societies, over the whole course of their lives, women did not win their freedom much more often than did men. Between the ages of sixteen and thirty-five, however, when they might be assumed to have been most sexually active and to have borne the most children, females accounted for almost two-thirds of manumissions (16 of 24, or 64 percent), mirroring the Latin American average.⁷² In Costa Rica, mulatas were almost seven times as likely as black females to be manumitted (53 of 61, or 87 percent), at first glance tending to corroborate another thesis some authors have advanced: that mulatas made more attractive sexual partners to white masters^[RL66] and exploited their sexual relationships to attain freedom. Harmannus Hoetink, for example, famously suggested that mulatas more closely approximated an Iberian “somatic norm image,” which not only appealed to white males but ultimately promoted the integration of people of mixed race into Latin American societies.⁷³ The Costa Rican case initially seems to conform to the patterns established in such slave societies.

Table 7.4

Slave Manumissions by Race and Gender, Cartago, 1684-1750

Race	Females		Males		Total	
	No.	Percentage of Total Manumissions	No.	Percentage of Total Manumissions	No.	Percentage of Total Manumissions
Mulato*	54*	40	34	26	87	66
Black	8	6	13	10	21	16
Unknown	10	8	12	9	22	17
Total	72	55	59	45	131	100

* Includes one zamba.

Sources: ANCR, P.C. 815 (1655, 1663), 824 (1675), 825 (1677), 835 (1685) through 838 (1689), 841 (1691), 842 (1692), 848 (1696) through 850 (1698), 855 (1701), 857 (1703), 860 (1704), 863 (1705) through 865 (1708), 868 (1710), 873 (1714), 875 (1714, 1717), 877 (1716), 881 (1716), 882 (1717), 887 (1719), 890 (1720), 892 (1720), 895 (1722) through 899 (1726), 903 (1730), 906 (1731), 908 (1732) through 910 (1733), 912 (1734), 915 (1736), 916 (1737), 919 (1738), 921 (1739), 927 (1747), 932 (1745) through 934 (1746); P.H. 572 (1723), 576 (1725), 580 (1729), 581 (1730), 585 (1735), 587 (1741); P.S.J. 415 (1738); CC 3905 (1680), 3916 (1675), 3927 (1693), 4000 (1709); *Indice de los protocolos de Cartago*, vols. 1-3.

A closer look at the Costa Rican data, however, complicates the thesis that the sexuality of young mulatas directly contributed to their relative success in attaining freedom. As it turns out, 14 of the 24 (58 percent) owners who manumitted enslaved women between sixteen and thirty-five years of age were not masters but mistresses. Two more emancipators were noted as married couples; the documents attributed only one-third of manumissions of young slave women to men alone. Although many studies have taken into account the gender of slaves manumitted, few have devoted attention to the gender of the masters and mistresses who did the manumitting. As Trey Proctor showed with Mexican data, cross-tabulation of the gender of masters and freed slaves

rather than simply looking at aggregate ratios yields results that force a re-examination of the nature of the master-slave relationships that contributed to manumission. As in Mexico, Costa Rican widows proved especially likely to free their slaves, responsible for almost 12 percent of total manumissions (15 of 131) and making up more than thirty percent of the female mistresses (15 of 48) who freed slaves. Rosemary Brana-Shute, a historian of Suriname, suggests that there such manumissions reflected women freeing their colored kin, while Proctor argues that the close but not necessarily familial relationships that developed between female domestic slaves and their mistresses encouraged mistresses to free enslaved women much more frequently than did men.⁷⁴ Given the gendered nature of slave labor there, this was even more likely to have been the case in Costa Rica. Access to the master or mistress played an obviously crucial role in a slave's ability to negotiate freedom, and gender strongly influenced who enjoyed that access and benefited from such relationships in turn. Enslaved women generally lived and worked in closer proximity to their mistresses than did male slaves. Widows especially relied on their female slaves. Some freed them because they were financially able to do so; others without the means to maintain their slaves freed them to avoid having more mouths to feed. Male masters freed more than twice as many (35 of 59) male slaves as did mistresses, in part because of their closer relationships to male slaves.

On the other hand, evidence clearly establishes that mulato children benefited from manumission more frequently than any other age group. The ages of slaves freed proves a more reliable indicator than color alone. Seventy-two of the 131 certificates of manumission noted the age of the individual freed. Thirty-six percent of those (26) were

children ten years old or younger. All children identified by race were described as mulatos (with the exception of one zamba, a term sometimes used interchangeably with mulato), and some, perhaps many, were the children of white master-fathers. The fact that mulatos comprised 80 percent of all slaves freed whose race was recorded (87 of 109) might seem to bolster this suggestion. Men freed 50 percent (13 of 26) of children aged ten or younger, while women freed more than one-third (9 of 26, or about 34 percent), and married couples manumitted another 15 percent (4 of 26). Direct proof of the paternity of the freed children, however, is lacking, as is evidence to suggest that enslaved women themselves benefited from such relationships.

If there is little direct evidence to establish the white slavemaster paternity of mulato children conclusively, there is still less to pinpoint the circumstances in which enslaved women undertook sexual relationships with white men. There is none to corroborate the idea that “much . . . miscegenation occurred with single girls under circumstances that varied from seduction to rape and typically fell between the two,” as Eugene Genovese contended of the United States South.⁷⁵ No doubt, sexual relationships between masters and slaves ranged from violent rapes to willing relationships, but there is no means of knowing where on the continuum they “typically fell”; nor can we be sure that the legally unmarried women who became sexually involved with their masters saw themselves as “single” and not partners of other men. Usually living in their masters’ homes rather than in separate slave quarters, enslaved women in Costa Rica were especially vulnerable to the sexual demands of their masters and presumably their masters’ male family members and friends as well. Sometimes masters brutally attacked them: don Miguel de la Haya

Bolívar began to rape his legally free servant Felipa Arias when she was twelve years old, a fate shared by enslaved girls and women. On the other hand, in a few cases, we can guess that enslaved women maintained relationships with their masters based on some degree of genuine affection. After attaining her own freedom and that of her children, María Josefa stayed with their former master don Tomás de la Madriz, although she presumably had the option to leave after acquiring freedom. Manumission documents and lawsuits pertaining to inheritance are among our best sources on master-slave sexual relationships, but by their very nature they reflect situations in which enslaved women enjoyed some success in turning such relationships to the advantage of their children and sometimes themselves. The documents keep silent about the enslaved women who endured years of sexual abuse and struggled determinedly for the freedom of their children, only to see them mistreated and sold away. And they provide little reason to believe that in Costa Rica, as Christine Hünefeldt has argued for nineteenth-century Peru, sex between masters and slaves “ultimately favored the slaves.”⁷⁶

Table 7.5

**Gender of Slaveowners correlated with
Race and Gender of the Slaves They Manumitted,
Cartago, 1684-1750**

Race/Gender of Slave	Gender of Slaveowner					
	Masters		Mistresses		Couples	
	No.	Percentage of Race/Gender Category	No.	Percentage of Race/Gender Category	No.	Percentage of Race/Gender Category
Mulata*	17	32	28*	52	9	17
Black Female	7	88	1	12	0	0
Female, Race Unknown	8	80	2	20	0	0
Total Females	32	44	31	43	9	13
Mulato	16	47	12	35	6	19
Black Male	11	86	1	7	1	7
Male, Race Unknown	8	67	4	33	0	0
Total Males	35	59	17	29	7	12
Total Slaves	67	51	48	37	16	12

On the contrary, the manumission figures show that in Costa Rica, if enslaved women sometimes successfully negotiated for the freedom of their children, they rarely gained it for themselves. This finding suggests not that slave women used sex to wheedle freedom from their masters, but that after they gave birth to children by their masters, they did everything possible to secure freedom for those children. If anything, this tends to corroborate that masters coerced enslaved women into sex, as slave women surely recognized that sexual relationships with masters rarely resulted in their own freedom.

Table 7.6

**Slave Manumissions by Race and Age,
Cartago, 1684-1750**

Age Group Of Slaves	Mulatos*		Blacks		Total including Slaves of Unknown Race	
	No.	Percentage of Total Manumissions	No.	Percentage of Total Manumissions	No.	Percentage of Total Manumissions
0-5	12*	9	0	0	16	12
6-10	8	6	0	0	10	8
11-15	2	1	0	0	3	2
16-20	2	1	1	1	3	2
21-25	8	6	0	0	8	6
26-30	6	5	2	1	9	7
31-35	5	4	0	0	5	4
36-40	8	6	1	1	9	7
41-50	3	2	1	1	4	3
50+	0	0	3	2	5	4
Subtotal	54 ^[R67]	41	8	6	72	55
Unknown	34	26	13	10	59	45
Total	88	66	21	16	131	100

Table 7.7

**Gender of Slaveowners correlated with
Ages of the Slaves They Manumitted,
Cartago, 1684-1750**

Age Group of Slaves	Gender of Slaveowner					
	Masters		Mistresses		Couples	
	No.	Percentage of Age Group	No.	Percentage of Age Group	No.	Percentage of Age Group
0-5	9	56	6	38	1	6
6-10	4	40	3	30	3	30
11-15	1	33	2	67	0	0
16-20	1	33	2	67	0	0
21-25	4	50	2	25	2	25
26-30	5	56	3	33	1	11
31-35	2	40	2	40	1	20
36-40	4	44	3	34	2	22
41-50	3	75	0	0	1	25
50+	4	80	1	20	0	0
Subtotal	37	51	24	34	11	15
Unknown	30	51	24	41	5	8
Total	67	51	48	37	16	12

Sources: ANCR, P.C. 815 (1655, 1663), 824 (1675), 825 (1677), 835 (1685) through 838 (1689), 841 (1691), 842 (1692), 848 (1696) through 850 (1698), 855 (1701), 857 (1703), 860 (1704), 863 (1705) through 865 (1708), 868 (1710), 873 (1714), 875 (1714, 1717), 877 (1716), 881 (1716), 882 (1717), 887 (1719), 890 (1720), 892 (1720), 895 (1722) through 899 (1726), 903 (1730), 906 (1731), 908 (1732) through 910 (1733), 912 (1734), 915 (1736), 916 (1737), 919 (1738), 921 (1739), 927 (1747), 932 (1745) through 934 (1746); P.H. 572 (1723), 576 (1725), 580 (1729), 581 (1730), 585 (1735), 587 (1741); P.S.J. 415 (1738); CC 3905 (1680), 3916 (1675), 3927 (1693), 4000 (1709); *Indice de los protocolos de Cartago*, vols. 1-3.

When we assume that slave women were capable of recognizing the odds against such relationships leading to freedom for themselves, the contention that sex with masters “ultimately favored the slaves” becomes untenable. On the other hand, even a slim chance must have seemed better than none. Although sex with masters brought no guarantees, guided by their own knowledge of the men involved, some enslaved women probably gambled that such relationships could offer them better treatment if not freedom itself.

Relationships with white men other than their masters probably accounted for a significant share of interracial relationships.⁷⁷ Because they did not exercise direct control over them, ongoing relationships between enslaved women and such men were more likely to occur with their consent, as evidence from late in the eighteenth century attests. In 1771, Sebastiana Rosas, a mulata slave of doña Josefa Rosas, had reportedly been engaged in a sexual relationship with don Andrés Fernández for more than twelve years; it is hardly likely that Fernández maintained such a long relationship by coercion alone.⁷⁸ Two years later, mulata slave Petronila Corrales was accused of shouting obscenities at a white rival in a quarrel over the attentions of a certain Spanish bachelor.⁷⁹ Some such white men probably freed their children quietly. In 1675, for example, Silvestre Labat, a Frenchman living in Cartago, paid 100 pesos to manumit two-year-old Juana, daughter of the mulata slave María Sanabria. It seems plausible, but will probably never be known with certainty, that Labat was the infant’s father.⁸⁰ In another possible case, an anonymous benefactor paid 125 pesos for the freedom of Benita Rosalía, a slave

girl described as “white,” in 1738. Named only as “a well-wisher who sponsors and favors the said little mulata,” he might also have been her father.⁸¹

The Destruction of Slave Families

Slave families could never be stable. Most slave women never knew the traditional family life that was the only one respected in Spanish American society. More to the point, chances were great that enslaved mothers would lose their children at a young age. Death, sale, gifts or other transfers, the division of property following a master’s death, or even manumission provided some of the most common reasons for separation. The infant mortality that afflicted all sectors of colonial society killed many scores of slave children who, like the children of other servants, lived in squalid conditions such as outdoor kitchens and must have been especially vulnerable to disease and illness.⁸² Sale took many more. A tiny minority of slave children, almost always nursing infants, were sold with their mothers, but the overwhelming majority were torn away from them. Slave mothers also lost their children through other transactions of their masters, such as donations or dowries. Mothers usually knew where such transactions had taken their children, however, and sometimes managed to stay in contact with them after separation.

As in other pre-modern societies, infant mortality in colonial Costa Rica was horrific, afflicting all sectors of society, but no doubt especially the slaves and servants who typically suffered most from overwork and abuse, subsisted on poor diets, and lived in

unsanitary and disease-ridden conditions. Infants who died before they could be baptized went unnamed in the funeral records kept at Cartago's parish church, frustrating researchers' attempts to investigate mortality rates among different racial and ethnic groups. A "little angel of the house of" some wealthy Spaniard might have been his own child, but was just as likely that of one of his servants or slaves.⁸³ An example from one Cartago home in which no Spanish children were born hints at the staggering infant mortality among slaves and servants. No fewer than seventeen "little angels" from the house of bachelor don Miguel Calvo and his aged mother, one of Cartago's largest slaveowning families, were buried between 1678 and 1710 – an average of almost two infant deaths per year.⁸⁴ When asked about their children, individual slave women often recounted the names of the dead as well as the living. Isabel, a native of the Gold Coast or Upper Slave Coast (*mina*), had three living children in 1718 -- Pablo José, Juan Manuel, and Petronila. The twins Juana and José Antonio, she recalled, had died some years before.⁸⁵ Micaela de Ibarra, a Yoruba (*aná*), had given birth to three children – Juan, María Francisca, and Juana – before 1720. All had died before their mother reached the age of twenty-four.⁸⁶ Manuela, also a *mina*, simply said that same year that she "did not have any [children] because all that she had given birth to had died."⁸⁷ Lorenza, a native of the Slave Coast (*arará*), told an especially heartbreaking story. When her master, don Antonio de la Riva Agüero, was bringing Lorenza from Cartago to his home in the Valley of Barva, her infant daughter drowned as they were crossing a river. De la Riva tore the dead infant, who had been named Juliana, from her mother's arms. Lorenza did not know where he had buried the baby, she later said.⁸⁸

Millions of African mothers lost their children to the Atlantic slave trade. Although Europeans of the eighteenth century commonly believed that African parents sold their children into slavery, experienced slave traders insisted that this rarely occurred.⁸⁹ According to the few available records, children comprised a larger than usual share of the African-born slaves who arrived in Costa Rica. Part of the reason derived from Costa Rica's disadvantaged position in the slave trade. British slave traders, for example, gave buyers in Jamaica first pick of "prime negroes"; most of those they rejected, called "refuse," were sent on to Spanish America.⁹⁰ In Cartagena and Panama, wealthy Spaniards tended to buy up the strongest and healthiest of the remaining Africans. Others were sent on to the lucrative slave markets of Peru. Costa Rican slave buyers usually had to accept the children, the sick, and the old Africans who had been passed up by wealthier slave buyers. As importantly, the gender and age characteristics of captives sold into the Atlantic slave trade in general varied widely, depending largely on the economies and cultures of the supplying African societies.⁹¹

Children younger than twelve years old made up a significant proportion of captives imported to the Americas – nearly 18 percent of the Africans brought on 811 slaving voyages between 1600 and 1750 -- and comprised up to one-quarter of the enslaved Africans who arrived on the few slave ships that reached Costa Rica. Fifteen of the four dozen or so Africans confiscated from the *Nuestra Señora de la Soledad y Santa Isabel* in 1700, for example, were between six and twelve years old of age.⁹² Like other captives, children who survived the Middle Passage invariably arrived suffering from illness and malnutrition. A boy and girl of West Central African origin, six to seven years old,

arrived in La Caldera on the *Nuestra Señora* “battered and thin.”⁹³ Two ten-year-old boys were “thin and sick and [will be] unfit to walk or work for many days.”⁹⁴ A baby girl, seven months old in November 1700, had been born during the Middle Passage.⁹⁵ Another cargo of Africans imported from Panama to Matina in 1702 included several children less than ten years old, including a six-year-old girl suffering from a debilitating ulcer on her left foot.⁹⁶ Nine of the thirty-eight *minas* who arrived on the *Christianus Quintus* or *Fredericus Quartus* and were brought to Cartago by Juan Bautista Retana in 1710 were between the ages of eight and twelve years.⁹⁷ These children had been separated from their mothers and families while still in Africa.

More often the young slave children sold and otherwise transferred had been born in Costa Rica; indeed, sellers often specified that the children they offered for sale had been “born and raised” in their homes. Despite their use of language that conjured up images of hearth and family, masters showed little reluctance to tear even the youngest children away from their mothers. As Michael Tadman, a historian of the United States internal slave trade, has argued, an evaluation of slavemaster claims to paternalism must take into account not only their image of themselves as benevolent patriarchs, but their willingness to destroy slave families.⁹⁸ Separation from family figured among slaves’ greatest fears, as masters surely knew; historian Norrece Jones has argued that the temporary wounds of physical abuse hurt slaves much less than the permanent emotional pain of separation and that in antebellum South Carolina, the threat of separating slave families was “the most powerful long-term technique of control -- short of death -- that masters possessed.”⁹⁹ In Costa Rica, children were sold perhaps even more frequently than in

plantation societies, which required above all large numbers of men and women of prime working age. Furthermore, the precarious financial situation of many Costa Rican masters often led them to sell human property to liquidate debts, breaking up slave families in the process.¹⁰⁰ In 1678, for example, widow María Sagaste was forced to sell Gregorio, the sixteen-year-old son of her slave María Sanabria born and raised in her home, in order to pay a 300-peso mortgage.¹⁰¹ More than one-fifth (134 of 611) of the slaves sold in Cartago for whom information on age is available between 1629 and 1750 were children younger than ten years old.¹⁰²

Masters bought and sold children with little regard for the mother-child relationship, no matter if the mothers had been slaves of their families for decades. At bottom, masters simply refused to recognize kinship ties among slaves.¹⁰³ Nearly one-quarter of slaves baptized were recorded in Cartago's parish registers without mention of either parent. The phrase "child of unknown parents" made sense in the case of African-born slaves, and priests surely applied the label to some adult Africans. In the case of free persons, the notation "child of unknown parents" ostensibly meant "abandoned" (*expósito*), a more explicit classification, also common. For creole and mulato slave children, however, the description formed a contradiction in terms, as only knowledge of the mother's condition could determine a child's slave status. Here the failure to record the name of either parent demonstrated that masters concerned themselves more with slave status than kinship ties among the enslaved.¹⁰⁴ Masters and mistresses showed their disregard of slave families most clearly through their actions. The threat of the destruction of families by sale lay at the very center of slavery.¹⁰⁵ Doña María Josefa de

la Vega Cabral received Ambrosia as a gift from her parents when she married don Francisco de Betancourt in the early eighteenth century. Just eight days after Ambrosia gave birth to a son, Juan Elías, Vega Cabral sold the infant.¹⁰⁶ Juana, a mulata slave, had grown up with doña Bernarda de Retes, and as part of her dowry, accompanied her mistress when she married. Years later she watched as Retes sold her fourteen-year-old daughter María Nicolasa to Sergeant Juan González, who “took her by the hand . . . as his own thing, bought with his own money.” Like other slave mothers, Juana surely dreaded the moment when her adolescent daughter “passed to his power” and González would possess all rights over her person.¹⁰⁷

Masters also regarded slave infants as fine gifts for favorite relatives. Don Antonio de Moya, for example, designated in 1702 will that as soon as he was “weaned from the breast” of his mother Isabel, ten-month-old Antonio was to be given to *Alférez* Diego de Santiago de Cárdenas.¹⁰⁸ A full one-quarter (19) of the seventy-five slaves donated between 1630 and 1750 were younger than five years old. Another sixteen percent (12) were under ten.¹⁰⁹ In some respects, masters regarded slave children as investments no different than valuable inanimate objects, circulating them as a means of keeping sources of wealth within their extended families.¹¹⁰ In several cases, slaveowners donated enslaved children to poorer relatives or friends, stating explicitly that the human gifts should serve as security for the recipients’ future. They often professed laudable intentions -- without a thought, of course, to slave mothers or their young children. Father don Alonso de Sandoval gave five-year-old Juana Gregoria to his niece Mariana de Ocampo Golfín so that she would be “be better able to take a position in keeping with

the quality of her person,” presumably as a wife or nun.¹¹¹ Father José de Lumbides likewise donated María Manuela, seven months old, and José, four, to doña Juana Núñez de Trujira (elsewhere Trupira) in 1668. Lumbides wished to ensure that the illegitimate and impoverished twelve-year-old girl, who had “served” him since the age of five, not fall into a wayward life. The slave children would help make up a dowry that would allow Trujira to marry or enter a convent in Guatemala, so that she would not “lose her virginity and offend God.”¹¹² Doña Lorenza Vanegas made a gift of three-month-old Agustín, son of Eugenia, to her nephew Manuel González Coronel when he was four, again citing a wish that he “better have the wherewithal to sustain himself in keeping with the quality of his person.” Years later, González Coronel was ordained a priest.¹¹³ In 1689, doña Eugenia Gertrudis de Abarca arranged for Francisco de Brito to bring a “little black girl” twelve years of age from Panama as a gift for her son, don Miguel Calvo.¹¹⁴ Ten years later, doña Eugenia presented Antonio, the three-year-old son of her slave Manuela, to Francisco Calvo. Although Abarca failed to mention it, Francisco was her illegitimate grandson, a mulato who had been born a slave himself.¹¹⁵

Similarly, slave children were often included in dowries as investments in the couple’s future and in the case of infants and toddlers, as playmates for the couple’s future children. For example, Ramona, a black creole, formed part of doña María Josefa Maroto’s dowry when she married don Alfonso Ulloa in 1732. Doña Luisa Calvo had given Ramona, the daughter of her slave Luisa, as a gift to Maroto, her granddaughter, when both girls were about ten years old.¹¹⁶ Of the 198 slaves transferred in dowries for whom age was recorded between 1639 and 1749, thirty (15 percent) were children

younger than five years old; another forty-one (21 percent) were under fifteen.¹¹⁷ In Costa Rica as elsewhere in Central America, slaves often comprised the most valuable property in bridal dowries. For example, Cecilia, a nine-year-old mulata, accounted for 300 of the 470 pesos of doña Beatriz de Morales's dowry in 1695.¹¹⁸ Three- to four-year-old Juana, assessed at 150 pesos, was worth five times as much as the next most valuable "item" of María Rodríguez de Sosa's pitiful dowry, a "wooden house on forked supports (*horcones*) covered with straw" valued at thirty pesos in 1719.¹¹⁹ Intended to spare their mistresses from housework, girls were more than twice as likely to be included in dowries as boys. Females comprised two-thirds of the seventy-one slave children (47) younger than fifteen years of age.¹²⁰ Girls as young as the six-year-old zamba Paula were designated specifically to "help carry the burdens of matrimony."¹²¹

In a few cases, children were given with their mothers to new couples. Esteban Cecilio, one, and Francisco, five, accompanied their mother Beatriz when they were given to the newlyweds Luis de Fonseca and doña Jerónima de Retes in 1662. Marcelino, still a nursing infant, went with his young mother María to the home of Captain don García de Alvarado and doña Juana de Echavarría y Salazar two years later.¹²² Similarly, a tiny minority of slave children were sold with their mothers. Most of these were nursing infants. Paula de Sandoval, a zamba, was sold with her newborn in 1722.¹²³ Brother and sister Ventura, twelve, and Baltasara, seven, were exceptionally lucky. They were sold to a priest with their mother María in 1710 and remained with her six years later.¹²⁴

The death of a master or mistress brought fear and uncertainty, and could destroy slave families who had lived together for generations.¹²⁵ Isabel, a black creole, had raised at least five daughters in the Esparza home of her mistress and master, Catalina Ruiz de las Alas and Fernando López de Ascuña. Gracia, Mariana, Paula, Victorina, and Potenciana had given Isabel five grandchildren by 1675. Isabel received her freedom at some time before 1682. Catalina Ruiz had wished to free all of Isabel's daughters and grandchildren, and her widower issued letters of manumission to four of Isabel's daughters and their five children in 1675.¹²⁶ When he composed his own will in 1682, however, Fernando López de Ascuña revoked the freedom of Isabel's three grandsons. He donated Potenciana's son Marcos to Esparza's Convent of San Francisco; he gave another, José, to a relative of his late wife in Cartago; and made a present of Mariana's son Gregorio to a niece.¹²⁷ Gracia gave birth to another son, Francisco, just eight days before her master died in 1682. López de Ascuña ordered in a codicil that the infant be sold to pay for memorial masses for his own soul.¹²⁸ After López de Ascuña's death, his executor Juan García de Ortigosa took possession of the children and sold Marcos and Francisco in 1686.¹²⁹ Years later, as free women, Gracia and Mariana were still trying to put their family back together. In 1688 they petitioned the lieutenant governor of Esparza and then the governor of Costa Rica to free Gracia's son Gregorio and the sons of their sister Potenciana, who had since died. After initially declaring all the children free, Governor don Miguel Gómez de Lara reversed himself and without explanation left fifteen-year-old Gregorio in slavery.¹³⁰

As death confronted them, some masters worried about their eternal souls and made special bequests. For some slaves, the “pious works” of their masters translated into the heartbreaking destruction of their families. Not uncommonly, masters ordered that slaves be sold to pay for religious rituals. Often, they designated infants and young children for that purpose. Doña Francisca Chinchilla had promised Juan to the confraternity of the Blessed Souls of Purgatory while he was still in his mother Isabel’s womb. Upon Chinchilla’s death, Juan was to be sold and a chaplaincy established in her name.¹³¹ Doña Inés de Sandoval Golfín designated a “white mulato” of four months of age to be given to the parish priest of Cartago to pay for her funeral.¹³² To pay for the celebrated preaching of the Franciscan friar Diego Caballero, doña Nicolasa Guerrero donated Cristóbal, the seven-year-old son of her African-born slave Catalina, in 1718.¹³³

In 1737, doña Baltasara López de la Flor provided that Antonia, the two-month-old daughter of her mulata slave Petronila, be given to a priest to pay the costs of her own funeral services, burial, and memorial novena.¹³⁴ Doña Baltasara donated Petronila to the Convent of San Francisco after her death, with the condition that Petronila never be sold or otherwise removed from the convent. López de la Flor donated another of Petronila’s daughters, María del Carmen, to the confraternity of the Virgin of los Angeles, once she reached the age of six, under the same condition; any children born to María del Carmen were to be free.¹³⁵ After her mistress’s death, Petronila gave birth to five more children while living in the convent, of whom José Antonio, Felipa, and Francisco survived. In 1753, “for reasons it is not necessary to express,” the convent’s syndic had freed Petronila, but now sought to sell her children to pay for some renovations to the

convent.¹³⁶ Apparently with the help of a literate well-wisher, Petronila submitted several petitions to the ecclesiastical authorities arguing that the convent had no right to sell her children, whom she insisted were free. Even if they were slaves, her petition stated, the convent had no right to hold them, as the religious of the Franciscan Order had sworn vows of poverty.¹³⁷ Ultimately, the case was forwarded to the Cathedral in León, Nicaragua, where in the absence of the bishop the Archdeacon don Clemente Rey Alvarez ruled that Petronila had no case, and that her children be removed from her care.¹³⁸ Seven years later, Petronila petitioned the bishop again, but the record of his decision has not survived, at least not in Costa Rican archives.¹³⁹

Enslaved mothers tried to keep track of the whereabouts of their children long after they had been sold. The *arará* Josefa's son Gabriel was sold away from her when he was nine years old in 1718. No doubt hoping she would one day be reunited with him, two years later Josefa recalled that he had been purchased by Sergeant Major don Pedro Martínez de Ugarrio, who took him to the Pueblo of El Viejo in Nicaragua.¹⁴⁰ She was unaware, however, that by then Ugarrio had already taken Gregorio to Guatemala City, where he had sold the boy to one don Guillermo Martínez de Pereda.¹⁴¹

But as slavery destroyed families, it gave rise to situations that created new ones. In 1720, Lorenza González, a *congo* from West Central Africa, declared that she had two children, María Josefa and José Manuel.¹⁴² María Josefa “was her daughter but she did not give birth to her,” Lorenza explained.¹⁴³ About ten years before, Lorenza had delivered a child who died soon after birth. At about the same time, Juana, a fellow slave

of Lorenza's master and mistress, gave birth to María Josefa, but soon fell ill. Still lactating, Lorenza nursed María Josefa. Although Juana recovered from her illness, her breasts had ceased to produce milk and María Josefa remained with Lorenza. Because Lorenza had nursed her, María Josefa and Lorenza always addressed each other as mother and daughter. At the same time, Juana's daughter María Nicolasa González considered María Josefa to be her sister no less than her other biological sisters, Eugenia and María Magdalena. From her perspective, María Josefa had two mothers.¹⁴⁴ Official documents could not accommodate such complex realities in slave families. When he composed his testament in 1710, Sergeant Major Blas González had described Lorenza and María Josefa as mother and daughter, although María Josefa's baptismal certificate of the same year listed Juana as her mother.¹⁴⁵ "No one is unaware," Father Manuel José González Coronel explained, "that those who are raised at one's breasts are called [their] children."¹⁴⁶ Governor don Diego de la Haya, however, was not persuaded; he recognized only the biological bond of motherhood as legitimate.¹⁴⁷

Marriages between Slaves

According to the Canons of the Council of Trent (which concluded its deliberations the year after Juan Vásquez de Coronado conquered Costa Rica's Central Valley for Spain), all Catholic men and women, including slaves, enjoyed the right to marry unless prevented by impediments such as consanguinity or the taking of holy orders.¹⁴⁸ In both theory and practice, the Church's insistence on the indissolubility of marriage clashed

with the masters' claims to control over their human property.¹⁴⁹ Early historians of comparative slavery assumed that the right of slaves to marry constituted one of the key differences between Latin and North American slave systems. More recently, researchers such as Herman Bennett and Christine Hünefeldt have confirmed that legally married slaves in areas of Spanish America as diverse as early colonial Mexico City and nineteenth-century Lima often successfully appealed to ecclesiastical courts to protect their families against separation by sale.¹⁵⁰ Even on Brazilian plantations where masters might easily disregard the Church's directives, many slaves succeeded in having their unions consecrated by the Church. Although "typically slaves sought to marry, while masters denied permission and had to be entreated to fulfill their Christian duty," a growing number did grant their approval – by the nineteenth century, between a quarter and a third of adult slaves on most Brazilian plantations were married, and sometimes many more. About 98 percent of the eighty slaves on the Rio Claro coffee plantation in rural São Paulo, for instance, had been married in the Church by 1830.¹⁵¹

As in so many other areas of slave life, Costa Rican slavery departed from the rule elsewhere in other slave and slaveholding societies of Latin America. Slave marriages were rarely celebrated, suggesting a high degree of master control over slave family life. The small scale of slaveholdings in Costa Rica offers a partial explanation. In Brazil, the overwhelming majority of married slaves lived on the same plantation; conversely, most single slaves lived on smallholdings. In Costa Rica, only a handful of masters owned slaves in numbers sufficient to provide a pool of potential spouses. Chances that a slave would marry another on his or her master's property were slim. Another reason that

slave family life tended to be more stable on large properties was the relative absence of the master from the lives of his slaves. Field slaves residing on large plantations, who rarely came into contact with their masters, tended to enjoy more control over their family lives than those who lived on smallholdings or worked as domestic servants and frequently interacted with their masters. In Costa Rica, most slaves lived in their masters' homes, suffering their scrutiny and interference in most aspects of life.¹⁵²

Marriages between slaves are exceedingly rare in ecclesiastical documents. Surviving marriage records from Cartago's parish church begin only in 1662, and the first record in which both spouses are identified as slaves does not occur until 1733.¹⁵³ Only four marriages between two slaves are recorded in the marriage registers during the entire period. Not surprisingly, however, other documents establish that marriages were celebrated between slaves much earlier. Although incomplete, Cartago baptismal registers date from the 1590s and provide evidence of six more slave marriages in the 1610s, 1630s, and 1640s. Sebastián and Jerónima, slaves of Juan López, baptized their daughter Luisa in 1618. Pedro and Catalina, black slaves of Magdalena de la Portilla, were the parents of Paula, baptized in 1639, and Ursula, baptized the following year. Juan, son of Pedro and Antonio, and Nicolás de la Cruz, son of Francisco and Lucrecia, were baptized in 1639 and 1640 respectively. Both couples and their children were black slaves of Governor don Gregorio de Sandoval.¹⁵⁴ Marriages between slaves appear in Cartago's surviving marriage records only much later. Antonio García, a *mina* from the Gold Coast or Upper Slave Coast, and Agustina de Ibarra, a Yoruba (*aná*), both survived the Middle Passage on the *Christianus Quintus* and *Fredericus Quartus* and were

eventually purchased by the same master. They married in 1733, twenty-three years after arriving in Costa Rica. By then, identities other than their African ethnic origins forged in American slavery, including the bonds between shipmates and slaves of the same master, had brought them together.¹⁵⁵ An imperfect measure to be sure, combining all surviving marriage and baptismal records from between the years 1594 and 1749 provide evidence of just ten marriages between enslaved men and enslaved women in the jurisdiction of Cartago, and two in Esparza between 1712 and 1750.

Other stable unions among slaves were never recorded in Church documents. Notarial records sometimes referred to slave marriages unmentioned in sacramental registers. The 1640 inventory of doña Catalina de Ortega listed Victoria as the wife of a man called Angola and mother of Juana, Antonia, Melchora, and Manuel. Neither their marriage nor the baptisms of their children are to be found in records from Cartago's parish church.¹⁵⁶ Felipe Gómez Macotella owned two elderly slaves in 1675. Juan, whose age was estimated at eighty, and María Lucrecia, 70, were described as husband and wife, probably having married many years before.¹⁵⁷ There are at least three possible explanations for the lack of documentation of these slave marriages. One possibility, perhaps particularly likely in the case of Juan and María Lucrecia, who might have been married many years before the surviving marriage records begin, is that the original records of their marriages have been lost. A second is that their marriages were celebrated in churches other than Cartago's main parish church, such as the chapel of the Convent of San Francisco or the church of Los Angeles, whose early records have not

been located and may no longer exist. The third and perhaps most likely possibility is that these were consensual unions, not legal marriages.

Such relationships may well have been as enduring as legal marriages, and were certainly much more common. María Victoria and José Cubero, both African-born slaves of Captain don José de Mier Cevallos and doña Catalina González Camino, lived in a stable union for many years. María Victoria, the mother of five living children in 1725, was described in a promissory note as the “wife” (*mujer*) of José, although there is no record of their marriage in Cartago’s surviving marriage registers. The 1722 baptismal record of their son Juan Manuel, noted as the “legitimate son” of José Cubero and Victoria Cubero, confirms that at some point they were married in the Church; their union may not have been consecrated until years after the births of their first children. Miguel was born about 1706, Juana about four years later. When another son, Pablo Ramón, was baptized in 1713, Victoria was his only parent noted in the register, although another document dated twelve years later confirmed that Pablo was the son of José Cubero.¹⁵⁸ José and María Victoria might have formalized their union in a church in the intervening years, or José’s paternity may simply have been omitted from the baptismal record of his son. Whatever the case, the absence of recorded marriages between slaves and the omission of slave fathers from their children’s baptismal records leads to an underestimation of the extent of stable unions and families among slaves in Costa Rica.

Occasionally, documents identified children with only their enslaved fathers as free children were often associated with theirs. Francisca, a mulata, was confirmed by Bishop don Pedro Villarreal in Cartago on 24 March 1625. She was identified as the daughter of

the black man Miguel. Two days later, the bishop confirmed Catalina, the mulata daughter of the African Juan Cacanga, and four daughters of Antón, another black man.¹⁵⁹ When baptized in 1708, Gregorio was identified only as the son of Juan Mina, an African slave of María Méndez.¹⁶⁰ And in August 1719, a priest celebrated the funeral of a “little angel of a [male] slave of Captain Juan Sancho de Castañeda.”¹⁶¹

There is no reason to assume, as James Sweet has in the case of colonial Brazil, that enslaved people spurned legal marriage because they rejected Christianity.¹⁶² It may be that, as in colonial Guatemala, legal marriage provided little protection to husbands and wives against separation by sale, and that Costa Rican slaves knew it.¹⁶³ Their failure to marry suggests that masters controlled the sexual and family lives of their slaves, especially the females who lived in their homes.

Exogamous Marriages

Mestizaje – biological and sometimes cultural racial mixture – has long been widely acknowledged as one of the most pervasive and significant features of Latin American societies.¹⁶⁴ In the 1970s and ‘80s, social historians developed increasingly sophisticated quantitative and statistical approaches to measuring the incidence of racial mixture *within the institution of legal marriage*.¹⁶⁵ Although these studies are invaluable within their scope, our understanding of mestizaje in general must remain incomplete for two related reasons. Marriage records cannot constitute the evidence for assertions about the incidence and impact of the phenomenon of mestizaje in general because (1) much racial

mixture occurred outside of marriage; (2) non-marital mestizaje is impossible to quantify because in the absence of information on the father's racial classification, there is no way to determine whether mestizos and mulatos born out of wedlock were the fruits of interracial unions or children of other mestizos and mulatos. Notwithstanding these limitations, interracial marriage must be analytically distinguished from racial mixture as a whole. Whether casual trysts or ongoing relationships, non-marital interracial unions and interracial legal marriages implied vastly different consequences both for the parties involved and for society in general.¹⁶⁶ Enslaved women in Costa Rica became involved in non-marital interracial unions – not necessarily “consensual” ones – but the results of those relationships are unclear. Enslaved men, on the other hand, pursued interracial legal marriages much more often, and derived from them tangible benefits for both themselves and their children.

While Costa Rican slaveowners sharply limited the kinds of family life available to female slaves, enslaved men faced fewer restrictions. Although they legally married relatively infrequently, they did so ten times as often as enslaved women, and they appear to have encountered few obstacles in choosing wives. The earliest available records suggest that slave men preferred to marry free women, a pattern that only increased over time. The first Cartago baptism record to specify a father's slave status, from 1607, shows Gaspar, black slave of doña Catalina de Grados, and his wife Juana, an Indian, as the parents of the mulato slave boy Juan.¹⁶⁷ This pattern of exogamy continued throughout the period under study and beyond, right up to the eve of abolition.¹⁶⁸ Slave men seldom celebrated legal marriages, but when they did, they almost always chose to

marry free women. Although this tendency proved strong in many areas of Spanish America, the marriage patterns of enslaved men in Costa Rica exhibited several exceptional characteristics, perhaps unique in the continent. Enslaved black men were far more likely to marry than male mulato slaves, and among black men, Africans married more frequently than creoles^[R72].

Slave men in other areas of Spanish America also frequently sought free marriage partners. Political scientist Edgar Love found that in the Mexico City parish of Santa Veracruz, for example, 48 percent of black male slaves (76 of 159) and 80 percent of enslaved mulato men (151 of 188) married free women in the century between 1646 and 1746.¹⁶⁹ In the Sagrario Metropolitano parish of the city, historian R. Douglas Cope found a similarly strong exogamous tendency in the late seventeenth century, although enslaved black men there married slave women somewhat more frequently. Seventy-nine percent of male mulato slaves (81 of 105) and one-third of black male slaves (36 of 109) who married in the parish between 1686 and 1690 chose free partners.¹⁷⁰ Christopher Lutz and Paul Lokken found the pattern was shared in Guatemala, probably the region of Central America with the largest slave population. In the capital city of Santiago, Lutz found that between 1660 and 1748, 64 percent of black slaves (177 of 336) and 79 percent of enslaved mulatos (442 of 554) married free spouses. (Unfortunately, Lutz does not specify the genders of the spouses.)¹⁷¹ Focusing on rural Guatemala, Paul Lokken has identified what he terms a *strategy* of “marriage as slave emancipation” in the late seventeenth-century, finding that up to two-thirds of male slaves married free women.¹⁷²

In Costa Rica, the unmistakable tendency of enslaved men to choose free women as wives proved even more pronounced. Furthermore, male slave exogamy proved a permanent, structural feature of Costa Rican slavery, predominating from the earliest recorded slave marriage in 1607 right up to independence in 1821. Of 72 marriages of slave men recorded in Cartago marriage registers between 1670 and 1750, a full 66 (92 percent) were to free women. With marriage to free women a viable option, slave men almost never married female slaves. Adding married couples with at least one slave partner from the baptism records beginning in 1607 does nothing to change the picture; combining both sets of documents yields that 91 percent (118 of 129) of married enslaved men were married to free women. The near-total exogamy of slave men persisted until the end of the colonial period.¹⁷³

The disadvantages of marriage to an enslaved wife – foremost among them the birth of one’s children in slavery -- made slave women unattractive partners to free men as well as male slaves. When Juan Antonio Chavarría, a free mulato, married Manuela Cayetana, a slave of doña Francisca de Ibarra and don Tomás López del Corral, the choice cost him socially and materially. Chavarría’s mother, the wealthy mulata María Calvo, showered gifts on her other children but never gave Juan Antonio and Manuela Cayetana a thing, as her son “had married to my displeasure.”¹⁷⁴ When the couple baptized their son Tomás Domingo in 1742, the officiating priest wrongly identified Chavarría as a slave.¹⁷⁵ Manuela Cayetana gave birth to at least four children between 1736 and 1748, although it is not certain that Juan Antonio was the father of two of her daughters. Cartago notarial records recorded the manumission of only one of them, when

Juan Antonio purchased the freedom of his five-month-old daughter María Josefa de la Trinidad for 50 pesos in 1748, while her mother remained a slave.¹⁷⁶ The Cartago registers recorded only seven marriages of slave women during the entire period of study; three of those enslaved women married free men. Nineteen more married enslaved women appear in the baptism records; all but Manuela Cayetana were married to slave men. In this small sample, enslaved women married free men in just 16 percent of cases.¹⁷⁷

Historians of plantation societies have often cited the demographic structure of the slave trade as one reason enslaved men chose free spouses; the skewed sex ratios of slave imports meant that there were simply not enough enslaved women to provide wives for most African men.¹⁷⁸ Other historians have also cited a large majority of males in the slave population to explain the exogamy of enslaved men in areas of Mesoamerica. R. Douglas Cope argued that in Mexico City, the gender imbalance proved “very persistent over time.” A shortage of slave women thus led, indeed forced, a majority of enslaved men to marry free women.¹⁷⁹ Paul Lokken saw the same pattern in rural Guatemala, attributing the aggressive exogamy of enslaved men to the overwhelming predominance of tributary Indians and absence of slave women in the countryside.¹⁸⁰ More recently, Trey Proctor came up with different results, showing parity in the numbers of male and female slaves in several areas of colonial Mexico. The pronounced exogamy of slave men, he concludes, cannot be attributed to an unequal sex ratio among slaves; this myth, Proctor argues, “should be laid to rest.”¹⁸¹

In Costa Rica, too, a demographic explanation for slave men's exogamy rings false. There were always plenty of female slaves for slave men to marry had they chosen to do so. Although males were sold about one-third more frequently than females in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, this did not reflect a disproportionate number of males in the slave population. More numerous documents – testaments, dowry inventories, promissory notes, and others – suggest gender parity. The sparsity of the data for the decades before 1650 make generalization difficult before the mid-seventeenth century. Only after 1680, when slave imports rose sharply in tandem with cacao production, did the male slave population clearly exceed the female, and even then it did not do so in all decades, nor by a decisive margin at any time. On the contrary, the proportions of females and males showed a persistent parity. The tendency of male slaves in Costa Rica to marry free women simply cannot be explained by a shortage of enslaved women. There was no such shortage. As well, a demographic explanation implicitly denies that either enslaved or free women had any say choosing their husbands.

Table 7.8

Gender of Slaves in Costa Rican Notarial Documents, 1607-1750

Decade	Females	Percentage Of Total	Males	Percentage Of Total	Unknown	Percentage of Total	Total
1600	0	0	1	100	0	0	1
1610	0	0	2	100	0	0	2
1620	3	20	12	80	0	0	15
1630	5	50	5	50	0	0	10
1640	10	59	7	41	0	0	17
1650	25	66	13	34	0	0	38
1660	53	62	32	38	0	0	85
1670	46	58	30	38	3	4	79
1680	60	48	64	52	0	0	124
1690	99	58	71	42	1	0	171
1700	109	45	133	55	0	0	242
1710	170	45	198	53	9	2	377
1720	101	45	121	55	0	0	222
1730	102	49	85	41	21	10	208
1740	60	45	79	55	0	0	133
Total	843	49	853	49	34	2	1,730

Sources: ANCR, P.C. 801 (1607) through 803 (1629), 815 (1654-1655, 1664-1667) through 850 (1698), 853 (1697, 1699, 1700, 1701) through 865 (1708), 867 (1709) through 871 (1712), 873 (1714) through 917 (1737), 919 (1738) through 924 (1740), 926 (1741) through 934 (1746); ANCR, P.H. 573 (1721) through 581 (1730), 583 (1733) through 586 (1739), 588 (1742) through 594 (1749); ANCR, P.S.J. 411 (1721) through 415 (1738); ACM, SFASDE, Caja 20 (1692, 1696, 1719); *Indices de los protocolos de Cartago*, vols. 1-3; *Indice de los protocolos de Heredia*.

Why, then, did slave men so overwhelmingly prefer to marry free women? As Paul Lokken, Herman Bennett, and many others have argued, the determination of enslaved men to secure stability for their families and freedom for their children immediately offers an explanation. Spanish law ostensibly protected slave marriages from separation

by sale, providing a powerful incentive for slaves to marry. If masters used the threat of separating slave families as their “most effective long-term mechanism of control,” as Norrece Jones has argued, slave men’s choice of free wives could deny masters their most powerful weapon.¹⁸² Trey Proctor has shown, however, that in Mexico the law extended this guarantee, if at all, only to marriages between two slaves; exogamous marriages received no such assurances.¹⁸³ In Costa Rica, at least one official extended the protection of the statute to all slave marriages. When Governor don Diego de la Haya contemplated sending forty-five slaves to Guatemala City in 1720, for example, he diligently inquired about the marital status and children of the men and women in question. Nine of the African men potentially effected by the move were married, all to free women -- five to mestizas, three to free mulatas, and one to an Indian.¹⁸⁴

On the other hand, in some periods at least, officials ignored not only the law against separating slave families by sale, but that which dictated that the status of children follow the condition of the mother. Enslaved men saw their aspirations to ensure greater stability for their families and a better future for their children crushed when Costa Rican slavemasters flagrantly violated the law. In the 1670s, masters condemned the children of slave fathers and free mothers to a life of effective if not legal slavery. In 1675, Doctor Benito de Noboa Salgado, a judge (*oidor*) of the Audiencia of Guatemala, visited Costa Rica and reported that Spanish masters frequently held children of slave men and indigenous women as slaves for life. Spanish landowners, Noboa Salgado wrote, “marry their slaves with the Indian women in their service and say that the children belong to them, and [the children] know no more of nature than their masters’ homes.”¹⁸⁵ In

keeping with the slave law that dictated the child follow the condition of his mother, Noboa Salgado identified children of indigenous mothers and African fathers as Indians. Local Spaniards, however, classified them as slaves, presumably because of their African ancestry, and claimed the right to their lifelong service. Concerned with the loss of tribute revenues and the depopulation of indigenous pueblos, in 1676 the king attempted to remedy the practice by prohibiting marriages between slave men and Indian women.¹⁸⁶ While acknowledging that local Spaniards enslaved free people of African descent illegally, by refusing to demand compliance with existing law, the king's solution effectively confirmed the extralegal power of Spanish masters to determine who was slave or free, and reinforced the control they exercised over even the most intimate aspects of their workers' lives.

Although slaves associated the freedom to marry with actual freedom, the law recognized no such necessary relationship, and most married slaves remained enslaved for life. As slave men rarely solemnized their marriages, this avenue remained largely closed to them. In addition, as Trey Proctor reminds us, Spanish law recognized the freedom of all children born to free women regardless of their legitimacy.¹⁸⁷ These realities may confirm an assertion Lowell Gudmundson made three decades ago in his pioneering study of manumission and mestizaje in Costa Rica: marriage to free women, particularly mestizas, represented an avenue to social mobility for black and mulatto men.¹⁸⁸

Some other findings can be added to Gudmundson's argument. Enslaved men surely recognized that marrying free women offered no guarantee that they would ever become

free themselves, or even that their children would escape the yoke of forced labor. Nevertheless, marriage constituted an important “means by which men and women publicly assumed a place in the social order.”¹⁸⁹ For Africans, it meant not just the adoption of a Hispanic norm, but the embrace of a form of kinship that in many cases differed from those of their home cultures in Africa.¹⁹⁰ As well, legitimacy meant greater respectability and hence greater social and economic opportunity even for the children of slaves.¹⁹¹ Several slave and ex-slave fathers placed their legitimate sons as apprentices with Cartago artisans, and virtually all legitimate sons and daughters of slave fathers took free spouses.¹⁹² The desire to grant their children legitimacy as well as freedom provided strong incentive for slave men to marry free women.

The marriage choices available to enslaved men in Costa Rica differed from those found elsewhere in Mesoamerica in another important respect. In Mexico and Guatemala, mulato slaves enjoyed substantially greater success in pursuing free wives than did enslaved black men – in Mexico City, mulatos married free women up to twice as often as blacks; in Guatemala, about 24 percent more often.¹⁹³ In Costa Rica, the reverse was true. Priests recorded the race of sixty-nine of the seventy-two slave bridegrooms in Cartago parish registers. Fifty (72 percent) were black men, while only nineteen (28 percent) were mulatos. The Costa Rican data challenges assumptions that free women found mulatos more attractive marriage partners than blacks, which should have been the case if blacks occupied the lowest rung on the ladder of the racial hierarchy -- long the accepted wisdom in Latin American historiography[RL74].

Trey Proctor discovered another important characteristic of slave marriages in Mexico. Marriages between slave men and free women were much more common in the early seventeenth century, before the closure of the slave trade to Mexico in the 1640s and '50s. Later in the century, slave marriages decreased in correspondence with the decline of the slave trade. In Mexico City, African men were much more likely than creoles to marry other slave women. Proctor links the tendency toward exogamy with the creolization of the enslaved population and the waning of ethnic and racial consciousness among American-born slaves.¹⁹⁴ In Costa Rica, no such pattern obtained. African-born as well as creole and mulato men overwhelmingly married free women throughout the period.

Whom did slave men marry? In the marriage registers, priests failed to record the race of forty-two percent (30 of 72) of the women who married enslaved men. They were certainly free women, however, because as far as is known functionaries never omitted the fact that a bride was enslaved, and surely the overwhelming majority, if not all of them, were *castas* and possibly Indians, not Spanish women. When only women of known race are included, free mulatas comprised almost half (18 of 42, or 43 percent) of the wives of slave men. There are several explanations for the predominance of mulatas among free women who married slave men. Although there were adequate numbers of female slaves to make endogamy possible with the enslaved group, there were only a handful of free black women. If they wanted to marry a free woman, African men had to choose a spouse outside their racial category.¹⁹⁵ Why mulatas instead of free women of other *castas*? According to Cope, in colonial Mexico City “blacks and mulattas might

normally be expected to intermarry” because *castas* tended to marry within “ ‘parent groups’ (blacks and Indians) and the associated intermediate groups (mulattas and mestizas, respectively). . . .” High endogamy ratios prevailed within these “parent groups.”¹⁹⁶ It may also suggest that women of ostensibly higher racial status married slave men more reluctantly. Mestiza and Indian women each accounted for about a fifth of enslaved men’s marriages. Two slave men married free black women. Only four enslaved men (about 5 percent of the total) married other slaves.

Free women regarded marriage to slaves as a “misfortune” (*desgracia*), as the mestiza María de la Rosa Cuéllar referred in 1734 to her own marriage to African-born Pedro de Rosas.¹⁹⁷ Mulato Diego Campuzano lied about his condition when he proposed to free mulata Manuela Josefa de Padilla. When she learned he was a slave in 1735, two years after their wedding, she sought an annulment.¹⁹⁸ Juana Paniagua refused to marry mulato slave José Cubero until he secured a promise of eventual manumission from his master.¹⁹⁹ Why, then, would free women choose to marry enslaved men? Part of the answer can be attributed to the unique position of African men in Costa Rica’s cacao economy. Free women who married slaves counted on few resources of their own. A large majority of those for whom such information is available were of illegitimate birth. Diego García, a *cabo verde* born in West Africa who eventually earned his freedom, married twice while still a slave, choosing free women both times. When he composed his will in 1743, he stated plainly that “the said two women brought nothing at all to my possession.”²⁰⁰ For free women with few other marriage options, enslaved men living in Matina must have seemed viable marriage partners. Although they and all their property

technically belonged to their masters, for all intents and purposes, African men in Matina lived in their own homes and grew provisions on their own land, just as poor farmers or ranchers did. They even had a decided advantage over some of the free poor. Because cacao was literally money, slave men in Matina had as ready access to cash as anyone in Costa Rica. When smugglers came to the coast, enslaved men purchased goods for the home including iron pots and European cloth. Most importantly, cacao could provide the means to freedom itself, and ultimately, a path to financial and social advancement. Free wives must have seen a promise in their husbands that mitigated the men's slave status.

Although myriad individual circumstances surely influenced the decision to marry, slave men surely considered that marriage to free women could form part of a long-term to acquire freedom itself. Free wives enlisted the support of friends and family members, greatly increasing a slave man's chances of eventual manumission. Juana de Paniagua, the free mulata wife of slave José Cubero, recruited six of her friends to help her make and sell stockings and blue thread to earn money for her husband's freedom.²⁰¹ In 1742, mulato slave Ramón Poveda proposed marriage to a free mulata, María Nicolasa Geralda. Her father, a captain in the mulato militia, lent his daughter's suitor 200 pesos toward the purchase of his freedom.²⁰² Juan Antonio de Cuéllar traded in mules and horses, earning 150 pesos to help his sister María de la Rosa obtain freedom for her husband, the African Pedro de Rosas.²⁰³ Soon after his marriage to the free Manuela Gutiérrez in 1721, West African-born Diego García obtained permission from his master to lease a cacao hacienda for 50 pesos per year in cacao from an extended family member, Juan González. González leased the property to Diego "because he loved him very much, as if Diego

were his father, and said that he was a relative of his wife, and that he gave him the said hacienda more out of love than for the two *zurrone*s of cacao every year.”²⁰⁴ García was so successful that he was not only able to meet his obligation to González, but with a surplus of “many *zurrone*s of cacao,” lent money to Francisco Morales, the Spanish Captain of the Matina Valley.²⁰⁵

But even with the help of free family members, it often took decades to amass the cacao necessary to buy freedom, if they ever gained it. Cartago notarial records contain no record of the manumission of Pedro de Rosas. Despite the exceptional opportunity extended to Diego García, he did not obtain his freedom for at least seventeen years after first leasing his kinsman’s cacao hacienda. He first had to be sold to a new master. In 1738, he contracted with his master Sergeant Major José Felipe Bermúdez for his freedom in return for the care of a cacao grove, and was freed at some time before his death in 1744.²⁰⁶ Diego Angulo, born in West Central Africa around 1690, married the free mulata Felipa Chavarria in 1709. The couple eventually had four children, born in freedom.²⁰⁷ Twenty-one years later and with the help of his son Juan Manuel, working “on feast days and without missing other days in the service of their masters,” Angulo succeeded in amassing 375 pesos’ worth of cacao and purchased his freedom in 1730.²⁰⁸ As a free man, he continued to grow cacao, now on his own account. By the time of his death in 1745, he owned a sizeable hacienda in the Barbilla Valley with a small house, 1,265 trees in production, and five mules to transport the crop, as well as another home in Cartago’s free colored neighborhood, the Puebla de los Pardos. In Cartago, Angulo

owned with an outdoor kitchen and two nearby lots. He owed his freedom and advancement largely to the help of his free family.²⁰⁹

As difficult as it was for slave men to gain their freedom even with the help of free family and friends, it was harder for enslaved women. As they rarely married in the first place, they could not usually count on free spouses or in-laws. In exceptional cases, slave women and their free husbands beat the odds and succeeded in building free lives together. In July 1720, *Alférez* Diego de la Cruz, a thirty-year-old free mulato originally from Granada, Nicaragua, petitioned Cartago's ecclesiastical judge for permission to marry Josefa Micaela de la Vega Cabral, a "white mulata" slave. A royal mail carrier, de la Cruz had met Josefa in her master's home when he arrived in Cartago several months before. He was now about to depart for Guatemala City, where he would deliver top-secret papers from Governor don Diego de la Haya Fernández to the Audiencia, and wanted desperately to marry the twenty-two-year-old Josefa before he left. Father don Diego de Angulo Gascón acceded to his request.²¹⁰ In the event, Diego did not leave Cartago until January of the following year. After travelling "three hundred leagues" (1,650 km/1,025 miles) to Guatemala, Diego had to wait there until October for a response from the Audiencia. On the return to Cartago, he was detained another three weeks in Granada. Diego finally arrived in Cartago in February 1722, where he borrowed 150 pesos in cacao from the governor against the pay that was owed him.²¹¹ On 27 March 1722, Diego purchased the freedom of his wife Josefa Micaela and her ten-year-old daughter Manuela Victoria for 300 pesos in silver and 150 pesos in cacao.²¹²

The exceptional circumstances from which Diego and Josefa Micaela benefited are self-evident. De la Cruz worked at a high-paying job involving the highest responsibility; he enjoyed the trust of the most powerful officials in the Kingdom of Guatemala. Josefa Micaela's master, don Francisco de Betancourt, approved of her marriage to Diego and even offered testimony on his behalf before the ecclesiastical judge.²¹³ Diego could not only lay his hands on 300 pesos in silver, but borrowed an additional six *zurrones* of cacao from the governor of Costa Rica. Although it was by no means easy, Diego could reasonably hope eventually to liberate Josefa Micaela and Manuela Victoria and to share a free life with them. Without such advantages, most free men could not.

Conclusion

Slavery shaped all aspects of the family life of those who lived under it. In Costa Rica, women and men experienced those effects in profoundly different ways. Masters controlled the female slaves who lived in their homes most directly, sharply limiting their options for family life. Domestic slaves in general and female slaves in particular remained subject to the heightened vigilance, abuse, and manipulation of their masters. The overwhelming majority of children born to enslaved mothers were illegitimate and we know nothing about the identity of their fathers. In homes where no adult males lived, slave fathers cannot be assumed to have played important roles in the lives of their children – although they may have. In that sense, the predominant family form under Costa Rican slavery was the female-headed family. It is not even correct to speak of

“female-headed households,” because unlike on properties with separate slave quarters, these single mothers headed no households. Their masters manipulated, controlled and destroyed their families at will, routinely selling and donating their children with no regard for the mother-child bond, let alone ties to other family members. Slave children were called *crías*, a word applied to the offspring of animals, and many were disposed of just as casually.²¹⁴_[R75]

Marriage in the Catholic Church promised protection from such devastating separations. In theory, canon law guaranteed the right of slaves to marry in the Catholic Church, and the indissolubility of the marriage bond protected slave couples and families from separation and sale. These principles conflicted with the determination of slaveholders to dispose of their human property at will, however, and in Costa Rica, they were implemented inconsistently at best. In any case, because slaves rarely wed, masters faced little ecclesiastical opposition, if any, to separating slave families. In large part because Spanish law mandated that the legal condition of children follow that of their mothers, few men saw advantages in taking enslaved women as wives.

Although the only one respected by Spanish law and the only one providing even a modicum of protection, legally sanctioned marriage was only one form of slave family. Fewer than ten percent of slave children were born to couples married in the Catholic Church. Although only a few documented cases support it, some enslaved women must have maintained stable relationships with slave men, especially when owned by the same masters; in other parts of the Americas such as Brazil and the United States South, two-parent families predominated among slaves. A small minority of female-headed families

also proved remarkably stable. A few enslaved children were lucky enough to remain with their mothers until they grew to adulthood; several wealthy masters held three or even four generations of slaves in their homes. As a result of short- or long-term relationships and subject to varying degrees of coercion, other slave women bore children by their masters. A few slaveowners freed their mulato slave children, but rarely manumitted their enslaved lovers. There is little to suggest that enslaved women derived many tangible benefits from sexual relationships with their masters, nor that they chose to remain single; rather, there is every reason to attribute their single status to structural characteristics of Costa Rican slavery.

Slave men married ten times more frequently than enslaved women, although only a small minority of enslaved men wed. Almost always, they chose free women as wives. Unlike in other parts of Spanish America, African-born black men achieved far more success in pursuing free wives than creoles or mulatos. Most African husbands worked cultivating cacao in the Matina Valley, where they exploited opportunities for advancement unavailable to other slave men. Their relatively independent lifestyle, access to cash and imported goods, and promise of eventual freedom overcame potential objections to their darker skin or cultural differences by the women they courted. For an enslaved man, marriage to a free woman guaranteed that his children would be born free; for a free but poor woman, marriage to a Matina slave could mean an improvement of material condition if not of status. Free relatives, including wives, children, and in-laws, could help slave men eventually to gain their freedom; those who remained slaves could look forward to a better life for their children. The freeborn children of married slave

men found ready acceptance in the free community of color, learning artisans' trades, serving in the mulatto militias, and participating in religious confraternities.

The mobility provided by intermarriage, however, occurred on an individual basis and accepted rather than challenged the racial basis of the colonial hierarchy. African and other slave men married not only free, but lighter-skinned women; "whitening" one's children was inseparable from freedom itself. Many children of slaves married mestizos; children of such matches were usually considered mestizos, and their children in turn might be considered white, accomplishing the complete assimilation of Africans to Costa Rican society within a few short generations.²¹⁵ In theory, in a colony such as Costa Rica without a reliable connection to the Atlantic slave trade, enslaved men's aggressive exogamy could lead to a decline in the slave population. Another feature of slaveholding societies, however, militated against this: gender parity. While the children of married enslaved men pursued various opportunities for advancement, most children of slave women lived and died in slavery. Enslaved women gave birth to sufficient numbers of children to ensure a continuing supply of enslaved workers.

¹ Paul Lokken, "Marriage as Slave Emancipation in Seventeenth-Century Rural Guatemala," *The Americas* 58, no. 2 (Oct. 2001): 175-200.

² Manifestación de crías, San Francisco de Tenorio, 20 Nov. 1719, Archivo Nacional de Costa Rica (hereafter ANCR), Sección Colonial Guatemala (hereafter G.) 185, fol. 20.

³ Partida del bautizo de Josefa, Esparza, 29 May 1713, Archivo de la Curia Metropolitana de San José, San José (hereafter ACMSJ), Libros de Bautizos de Esparza (1706-1819)/FHL, VAULT INTL film 1223548, item 5.

⁴ Partida del bautizo de Toribio, Cartago, 20 July 1714; Partida del bautizo de Juan, Cartago, 6 Aug. 1714; both in ACMSJ, Libros de bautizos de Cartago (hereafter LBC), no. 4/FHL, VAULT INTL film 1219701, item 4.

⁵ ACMSJ, LBC, nos. 1-6 (1594-1738)/FHL, VAULT INTL film 1219701, items 1-5, VAULT INTL film 1219702, item 1.

⁶ ACMSJ, Libros de Bautizos de Esparza (1708-1819)/FHL, VAULT INTL film 1223548, items 5-6.

⁷ See, for example, Stuart B. Schwartz, *Sugar Plantations in the Formation of Brazilian Society: Bahia, 1550-1835* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 356-357, 394; Alida Metcalf, *Family and Frontier in Colonial Brazil: Santana de Parnaíba, 1580-1822* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), 157-180. There were many individual and a few general exceptions, such as in colonial Louisiana, where estate inventories “clearly bracketed the families together,” and on properties owned by religious orders. Gwendolyn Midlo Hall, *Africans in Colonial Louisiana: The Development of Afro-Creole Culture in the Eighteenth Century* (Baton Rouge, La.: Louisiana State University Press, 1992), 169 (quoted); Richard Graham, “Slave Families on a Rural Estate in Colonial Brazil,” *Journal of Social History* 9, no. 3 (1976), 390.

⁸ Ann Patton Malone, *Sweet Chariot: Slave Family and Household Structure in Nineteenth-Century Louisiana* (Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1992), 262.

⁹ One document compiled by residents of the North Pacific Valley of Bagaces did list slaves, who made up about 6 percent of the area’s population of 297. “Los vecinos del valle de Bagases pretenden formar una villa, ciudad ó lugar en dicho valle, con independencia del gobierno de la provincia de Costa Rica. - Año de 1688,” in León Fernández, ed., *Colección de documentos para la historia de Costa Rica*, 8:477-501.

¹⁰ Schwartz, *Sugar Plantations*, 395-396.

¹¹ Malone, *Sweet Chariot*, 260-263.

¹² Cf. Ira Berlin and Philip D. Morgan, “Introduction: Labor and the Shaping of Slave Life in the Americas,” in *Cultivation and Culture: Labor and the Shaping of Slave Life in the Americas*, ed. Berlin and Morgan (Charlottesville, Va.: University Press of Virginia, 1993), 8, 21.

¹³ Lowell Gudmundson once argued that enslaved women often chose to remain single, a conclusion disputed by Mauricio Meléndez Obando. Gudmundson, “Mecanismos de movilidad social para la población de procedencia africana en Costa Rica colonial: Manumisión y mestizaje,” in *Estratificación socio-racial y económica de Costa Rica, 1700-1850* (San José: EUNED, 1978), 50-53; Meléndez Obando, “Manumisión,” in Tatiana Lobo Wiehoff and Meléndez Obando, *Negros y blancos: Todo mezclado* (San José: Editorial de la Universidad de Costa Rica, 1997), 107.

¹⁴ For illegitimacy in the late colonial period, see Héctor Pérez Brignoli, “Deux siècles d’illégitimité au Costa Rica, 1770-1974,” in *Marriage and Remarriage in Populations of the Past*, ed. J. Dupâquier et al. (London: Academic Press, 1981), 481-493.

¹⁵ ACMSJ, LBC (1599-1750), nos. 1-6/FHL, VAULT INTL film 1219701, items 1-5; film 1219702, items 1-3.

¹⁶ ACMSJ, Libros de Bautizos de Esparza (1706-1819)/FHL, VAULT INTL film 1223548, items 5-6.

¹⁷ ACMSJ, LBC (1599-1750), nos. 1-6/FHL, VAULT INTL film 1219701, items 1-5; film 1219702, items 1-3.

¹⁸ Petición de don José Nicolás de Bonilla, presentada en Cartago, 26 May 1755, ANCR, Sección Complementario Colonial (hereafter C.C.) 6229, fol. 1v.

¹⁹ Declaración de José Antonio Pérez, Cartago, 27 May 1755, ANCR, C.C. 6229, fol. 6v (quoted); Petición de don José Nicolás de Bonilla, presentada en Cartago, 26 May 1755, ANCR, C.C. 6229, fol. 1v.

²⁰ Petición de Juan Barrantes, presentada en Cartago, 21 April 1735, ACMSJ, Sección Fondos Antiguos, Serie Documentación Encuadernada (hereafter SFASDE), Caja 15, fol. 1.

²¹ Petición de Josefa de Vida Martel, presentada en Cartago, 27 April 1735, ACMSJ, SFASDE, Caja 15, fol. 6.

²² For the Gramscian concept of “common sense” applied to the study of racism, see Stuart Hall, “Gramsci’s Relevance for the Study of Race and Ethnicity,” *Journal of Communication Inquiry* 10, no. 2 (summer 1986): 5-27; Edmundo Gordon Gitt, “Explotación de clase, opresión étnica, y la lucha simultánea,” *Wani*, no. 1 (Sept.-Dec. 1984): 11-17.

²³ Manifestación de crías, San Francisco de Tenorio, 20 Nov. 1719, ANCR, Sección Colonial Guatemala (hereafter G.) 185, fol. 20.

²⁴ Richard H. Steckel, “Miscegenation and the American Slave Schedules,” *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 11, no. 2 (autumn 1980): 251-263; Philip D. Morgan, *Slave Counterpoint: Black Culture in the Eighteenth-Century Chesapeake and Lowcountry* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998), 399 (quoted); Malone, *Sweet Chariot*, 219-220.

²⁵ For the application of “mulato” to myriad groups in the colonial Americas over time, see Jack D. Forbes, *Africans and Native Americans: The Language of Race and the Evolution of Red-Black Peoples*, 2nd ed. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1993), chapters 5-7.

²⁶ Partida del bautizo de Josefe, mulato, hijo de Francisco Hernández (?) y de María, mulata, su mujer; padrinos Domingo de Torres, mulato, y Luisa, india, su madre, Cartago, 26 Aug. 1638; Partida del bautizo de Juan, mulato, hijo legítimo de Diego de Sojo, mulato de doña Fabiana de Sojo, y de [roto], india, su mujer, Cartago, 13 April 1639; both in ACMSJ, LBC, no. 1/FHL, VAULT INTL film 1219701, item 1; ACMSJ, Libros de Bautizos de Esparza (1706-1819)/FHL, VAULT INTL film 1223548, items 5-6.

²⁷ ACMSJ, LBC, nos. 1-5/FHL, VAULT INTL film 1219701, items 1-5; ACMSJ, LBC, nos. 6-8/FHL, VAULT INTL film 1219702, items 1-3.

²⁸ Malone, *Sweet Chariot*, 219.

²⁹ Steckel, “Miscegenation and the American Slave Schedules,” 253, 260.

³⁰ For a contrary view, see Randall Kennedy, *Interracial Intimacies: Sex, Marriage, Identity, and Adoption* (New York: Pantheon, 2003), 41-45.

³¹ Rosalyn Terborg-Penn, “Women and Slavery in the African Diaspora: A Cross-Cultural Approach to Historical Analysis,” *Sage* 3, no. 2 (fall 1986): 11-14; John K. Thornton, *Africa and the Africans in the Making of the Atlantic World, 1400-1680*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 107; Herbert S. Klein, “African Women in the Atlantic Slave Trade,” in *Women and Slavery in Africa*, ed. Claire C. Robertson and Martin A. Klein (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1983), 35-36; G. Ugo Nwokeji, “African Conceptions of Gender and the Slave Traffic,” *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser., 58, no. 1 (Jan. 2001): 47-68.

³² Joseph C. Miller, *Way of Death: Merchant Capitalism and the Angolan Slave Trade, 1730-1830* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1988), ch. 2; Thornton, *Africa and Africans*, ch. 3.

³³ See Claude Meillassoux, "Slaves Are Not Kin: Reply to Kopytoff," *American Ethnologist* 22, no. 2 (May 1995): 410.

³⁴ Martin A. Klein, "Servitude among the Wolof and Sereer of Senegambia," in *Slavery in Africa: Historical and Anthropological Perspectives*, ed. Suzanne Miers and Igor Kopytoff (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1977), 347; Claire C. Robertson, "Post-Proclamation Slavery in Accra: A Female Affair?" in *Women and Slavery in Africa*, ed. Robertson and Martin A. Klein (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1983), 225; N. A. Fadipe, *The Sociology of the Yoruba* (Ibadan, Nigeria: Ibadan University Press, 1970), 182; John O. Hunwick, "Islamic Law," in *A Historical Guide to World Slavery*, ed. Seymour Drescher and Stanley L. Engerman (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 250.

³⁵ Carta del Obispo de Nicaragua y Costa Rica Fr. Juan de Rojas al Rey, León, Nic., 31 Jan. 1684, Archivo General de Indias, Seville (hereafter AGI), Audiencia de Guatemala (hereafter G.) 162, fol. 459; Germán Romero Vargas, *Las estructuras sociales de Nicaragua en el siglo XVIII* (Managua: Editorial Vanguardia, 1988), 290.

³⁶ Carta del Obispo de Nicaragua y Costa Rica Fr. Juan de Rojas al Rey, León, Nic., 31 Jan. 1684, AGI, G. 162, fol. 459-459v.

³⁷ Ricardo Blanco Segura, *Obispos, arzobispos y representantes de la Santa Sede en Costa Rica* (San José: Editorial Universidad Estatal a Distancia, 1984), 46.

³⁸ Codicilio al testamento de Inés de Olvidares, Cartago, 8 July 1720, ANCR, Protocolos Coloniales de Cartago (hereafter P.C.) 892, fols. 17v-18v; Carta de libertad, Cartago, 12 July 1720, ANCR, P.C. 892, fols. 22v-23.

³⁹ Testamento de Jerónima Barrantes, Cartago, 30 Jan. 1697, ANCR, P.C. 849, fols. 6v, 7.

⁴⁰ Testamento del Ayu. Francisco Hernández Barquero, Cartago, 10 Aug. 1698, ANCR, P.C. 850, fol. 13; Testamento de María Barquero, Cartago, 28 Oct. 1733, ANCR, P.C. 909, fol. 101v; Donación de 8 esclavos, Cartago, 5 June 1741, ANCR, P.C. 926, fol. 17.

⁴¹ Several scholars have written about Miguel Calvo, Ana Cardoso, and their children, the subjects of the best-known case of racial mixture in the Costa Rican historiography. See Pedro Pérez Zeledón, "Fusión de sangres," in *Gregorio José Ramírez y otros ensayos* (San José: Editorial Costa Rica, 1971), 89-94, first published in *Athena* (San José) 2, no. 6 (Oct. 1918); Gudmundson, "Mecanismos de movilidad," 29; Mauricio Meléndez Obando, "Los Calvo," in Lobo Wiehoff and Meléndez Obando, *Negros y blancos*, 137-139.

⁴² Pérez Zeledón, "Fusión de sangres," 89; Meléndez Obando, "Los Calvo," 138. I have been unable to locate the document recording Ana's sale cited by Pérez Zeledón.

⁴³ Venta de esclavo, Cartago, 10 Feb. 1687, ANCR, P.C. 836, fols. 1-1v; Manumisión de esclavo, Cartago, 10 Feb. 1687, ANCR, P.C. 836, fols. 2-2v.

⁴⁴ Testamento cerrado de doña Eugenia de Abarca Alatrás, Cartago, 28 June 1702, ANCR, P.C. 856, fols. 87-91v; Manumisión de esclava, Cartago, 3 July 1715, ANCR, P.C. 877, fols. 123v-124.

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- ⁴⁵ Manumisión de esclava (Ana Cardoso), Cartago, 27 May 1689, ANCR, P.C. 838, fols. 63-64v; Manumisión de esclavas (María y Francisca), Cartago, 14 Jan. 1691, ANCR, P.C. 841, fols. 3v-5; Testamento del Cap. don Miguel Calvo, Cartago, 16 Feb. 1715, ANCR, P.C. 877, fols. 34-34v; Pérez Zeledón, "Fusión de sangres," 90-91.
- ⁴⁶ Carta de libertad, Cartago, 3 July 1715, ANCR, P.C. 877, fol. 123.
- ⁴⁷ Petición de María Calvo, parda libre, al Gobernador don Diego de la Haya Fernández, presentada 1 July 1720, ANCR, C. 242, fol. 11.
- ⁴⁸ El Sarg. Francisco de Echavarría reconoce recibo de 1.484 pesos y 6 maravedies, Cartago, 29 Aug. 1715, ANCR, Mortuales Coloniales de Cartago (hereafter M.C.C.) 707, fols. 13-16; Donación de esclavo, Cartago, 25 Feb. 1711, ANCR, P.C. 870, fols. 9-10v, quoting fol. 9.
- ⁴⁹ Carta dote, Cartago, 8 April 1697, ANCR, P.C. 849, fols. 31-33; Carta dote, Cartago, 27 April 1697, ANCR, M.C.C. 733, fols. 1-5v.
- ⁵⁰ Testamento del Cap. don Miguel Calvo, Cartago, 16 Feb. 1715, ANCR, P.C. 877, fol. 35.
- ⁵¹ Lowell Gudmundson wrote that Ana Cardoso "se convirtió en amante y posteriormente en esposa de Miguel Calvo." Gudmundson, "Mecanismos de movilidad," 29. In consulting the documents cited by Gudmundson, I found no indication that a marriage was ever celebrated between them. In his will composed at the age of sixty-nine, as he recognized paternity of his children, Calvo affirmed: "... declaro que e sido y soi soltero sin aber tomado estado alguno." Testamento del Cap. don Miguel Calvo, Cartago, 16 Feb. 1715, ANCR, P.C. 877, fol. 34. Pérez Zeledón wrote that after the death of Eugenia de Abarca and the acquisition of her freedom, Cardoso lived the remainder of her life alone. "Fusión de sangres," 93.
- ⁵² Testamento del Cap. don Miguel Calvo, Cartago, 16 Feb. 1715, ANCR, P.C. 877, fol. 36.
- ⁵³ Testamento del Cap. don Miguel Calvo, Cartago, 16 Feb. 1715, ANCR, P.C. 877, fol. 38.
- ⁵⁴ Adjudicación de bienes de don Miguel Calvo, Cartago, June 1715, ANCR, M.C.C. 733, fols. 73-79; Petición de María Calvo, parda libre, presentada en Cartago, 20 May 1720, ANCR, C. 242, fol. 5; Declaración de Juana, negra de casta mina, Cartago, 14 Sept. 1719, ANCR, C. 248, fol. 1v; Testamento del Cap. don Miguel Calvo, Cartago, 16 Feb. 1715, ANCR, P.C. 877, fol. 35v; Partida del bautizo de María Fernanda, hija de Cayetano, esclavo de doña María Calvo, Cartago, 22 July 1748, ACMSJ, LBC, no. 8/FHL, VAULT INTL film 1219702, item 3.
- ⁵⁵ Testamento del Sarg. Mr. José de Laya y Bolívar, Esparza, 26 June 1723, ANCR, M.C.C. 838, fol. 3; Testamento de doña Josefa del Haya y Bolívar, Barva, 28 April 1729, ANCR, Protocolos Coloniales de Heredia (hereafter P.H.) 580, fol. 27v (quoted).
- ⁵⁶ Carta de libertad, Valle de Barva, 4 Sept. 1730, ANCR, P.H. 581, fols. 44v-45.
- ⁵⁷ Testamento de doña Josefa del Haya y Bolívar, Barva, 28 April 1729, ANCR, P.H. 580, fols. 27v, 28.
- ⁵⁸ Carta de libertad, Valle de Barva, 17 Sept. 1730, ANCR, P.H. 581, fols. 46v-48.
- ⁵⁹ Permuta de esclavos, Cartago, 17 June 1723, ANCR, P.C. 896, fols. 66-68v; Testamento de doña Nicolasa Guerrero, Cartago, 24 Nov. 1726, ANCR, P.C. 899, fol. 129v; Testamento de doña Nicolasa Guerrero, Cartago, 20 Feb. 1730, ANCR, P.C. 903, fol. 7.

⁶⁰ Petición hecha por Tomás de la Madriz ante el Juez eclesiástico a fin de que se anule su matrimonio con Antonia de la Granda y Balvín, presentada en Cartago, 17 Oct. 1727, ANCR, SFASDE, Caja 13, fols. 384-391; Obligación de doña Antonia de la Granda y Balvín, Cartago, 12 Aug. 1734, ANCR, P.C. 912, fols. 50v-51; Meléndez Obando, “Los Madriz,” in Lobo Wiehoff and Meléndez Obando, *Negros y blancos*, 134-135.

⁶¹ Donación de esclavos, Cartago, 17 Sept. 1742, ANCR, P.C. 927, fol. 73v-77; *Índice de los protocolos de Cartago*, 3:434-435, 443, 455, 4:64; Meléndez Obando, “Los Madriz,” in Lobo Wiehoff and Meléndez Obando, *Negros y blancos*, 136-137; Testamento de doña Antonia de Granda y Balvín, Cartago, 14 July 1746, ANCR, P.C. 934, fol. 52v. See also María de los Angeles Acuña, “Mujeres esclavas en la Costa Rica del siglo XVIII: Estrategias frente a la esclavitud,” *Diálogos: Revista Electrónica de Historia* (Costa Rica) 5, nos. 1-2 (April 2004-Feb. 2005). Available at: <http://historia.fcs.ucr.ac.cr/sitio/artic.html>.

⁶² Testamento del Cap. Francisco Fallas de la Vega, Cartago, 30 April 1729, ANCR, P.C. 902, fol. 35v. In fact, Dominga was born free and illegally held as a slave by the Fallas family, as were her descendants. Mauricio Meléndez Obando, “Dominga Fallas, o un siglo de engaños, 1684-1786,” in *Entre Dios y el diablo*, by Tatiana Lobo (San José: Editorial de la Universidad de Costa Rica, 1993), 113-130.

⁶³ Testamento de doña Mariana Solano, otorgado por sus apoderados, Cartago, 3 Nov. 1729, ANCR, P.C. 902, fol. 78; Carta de libertad, Cartago, 15 Dec. 1729, ANCR, P.H. 580, fol. 91 (quoted).

⁶⁴ Carta de libertad, Cartago, 6 April 1731, ANCR, P.C. 906, fol. 24.

⁶⁵ Carta de libertad, Cartago, 14 Aug. 1733, ANCR, P.C. 910, fol. 62 (quoted); Meléndez Obando, “Dominga Fallas,” 124.

⁶⁶ Meléndez Obando, “Dominga Fallas,” 123 (quoted), 124.

⁶⁷ Carta de libertad, Cartago, 23 Aug. 1735, ANCR, P.H. 585, fols. 20-21.

⁶⁸ Herbert S. Klein, *African Slavery in Latin America and the Caribbean* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986), 227, 229; Stuart B. Schwartz, “The Manumission of Slaves in Colonial Brazil: Bahia, 1684-1745,” *Hispanic American Historical Review* 54 (Nov. 1974), 611; Schwartz, *Sugar Plantations*, 331, 410.

⁶⁹ Christine Hünefeldt, *Paying the Price of Freedom: Family and Labor Among Lima's Slaves, 1800-1854*, trans. Alexandra Stern (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), 206.

⁷⁰ See, for example, Schwartz, “Manumission of Slaves,” 611-619; Gudmundson, “Mecanismos de movilidad,” 27-30.

⁷¹ Calculations on manumissions are based on *cartas de libertad* in ANCR, P.C. 815 (1655, 1663), 824 (1675), 825 (1677), 835 (1685) through 838 (1689), 841 (1691), 842 (1692), 848 (1696) through 850 (1698), 855 (1701), 857 (1703), 860 (1704), 863 (1705) through 865 (1708), 868 (1710), 873 (1714), 875 (1714, 1717), 877 (1716), 881 (1716), 882 (1717), 887 (1719), 890 (1720), 892 (1720), 895 (1722) through 899 (1726), 903 (1730), 906 (1731), 908 (1732) through 910 (1733), 912 (1734), 915 (1736), 916 (1737), 919 (1738), 921 (1739), 927 (1747), 932 (1745) through 934 (1746); P.H. 572 (1723), 576 (1725), 580 (1729), 581 (1730), 585 (1735), 587 (1741); *Protocolos Coloniales de San José* (hereafter P.S.J.) 415 (1738); C.C. 3905 (1680), C.C. 3916 (1675), C.C. 3927 (1693), C.C. 4000 (1709); *Índice de los protocolos de Cartago*, vols. 1-3.

⁷² Cf. Schwartz, *Sugar Plantations*, 331.

⁷³ H. Hoetink, *Caribbean Race Relations: A Study of Two Variants* (Oxford: Oxford University Press for the Institute of Race Relations, 1967), 176.

⁷⁴ Rosemary Brana-Shute, "Negotiating Freedom in Urban Suriname 1760-1830," in *From Chattel Slaves to Wage Slaves: The Dynamics of Labour Bargaining in the Americas*, ed. Mary Turner (London: James Currey, 1995), 161; Frank T. Proctor, III, "Slavery, Identity, and Culture: An Afro-Mexican Counterpoint, 1640-1763" (Ph.D. diss., Emory University, 2003), ch. 5.

⁷⁵ Eugene D. Genovese, *Roll, Jordan, Roll: The World the Slaves Made* (New York: Pantheon, 1974), 415.

⁷⁶ Hünefeldt, *Paying the Price of Freedom*, 129-139, quoting 133.

⁷⁷ Cf. Steckel, "Miscegenation and the American Slave Schedules," 263.

⁷⁸ Declaración de Juan Antonio González, Cartago, 28 Oct. 1771, ACMSJ, SFASDE, Caja 27, fol. 325; see also Tatiana Lobo, "La mulata Sebastiana y don Andrés," in Lobo Wiehoff and Meléndez Obando, *Negros y blancos*, 54-56.

⁷⁹ Petición de doña María Bonilla, presentada en Cartago, 1 July 1773, ANCR, C.C. 5747, fols. 1v-2v.

⁸⁰ Carta de libertad, Cartago, 3 August 1675, ANCR, P.C. 824, fols. 27v-28v.

⁸¹ Carta de libertad, Cartago, 9 July 1738, ANCR, P.C. 919, fol. 59v.

⁸² R. Douglas Cope argues that in seventeenth-century Mexico City, "in all probability, slaves were no worse off, in a material sense, than other members of the urban poor. . . . Burial statistics . . . show that blacks and mulattoes were no more (indeed, slightly less) vulnerable during periods of epidemic disease and food shortages than mestizos and castizos. Slave owners, after all, had a vested interest in keeping their property alive." I have not been able to prove or disprove these assertions for mid-colonial Costa Rica. Cope, *The Limits of Racial Domination: Plebeian Society in Colonial Mexico City, 1660-1720* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1994), 96.

⁸³ See Defunciones de Cartago y cuentas presentadas del dinero pagado por concepto de entierros, ACMSJ, SFASDE, Caja 9, fols. 9-120v (Cartago, 1669-1720).

⁸⁴ Defunciones de Cartago y cuentas presentadas del dinero pagado por concepto de entierros, ACMSJ, SFASDE, Caja 9, fols. 19 (Cartago, 8 June 1678), 23v (2 Nov. 1679), 36 (20 Sept. 1683), 46 (12 April 1685), 48v (23 May 1686), 52 (11 May 1687), 52v (4 Aug. 1687), 66 (April 1699), 72v (18 Oct. 1699), 76 (11 April 1707), 78v (30 March 1708), 79 (28 April 1708), 79v (30 May 1708), 81v (10 April 1709), 83 (5 Jan. 1710).

⁸⁵ Obligación del Cap. Blas González Coronel y su mujer doña Bernarda de Fonseca, Cartago, 30 Sept. 1706, ANCR, P.C. 860, fol. 94v; Testamento del Sarg. Mr. Blas González Coronel, Cartago, 2 Aug. 1710, ANCR, P.C. 868, fols. 72v, 74v; Declaración de Isabel, negra, Cartago, 28 Sept. 1720, ANCR, C. 284, fol. 13v.

⁸⁶ Declaraciones de 3 negros, Cartago, 5 Oct. 1720, ANCR, G. 185, fol. 45.

⁸⁷ Razón dada por la negra Manuela de no tener crías, Cartago, 2 Sept. 1720, ANCR, C. 258, fol. 22v.

⁸⁸ Razón dada por la negra Lorenza, Cartago, 2 Sept. 1720, ANCR, C. 260, fol. 21v.

⁸⁹ William Bosman, *A New and Accurate Description of the Coast of Guinea, Divided into the Gold, the Slave and the Ivory Coasts* (London: James Knapton, 1705; rpt. ed., London: Frank Cass, 1967), 364; Ludewig Ferdinand Römer, *A Reliable Account of the Coast of Guinea (1760)*, trans. and ed. Selena Axelrod Winsnes (Oxford: Oxford University Press for the British Academy, 2000), /132/.

⁹⁰ Stephanie Ellen Smallwood, "Salt-Water Slaves: African Enslavement, Migration, and Settlement in the Anglo-Atlantic World, 1660-1700" (Ph.D. diss., Duke University, 1999), 223, 242-243.

⁹¹ Nwokeji, "African Conceptions of Gender," 47-68.

⁹² David Eltis, David Richardson, Stephen D. Behrendt, and Herbert S. Klein, eds., *The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade: A Database on CD-ROM*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999); Auto de comiso de 41 negros y negras, Esparza, 6 Nov. 1700, ANCR, C. 109, fol. 7; Auto de depósito de 41 negros y negras, Esparza, 7 Nov. 1700, ANCR, C. 109, fol. 8; Auto de almoneda, Esparza, 30 Nov. 1700, ANCR, C. 109, fol. 16v. Although the initial proceedings generated by the judges don Gregorio de Caamaño y Juan Antonio de Bogarín referred to 41 blacks, Bogarín later revealed that the *Nuestra Señora de la Soledad y Santa Isabel* actually brought 54 Africans. Declaración de Juan Antonio Bogarín, Cartago, 18 Aug. 1703, AGI, G. 359, pieza 5, fols. 29v.

⁹³ Almoneda, Esparza, 2 Dec. 1700, ANCR, C. 109, fol. 20.

⁹⁴ Inventario de negros, Esparza, 10 Sept. 1702, ANCR, C. 113, fol. 4v.

⁹⁵ Almoneda, Esparza, 30 Nov. 1700, ANCR, C. 109, fol. 17 (quoted); Almoneda, Esparza, 12 Dec. 1700, ANCR, C. 109, fol. 23v.

⁹⁶ Razón de 14 negros, Cartago, 10 Sept. 1702, ANCR, C. 113, fol. 4v; Auto del gobernador, Cartago, 30 Sept. 1702, ANCR, C. 113, fol. 10v.

⁹⁷ Inventario de los 5 negros traídos de Matina por el Cap. Antonio de Soto y Barahona, Cartago, 1 May 1710, ANCR, C. 187, fol. 70.

⁹⁸ Michael Tadman, *Speculators and Slaves: Masters, Traders, and Slaves in the Old South* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1996), esp. chapter 8.

⁹⁹ Norrece T. Jones, Jr., *Born a Child of Freedom, Yet a Slave: Mechanisms of Control and Strategies of Resistance in Antebellum South Carolina* (Hanover, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press, 1990), 3.

¹⁰⁰ Cf. Berlin and Morgan, "Introduction: Labor and the Shaping of Slave Life," 8, 21.

¹⁰¹ Donación de esclavos, Cartago, 29 May 1665, ANCR, P.C. 817, fol. 15; Almoneda, Cartago, 15 Dec. 1679, ANCR, C.C. 3903, fol. 16; Testamento de María Sagaste, Cartago, 19 Nov. 1690, ANCR, P.C. 839, fols. 114v., 115.

¹⁰² ANCR, C. 109 (1700), C. 113 (1702), C. 187 (1710), C. 211 (1716-1719), C. 231 (1719), C. 233 (1719), C. 234 (1719), C. 243 (1719), C. 250 (1719); ANCR, C.C. 3919 (1686), C.C. 4111 (1718); C.C. 4121 (1720); ANCR, G. 34 (1613), G. 55 (1624), G. 185 (1710), G. 187 (1716), G. 188 (1700, 1710); M.C.C. 774 (1711); ANCR, P.C. 801 (1607), 802 (1629), 815 (1660-1662), 815 bis (1663), 816 (1664), 817 bis (1658, 1661), 818 (1664), 819 (1670), 820 (1672) through 828 (1681), 830 (1680) through 839 (1690), 841 (1691) through 850 (1698), 853 (1699) through 857 (1703), 860 (1704) through 865 (1708), 867 (1709) through 871 (1712), 873 (1714), 874 (1714), 875 (1715), 877 (1715) through 879 (1716), 881 (1716) through 883 (1717), 885 (1718) through 887 (1715), 889 (1719), 890 (1720), 892 (1720), 893 (1721), 895

(1722) through 904 (1730), 906 (1731) through 910 (1733), 912 (1734), 915 (1736) through 917 (1737), 919 (1738), 921 (1739), 923 (1739), 924 (1740), 926 (1741) through 934 (1746), 927 (1742); ANCR, P.H. 573 (1721) through 575 (1724), 577 (1726) through 581 (1730), 583 (1733), 586 (1739), 587 (1741), 589 (1744), 591 (1746); P.S.J. 411 (1721), 412 (1723); *Indice de los protocolos de Cartago*, vols. 1-3.

¹⁰³ Orlando Patterson, *Slavery and Social Death* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1982), 5-10.

¹⁰⁴ For examples, see Partida del bautizo de Juan Benito, mulato esclavo de padres no conocidos, Cartago, 30 Aug. 1705; Partida del bautizo de Agustín, mulato esclavo del Lic. Don Diego de Campos, Cartago, 7 May 1706; both in ACMSJ, LBC, no. 3/FHL, VAULT INTL film 1219701, ítem 3.

¹⁰⁵ M. I. Finley, *Ancient Slavery and Modern Ideology* (New York: Penguin, 1980), 75-76; Walter Johnson, *Soul by Soul: Life inside the Antebellum Slave Market* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2000), 43.

¹⁰⁶ Venta de esclavo, Cartago, 3 April 1738, ANCR, P.C. 919, fols. 38v-40.

¹⁰⁷ Venta de esclava, Cartago, 4 Sept. 1690, ANCR, P.C. 839, fols. 91-93.

¹⁰⁸ Testamento del Sarg. Mayor don Antonio de Moya, Cartago, 28 June 1702, ANCR, P.C. 856, fol. 84v.

¹⁰⁹ ANCR, P.C. 815 (1655, 1663), 815 bis (1654), 817 (1665-1666), 817 bis (1668), 819 (1670), 827 (1680), 830 (1680), 837 (1688), 848 (1696), 854 (1700), 859 (1704), 870 (1711), 873 (1714), 881 (1716), 883 (1717), 885 (1718), 896 (1723), 897 (1724), 899 (1726) through 901 (1728), 909 (1733), 913 (1735), 915 (1736), 919 (1738), 926 (1741), 927 (1742); ACMSJ, SFASDE, Caja 20, fols. 225-227; *Indice de los protocolos de Cartago*, vols. 1-3.

¹¹⁰ Rina del Carmen Cáceres Gómez, "Negros, mulatos, esclavos y libertos en la Costa Rica del siglo XVII," Doctoral thesis, Universidad Iberoamericana, Mexico, 1996), 111; idem, "El trabajo esclavo en Costa Rica," *Revista de Historia* (Costa Rica), no. 39 (Jan.-June 1999), 40; Melida Velásquez, "El comercio de esclavos en la Alcaldía Mayor de Tegucigalpa, siglos XVI al XVIII," *Mesoamérica*, no. 42 (Dec. 2001), 208.

¹¹¹ Donación de esclava, Cartago, 3 Jan. 1666, ANCR, P.C. 817, fol. 142.

¹¹² Donación de esclavos, Cartago, 18 July 1668, ANCR, P.C. 817 bis, fol. 444; Cáceres, "Negros, mulatos," 110.

¹¹³ Licencia para vender a un esclavo, Cartago, 20 Aug. 1696, ACMSJ, SFASDE, Caja 20, fol. 223v; Donación de esclavo, Cartago, 22 Aug. 1696, ACMSJ, SFASDE, Caja 20, fol. 225v.

¹¹⁴ Donación de esclava y otros bienes, Cartago, 9 July 1689, ANCR, P.C. 838, fols. 85v-87v.

¹¹⁵ *Indice de los protocolos de Cartago*, 1:453; Testamento del Cap. don Miguel Calvo, Cartago, 16 Feb. 1715, ANCR, P.C. 877, fols. 27v, 34.

¹¹⁶ Donación de esclava, Cartago, 14 June 1718, ANCR, P.C. 885, fols. 102v-103v; Carta dote, Cartago, 20 May 1732, ANCR, P.C. 908, fols. 19-19v; Meléndez Obando, "Los Ulloa," in Lobo Wiehoff and Meléndez Obando, *Negros y blancos*, 128.

¹¹⁷ ANCR, P.C. 815 (1660, 1662), 815 bis (1664), 817 (1665), 817 bis (1656, 1661, 1668), 820 (1672) through 831 (1683), 833 (1684), 835 (1686), 836 (1683, 1687), 838 (1689), 841 (1691), 843 (1696), 848

(1696) through 850 (1698), 854 (1700) through 859 (1704), 863 (1705) through 865 (1708), 873 (1714), 881 (1716), 882 (1717), 885 (1718), 887 (1719), 889 (1719), 890 (1720), 896 (1723), 898 (1725), 900 (1727), 901 (1728), 904 (1730), 908 (1732), 910 (1733), 911 (1734), 913 (1735), 915 (1736), 922 (1739), 924 (1740), 933 (1745), 934 (1746); ANCR, C.C. 3914, fols. 4-7 (1683); ANCR, P.H. 577 (1726), 578 (1727); ANCR, M.C.C. 733 (1697), MC.C. 797 (1699); ACMSJ, SFASDE, Caja 20 (1692); *Indice de los protocolos de Cartago*, vols. 1-3.

¹¹⁸ Carta dote, Cartago, 9 Sept. 1695, ANCR, P.C. 846, fol. 46; Velásquez, "El comercio de esclavos," 218.

¹¹⁹ Carta dote, Barva, 25 Sept. 1719, ANCR, P.C. 889, fols. 53-53v.

¹²⁰ ANCR, P.C. 815 (1660, 1662), 815 bis (1664), 817 (1665), 817 bis (1656, 1661, 1668), 820 (1672) through 831 (1683), 833 (1684), 835 (1686), 836 (1683, 1687), 838 (1689), 841 (1691), 843 (1696), 848 (1696) through 850 (1698), 854 (1700) through 859 (1704), 863 (1705) through 865 (1708), 873 (1714), 881 (1716), 882 (1717), 885 (1718), 887 (1719), 889 (1719), 890 (1720), 896 (1723), 898 (1725), 900 (1727), 901 (1728), 904 (1730), 908 (1732), 910 (1733), 911 (1734), 913 (1735), 915 (1736), 922 (1739), 924 (1740), 933 (1745), 934 (1746); ANCR, C.C. 3914, fols. 4-7 (1683); ANCR, P.H. 577 (1726), 578 (1727); ANCR, M.C.C. 733 (1697), MCC 797 (1699); ACMSJ, SFASDE, Caja 20 (1692); *Indice de los protocolos de Cartago*, vols. 1-3.

¹²¹ Carta dote, Cartago, 6 Feb. 1691, ANCR, P.C. 841, fol. 66v.

¹²² Carta dote, Cartago, 3 Feb. 1662, ANCR, P.C. 815, fol. 131; Carta dote, 6 June 1664, ANCR, P.C. 815 bis, fol. 402v.

¹²³ Venta de esclavo, Cartago, 7 Aug. 1722, ANCR, P.C. 895, fols. 147-149.

¹²⁴ Venta de 3 esclavos, Cartago, 7 Oct. 1710, ANCR, P.C. 868, fols. 130v-133v; Testamento del Lic. don Juan de Guevara, Cartago, 7 March 1716, ANCR, P.C. 878, fol. 47v.

¹²⁵ See Tadman, *Speculators and Slaves*, 211; Genovese, *Roll, Jordan, Roll*, 350; Metcalf, *Family and Frontier*, 153-156, 175-182.

¹²⁶ Testamento de Fernando López de Ascuña, Esparza, 5 Feb. 1682, ANCR, Mortuales de Puntarenas 2473, fol. 6; Carta de libertad, Esparza, 12 July 1675, ANCR, C.C. 3916, fols. 5-6.

¹²⁷ Testamento de Fernando López de Ascuña, Esparza, 5 Feb. 1682, ANCR, Mortuales de Puntarenas 2473, fols. 5-10v.

¹²⁸ Memoria al testamento cerrado de Fernando López de Ascuña, Esparza, 7 March 1682, ANCR, Mortuales de Puntarenas 2473, fols. 11-11v.

¹²⁹ Venta de esclavo, Cartago, 6 Aug. 1686, ANCR, P.C. 835, fols. 49-50v; Venta de esclavo, Cartago, 2 Sept. 1686, ANCR, P.C. 835, fols. 47-48v.

¹³⁰ Auto del Gobernador el Sarg. Mr. don Miguel Gómez de Lara, Cartago, 18 June 1688, C.C. 3916, fol. 8v; Auto del Gobernador el Sarg. Mr. don Miguel Gómez de Lara, Cartago, 14 Dec. 1688, C.C. 3916, fol. 10v.

¹³¹ Testamento de doña Francisca de Chinchilla, Cartago, 21 July 1671, ANCR, P.C. 818, fol. 37.

¹³² Testamento de doña Inés de Sandoval Golfín, Cartago, 3 Nov. 1729, ANCR, P.C. 902, fol. 81.

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- ¹³³ Venta de esclavo, 6 Aug. 1718, Cartago, ANCR, P.C. 886, fols. 17v-19.
- ¹³⁴ Testamento de doña Baltasara López de la Flor, Cartago, 5 May 1737, P.C. 916, fol. 111.
- ¹³⁵ Testamento de doña Baltasara López de la Flor, Cartago, 5 May 1737, ANCR, P.C. 916, fols. 110-110v. Petronila's story is among the best-known in the small historiography of Costa Rican slavery; see Bernardo A. Thiel, *Datos cronológicos para la historia eclesiástica de Costa-Rica* (1897-1902; rpt. ed., San José: Comisión Nacional de Conmemoraciones Históricas, 1983), 184; Eladio Prado, *Historia de la orden franciscana* (1925; rpt. ed., San José: Editorial Costa Rica, 1983); Tatiana Lobo, "Petronila de la Flor, o la esclava del convento," in Lobo, *Entre Dios y el Diablo*, 85-92.
- ¹³⁶ Petición de Maestre de Campo don Francisco Fernández de la Pastora, presentada en Cartago, 13 Aug. 1753, ACMSJ, SFASDE, Caja 23, fols. 3-4; Petición de Maestre de Campo don Francisco Fernández de la Pastora, presentada en Cartago, 23 Aug. 1753, ACMSJ, SFASDE, Caja 23, fol. 7 (quoted).
- ¹³⁷ Petición de Petronila de la Flor, presentada en Cartago, 27 Aug. 1753, ACMSJ, SFASDE, Caja 23, fol. 10.
- ¹³⁸ El notario saca a los hijos de Petronila de la Flor, Cartago, 5 Sept. 1753, ACMSJ, SFASDE, Caja 23, fol. 14v; Auto del arcediano de la catedral, León, Nic., 25 Oct. 1753, ACMSJ, SFASDE, Caja 23, fol. 17v.
- ¹³⁹ Petronila de la Flor al obispo, Cartago, 14 April 1760, ACMSJ, SFASDE, Caja 23, fols. 20-21.
- ¹⁴⁰ Razón dada por la negra Josefa de tener dos crías, Cartago, 2 Sept. 1720, ANCR, C. 273, fol. 12v.
- ¹⁴¹ Auto del gobernador, Cartago, 4 Jan. 1721, ANCR, C. 273, fol. 17v; Carta del Gobernador de Costa Rica al Presidente de la Real Audiencia, Cartago, 10 Jan. 1721, AGCA, A1.1, exp. 74, leg. 4.
- ¹⁴² Razón dada por la negra Lorenza de tener dos crías, Cartago, 2 Sept. 1720, ANCR, C. 241, fol. 22v; Tasación de negro, Cartago, 3 Sept. 1720, ANCR, C. 241, fol. 23.
- ¹⁴³ Declaración de la negra Lorenza, Cartago, 6 Aug. 1720 [sic: 6 Sept. 1720], ANCR, C. 241, fol. 26v.
- ¹⁴⁴ Declaración de María Nicolasa González, mulata libre, Cartago, 16 Sept. 1720, ANCR, C. 241, fols. 47-48.
- ¹⁴⁵ Testamento del Sarg. Mr. Blas González Coronel, Cartago, 2 Aug. 1710, ANCR, P.C. 868, fol. fol. 72v; Diligencia, Cartago, 18 Sept. 1720, ANCR, C. 241, fol. 49v; Partida del bautizo de María Josefa, hija de Juana, mulata esclava del Sarg. Mr. Blas González Coronel, Cartago, 2 March 1710, ACMSJ, LBC, no. 4/FHL, VAULT INTL film 1219701, item 4.
- ¹⁴⁶ Petición del Lic. don Manuel José González Coronel, presentada en Cartago, 20 Sept. 1720, ANCR, C. 241, fol. 51.
- ¹⁴⁷ Razón del remate de la negra Lorenza y su hijo, Cartago, 11 April 1722, ANCR, 241, fol. 57.
- ¹⁴⁸ [Council of Trent (1545-1563)], *The Council of Trent: The Canons and Decrees of the Sacred and Oecumenical Council of Trent*, ed. and trans. J. Waterworth (London: Dolman, 1848), 192-232.
- ¹⁴⁹ Schwartz, *Sugar Plantations*, 387-388.

¹⁵⁰ Frank Tannenbaum, *Slave and Citizen: The Negro in the Americas* (New York: Vintage, 1946), 64; Stanley M. Elkins, *Slavery: A Problem in American Institutional and Intellectual Life*, 2nd ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968), 53-54; Herbert S. Klein, *Slavery in the Americas: A Comparative Study of Virginia and Cuba* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1967), 95-97; Herman L. Bennett, *Africans in Colonial Mexico: Absolutism, Christianity, and Afro-Creole Consciousness, 1570-1640* (Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press, 2003), chapter 4; Hünefeldt, *Paying the Price of Freedom*, 149-166.

¹⁵¹ Sandra Lauderdale Graham, *Caetana Says No: Women's Stories from a Slave Society* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 27 (quoted), 30, 31, 32-33; Robert W. Slenes, *Na senzala uma flor: Esperanças e recordações na formação da família escrava -- Brasil sudeste, século XIX* (Rio de Janeiro: Editora Nova Fronteira, 1999), 74-78.

¹⁵² Schwartz, *Sugar Plantations*, 383, 390; Metcalf, *Family and Frontier*, 168-169, 173.

¹⁵³ Partida del matrimonio de Antonio García y de Agustina, ambos esclavos del Sarg. Mr. don Juan Francisco de Ibarra, Cartago, 3 May 1733, ACMSJ, Libros de Matrimonios de no. 3 /FHL, VAULT INTL film 1219727, item 8.

¹⁵⁴ Partida del bautizo de Luisa, hija de Sebastián y de Jerónima, esclavos de Juan López, Cartago, 11 March [1618]; Partida del bautizo de Paula, negra del Comisario Baltazar de Grado, hija de Pedro y de Catalina, su mujer, negros de Magdalena de la Portilla, Cartago, 18 April 1639; Partida del bautizo de Juan, hijo de Pedro, negros de don Gregorio de Sandoval, Gobernador y Cap. General de Costa Rica, Cartago, 22 May 1639; Partida del bautizo de Nicolás de la Cruz, hijo de [roto: Francisco] y de Lucrecia, su mujer, negro esclavos del Gobernador de Costa Rica, Cartago, 30 Sept. 1640; all in ACMSJ, LBC, no. 1 /FHL, VAULT INTL film 1219701, item 1.

¹⁵⁵ Partida de matrimonio, Cartago, 3 May 1733, ACMSJ, Libros de Matrimonios de no. 3 /FHL, VAULT INTL film 1219727, Item 8.

¹⁵⁶ Carta dote, Cartago, 29 Jan. 1640, *Indice de los protocolos de Cartago*, 1:73-74.

¹⁵⁷ Testamento de Felipe Gómez Macotela, Cartago, 7 Dec. 1675, ANCR, P.C. 817, fols. 127-127v.

¹⁵⁸ Obligación del Cap. don José de Mier Cevallos y de su mujer doña Catalina González Camino a la Real Caja, Cartago, 18 April 1725, ANCR, P.C. 898, fol. 27; Partida del bautizo de Juan Manuel, hijo legítimo de José Cubero y de Victoria Cubero, esclavos del Cap. don José de Mier Cevallos, Cartago, 7 June 1722, ACMSJ, LBC, no. 5/FHL, VAULT INTL film 1219701, item 5; Mauricio Meléndez Obando, "Manumisión," in Lobo Wiehoff and Meléndez Obando, *Negros y blancos*, 108-109.

¹⁵⁹ Partidas de confirmación, Cartago, 24 March 1625, ACMSJ, Confirmaciones de Libro 1 (1609, 1625)/FHL, VAULT INTL film 1219727, item 2.

¹⁶⁰ Partida del bautizo de Gregorio, negro, Cartago, 11 Nov. 1708, ACMSJ, LBC, no. 3/ FHL, VAULT INTL film 1219701, item 3.

¹⁶¹ Defunciones de Cartago y cuentas presentadas del dinero pagado por concepto de entierros, ACMSJ, SFASDE, Caja 9, fol. 115v (Cartago, 28 April 1719).

¹⁶² James H. Sweet, *Recreating Africa: Culture, Kinship, and Religion in the African-Portuguese World, 1441-1770* (Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 2003), 36, 43.

¹⁶³ Robinson Antonio Herrera, "The People of Santiago: Early Colonial Guatemala, 1538-1587" (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 1997), 280.

¹⁶⁴ Magnus Mörner, *Race Mixture in the History of Latin America* (Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1967).

¹⁶⁵ John K. Chance and William B. Taylor, "Estate and Class in a Colonial City: Oaxaca in 1792," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 19 (1977): 454-487; Robert McCaa, Stuart B. Schwartz, and Arturo Grubessich, "Race and Class in Colonial Latin America: A Critique," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 21, no. 3 (Oct. 1979): 421-433; Robert McCaa, "Modeling Social Interaction: Marital Miscegenation in Colonial Spanish America," *Historical Methods* 15, no. 2 (spring 1982): 45-66; Philip F. Rust and Patricia Seed, "Equality of Endogamy: Statistical Approaches," *Social Science Research* 14, no. 1 (1985): 57-79.

¹⁶⁶ Verena Martínez-Alier, *Marriage, Class and Colour in Nineteenth-Century Cuba: A Study of Racial Attitudes and Sexual Values in a Slave Society* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1974); Patricia Seed, *To Love, Honor and Obey in Colonial Mexico: Conflicts over Marriage Choice, 1574-1821* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1988).

¹⁶⁷ Partida del bautizo de Juan, mulato, Cartago, 13 Jan. 1607, ACMSJ, LBC, no. 1/FHL, VAULT INTL film 1219701, item 1.

¹⁶⁸ See María de los Angeles Acuña León and Dorián Chavarría López, "Endogamia y exogamia en la sociedad colonial cartaginesa," *Revista de Historia* (Heredia, Costa Rica), no. 23 (1991): 107-144; idem, "Cartago colonial: Mestizaje y patrones matrimoniales 1738-1821," *Mesoamérica*, no. 31 (June 1996): 157-179.

¹⁶⁹ Edgar F. Love, "Marriage Patterns of Persons of African Descent in a Colonial Mexico City Parish," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 51, no. 1 (Feb. 1971), 87-89.

¹⁷⁰ Cope, *Limits of Racial Domination*, 81-82, 82 table 4.10.

¹⁷¹ Christopher H. Lutz, *Santiago de Guatemala, 1541-1773: City, Caste, and the Colonial Experience* (Norman, Okla.: University of Oklahoma Press, 1994), 177-178.

¹⁷² Lokken, "Marriage as Slave Emancipation," 175-200.

¹⁷³ ACMSJ, LMC, nos. 1-6/FHL, VAULT INTL film 1219727, items 6-10; ACMSJ, LBC, nos. 1-8 (1594-1749)/FHL, VAULT INTL film 1219701, items 1-5, VAULT INTL film 1219702, items 1-3; María de los Angeles Acuña León and Dorián Chavarría López, "Endogamia y exogamia en la sociedad colonial cartaginesa," *Revista de Historia* (Heredia, Costa Rica), no. 23 (1991), 132-133, 136.

¹⁷⁴ Testamento de María Calvo, Cartago, 6 Sept. 1762, ANCR, P.C. 950, fol. 41v; Traslado de causa a María Cayetana Corrales, coheredera de María Calvo, y su respuesta, Cartago, 14 June 1774, ANCR, M.C.C. 648, fol. 32v.

¹⁷⁵ Partida del bautizo de Tomás Domingo, hijo de Juan Antonio Chavarría, esclavo, y de Manuela Cayetana, Cartago, 18 Jan. 1742, ACMSJ, LBC, no. 7/FHL, VAULT INTL film 1219702, item 2.

¹⁷⁶ Partidas del bautizo de Juana María, hija de Manuela Cayetana de Ibarra, esclava del Oficial Real don Tomás López del Corral, Cartago, 28 Jan. 1736, y de Josefa Hermenegilda, 20 April 1738, hija de Manuela Cayetana de Ibarra, esclava del Cap. don Tomás López del Corral, both in ACMSJ, LBC, no. 6/FHL,

VAULT INTL film 1219702, item 1; Partida del bautizo de Tomás Domingo, hijo de Juan Antonio Chavarría, esclavo, y de Manuela Cayetana, 18 Jan. 1742, ACMSJ, LBC, no. 7/FHL, VAULT INTL film 1219702, item 2; Carta de libertad, Cartago, 18 Aug. 1748, ANCR, P.C. 937, fol. 38v. check *Indice de los protocolos* for page #

¹⁷⁷ ACMSJ, LMC, nos. 1-6/FHL, VAULT INTL film 1219727, items 6-10; ACMSJ, LBC, nos. 1-8 (1594-1749)/FHL, VAULT INTL film 1219701, items 1-5, VAULT INTL film 1219702, items 1-3.

¹⁷⁸ E.g. Klein, "African Women," 37; Schwartz, *Sugar Plantations*, 383-384; Metcalf, *Family and Frontier*, 161; Trevor Burnard, *Mastery, Tyranny, and Desire: Thomas Thistlewood and His Slaves in the Anglo-Jamaican World* (Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina, 2004), 163.

¹⁷⁹ Cope, *Limits of Racial Domination*, 81-82, quoting 81.

¹⁸⁰ Lokken, "Marriage as Slave Emancipation," 178, 181, 190-191.

¹⁸¹ Proctor, "Slavery, Identity, and Culture," 146-147, 156 (quoted).

¹⁸² Jones, *Born a Child of Freedom*, 37.

¹⁸³ Proctor, "Slavery, Identity, and Culture," 149-150.

¹⁸⁴ Razón de los esclavos que son casados y los hijos que tienen, Cartago, 16 Sept. 1720, ANCR, C. 277, fols. 13-13v.

¹⁸⁵ "Carta al rey del oidor doctor don Benito de Noboa Salgado," *Revista de los Archivos Nacionales* (Costa Rica) 3, nos. 5-6 (March-April 1939): 227-228.

¹⁸⁶ "Real cédula que aprueba las ordenanzas dictadas en favor de los indios por el Dr. Benito de Noboa Salgado, oidor de la Audiencia de Guatemala y visitador de la provincia de Costa Rica. - Año de 1676," *Revista de los Archivos Nacionales* (Costa Rica) 1, nos. 3-4 (Jan.-Feb. 1937), 152.

¹⁸⁷ Proctor, "Slavery, Identity, and Culture," 154.

¹⁸⁸ Gudmundson, "Mecanismos de movilidad," 47.

¹⁸⁹ Cope, *Limits of Racial Domination*, 69.

¹⁹⁰ Herman Lee Bennett, "Lovers, Family and Friends: The Formation of Afro-Mexico, 1580-1810" (Ph.D. diss., Duke University, 1993); David Warren Sabean, "The History of the Family in Africa and Europe: Some Comparative Perspectives," *Journal of African History* 24 (1983): 163-171.

¹⁹¹ Magnus Mörner, *Race Mixture in the History of Latin America* (Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1967), 30-31, 44-45; Claudio Esteva-Fabregat, *Mestizaje in Ibero-America*, trans. John Wheat (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1995), 177.

¹⁹² Concierto de aprendiz, Cartago, 29 March 1689, ANCR, P.C. 838, fols. 53-54v; Concierto de aprendiz, Cartago, 21 Feb. 1709, ANCR, P.C. 867, fols. 30-30v; Concierto de aprendiz, Cartago, 30 April 1718, ANCR, P.C. 885, fols. 83v-84v; ACMSJ, LMC, no. 2/FHL, VAULT INTL film 1219727, item 7; ACMSJ, LMC, no. 4/FHL, VAULT INTL film 1219727, item 9.

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- ¹⁹³ Love, "Marriage Patterns," 87-89; Cope, *Limits of Racial Domination*, 81-82, 82 table 4.10; Lutz, *Santiago de Guatemala*, 88-89, 177-178.
- ¹⁹⁴ Proctor, "Slavery, Identity, and Culture," 153-154, 156.
- ¹⁹⁵ Acuña León and Chavarría López, "Endogamia y exogamia," 133, 136.
- ¹⁹⁶ Cope, *Limits of Racial Domination*, ch. 4, quoting 82.
- ¹⁹⁷ Petición de María de la Rosa Cuéllar, presentada en Cartago, 26 Aug. 1734, ANCR, C.C. 4293, fol. 2.
- ¹⁹⁸ Auto de remisión, Cartago, 30 July 1735, ACMSJ, SFASDE, Caja 15, fols. 48-48v.
- ¹⁹⁹ Petición de José Cubero, mulato, presentada en Cartago, [1 Aug. 1749], ACMSJ, SFASDE, Caja 18, fol. 456v.
- ²⁰⁰ Testamento de Diego García, negro libre, Cartago, 30 Dec. 1743, ANCR, P.C. 931, fol. 10.
- ²⁰¹ Petición de José Cubero, mulato, presentada en Cartago, [1 Aug. 1749], ACMSJ, SFASDE, Caja 18, fol. 457.
- ²⁰² Declaración del Cap. José Nicolás de Haya, mulato libre, Cartago, 22 April 1744, ANCR, C.C. 6219, fols. 2-2v; Testamento del Cap. José Nicolás de la Haya, Cartago, 2 May 1747, ANCR, M.C.C. 841, fol. 2v.
- ²⁰³ Petición de María de la Rosa Cuéllar, presentada en Cartago, 26 Aug. 1734, ANCR, C.C. 4293, fol. 2.
- ²⁰⁴ Declaración de Antonio Masís, negro libre, Cartago, 17 Nov. 1724, ANCR, C.C. 4148, fol. 2v.
- ²⁰⁵ Declaración de Tomás Rivera, mulato libre, Cartago, 24 Nov. 1724, ANCR, C.C. 4148, fol. 4v.
- ²⁰⁶ Testamento del Sarg. Mr. José Felipe Bermúdez, Cartago, 17 March 1738, ANCR, P.C. 919, fol. 32; Fe de muerte de Diego García, negro libre, Cartago, 5 Jan. 1744, ANCR, P.C. 931, fol. 6.
- ²⁰⁷ Auto, Puebla de los Angeles, 8 Feb. 1746, ANCR, M.C.C. 462, fol. 4v.
- ²⁰⁸ Declaración de Antonio Masís, negro libre, Cartago, 26 Aug. 1733, ANCR, C.C. 4292, fol. 16; Carta del Teniente don Antonio de Angulo, Cartago, 9 Sept. 1729, ANCR, C.C. 4259, fol. [1]; Diligencia de haber entregado los 325 pesos de cacao y recibo de ellos, Cartago, 29 Sept. 1729, ANCR, C.C. 4259, fols. [9v-10]; Carta de libertad, Cartago, 20 Feb. 1730, ANCR, P.C. 903, fols. 1v-4.
- ²⁰⁹ Inventario de los bienes de Diego Angulo, negro libre, Valle de Barbilla, 10 Nov. 1745, ANCR, M.C.C. 462, fols. 1-2; Memoria de los bienes de Diego Angulo, presentada en Cartago, 7 Feb. 1746, ANCR, M.C.C. 462, fol. 3v.
- ²¹⁰ Petición del Alf. Diego de la Cruz, Cartago, 17 July 1720, ACMSJ, SFASDE, Caja 9, Libro 3, fol. 147; Testimonio del Cap. don Francisco de Betancourt, Cartago, 18 July 1720, ACMSJ, SFASDE, Caja 9, Libro 3, fols. 148-148v; Auto del Juez Eclesiástico, Cartago, 25 July 1720, ACMSJ, SFASDE, Caja 9, Libro 3, fol. 149v; Carta de libertad, Cartago, 27 March 1722, ANCR, P.C. 895, fol. 35-37.

²¹¹ Recibo de Diego de la Cruz, correo, del cajoncito de cuadernos de autos, Cartago, 13 Jan. 1721, ANCR, C.C. 5837, fols. 112-113v; Ajuste y liquidación del viaje que executó el Alf. Diego de la Cruz, Guatemala, 8 Oct. 1721, AGCA, A1 (6), exp. 1057, leg. 73; Obligación de Diego de la Cruz y de su mujer Josefa Micaela de la Vega Cabral, Cartago, 27 March 1722, ANCR, P.C. 895, fols. 37-38v.

²¹² Carta de libertad, Cartago, 27 March 1722, ANCR, P.C. 895, fol. 35-37.

²¹³ Testimonio del Cap. don Francisco de Betancourt, Cartago, 18 July 1720, ACMSJ, SFASDE, Caja 9, Libro 3, fols. 148-148v.

²¹⁴ E.g. Razón dada por la negra Isabel de no tener crías, Cartago, 2 Sept. 1720, ANCR, C. 253, fol. 8v.

²¹⁵ See Mauricio Meléndez Obando's detailed family trees in in Lobo Wiehoff and Meléndez Obando, *Negros y blancos*.

CONCLUSIONS

The southernmost province of the Kingdom of Guatemala, Costa Rica was a remote, impoverished colony of the Spanish Empire, with no known mineral wealth and a comparatively small indigenous population. After a series of failed attempts at conquest, Spaniards showed minimal interest in settling the territory for much of the sixteenth century. Although enslaved and free blacks formed part of the earliest Spanish expeditions to Costa Rica, most of the Spanish emigrants whom they accompanied sought their fortunes in more promising areas. For the entire colonial period, effective Spanish control remained limited to the North Pacific and Central Valley regions. Militarily defeated, natives of these areas fell subject to the *encomienda* system. In the earliest decades of settlement, a small Spanish ruling class emerged, their wealth based primarily on their superexploitation of tributary Indians. Indigenous people never provided the elite with their only source of labor, however. Especially in and around the colonial capital of Cartago, the ruling Spanish families relied on a mixed labor force of Indians, mestizos, African and creole slaves, and a growing population of free people of African descent. In the nearby Isthmus of Panama, dominant Costa Rican Spaniards marketed the produce grown in indigenous pueblos and on small haciendas worked by men and women of diverse racial origins, amassing capital and consolidating their rule as merchant-encomenderos.

In the early seventeenth century, however, two devastating crises confronted the ruling class of Costa Rica. The collapse of the Spanish economy shook the entire Empire,

including the Isthmus of Panama that had provided Costa Rica with its major market. At the same time, epidemics and overwork decimated Costa Rica's indigenous peoples, never very populous. In some pueblos, not a single man, woman, or child survived. African slaves could not provide a viable solution to local Spaniards' economic problems. Costa Rica's ruling class simply lacked sufficient capital to compete successfully with buyers from wealthier areas of Spanish America. With the irreversible decline of the Indian population that had provided their main income and the destruction of the market that had furnished what capital they possessed, many Spaniards of Costa Rica retreated to their small country farms and haciendas. By and large, however, the merchant-encomenderos never joined the self-reliant peasantry of Costa Rican lore.¹ Although mostly condemned to a life of mere subsistence, even the poorest Spaniards lived off the labor and produce of exploited Indians, mestizos, free mulatos, and slaves. Poverty remained relative, however. Wealthier Spaniards often maintained several properties such as cattle haciendas in the North Pacific, farms or small haciendas near Cartago, and increasingly, cacao haciendas in the Caribbean lowlands.

By the 1650s, some members of Costa Rica's ruling elite looked to the Atlantic coast for a solution to their economic problems. They pursued cacao cultivation as their major economic activity, exporting to authorized markets in Spanish America and illegal ones beyond. First relying on the labor of Indians from newly established missions in Talamanca, indigenous resistance and an eventually prohibition from the Audiencia of Guatemala against the exploitation of Indians on the haciendas forced the *cacaoteros* to search for another source of labor. Wealthier Spaniards, particularly those who lived in

Cartago, were able to move their slaves where they most needed them. With cacao profits, they acquired more Africans, both from the Asiento in Panama and from the British smugglers who arrived on the Matina coast. By the last decade of the seventeenth century, the African population of Costa Rica boomed in tandem with increased cacao cultivation. Slaves comprised the sector of the labor force that provided the crucial links between the colony and Atlantic markets.

Both Costa Rica's sporadic access to the slave trade and the nature of slave labor in the colony uniquely conditioned the experience of enslaved Africans and creoles. Creolization, both in the sense of the creation of a culture of diverse origins and in the procreation of an American-born slave population, occurred remarkably rapidly. Ethnic Africans had already joined people of other origins on the way to the coast and on the Middle Passage. Once arrived in Costa Rica, "seasoning" formed another key moment of cultural exchange. From all major regions of West and West Central Africa, people of no single ethnic or regional group prevailed among slaves in any region of Costa Rica. Extreme diversity, not the demographic dominance of people of certain ethnic or cultural backgrounds, characterized the eighteenth-century "re-Africanization" of Costa Rica's slave population. Rather than ethnicity, the shipmate bond and/or their ownership by a common master emerged as their strongest bonds to other Africans, who in general quickly adapted to the creole cultural patterns established long before. Although Africans formed small ethnic enclaves in Cartago and Matina and could often maintain or forge relationships to people of similar cultural backgrounds, they never reached a critical mass necessary to perpetuate ethnic cultures. There is little evidence that they

transmitted ethnic languages, religions, or identities across the generations. Spanish usually came to provide the common language among African slaves, simultaneously facilitating the forging of relationships with people of other ethnic and racial origins. Official and popular Catholicism also encouraged the adaptation of Africans to their new environment. Compared to slaves in plantation societies, most slaves in Costa Rica lived in intimate proximity to their masters, and all knew their masters personally. Such close contacts made slaves particularly vulnerable to their masters' abuse, although they could sometimes provide exceptional opportunities.

Masters exercised a pervasive and stifling control over many slaves, particularly women. Slave labor in Costa Rica always remained starkly divided by gender, unlike in most American slave societies. Female slaves remained overwhelmingly concentrated in their masters' homes in the Central Valley and to a lesser degree in the North Pacific. Although female slaves proved able, to some extent, to maintain relationships with other slaves in the capital city of Cartago, masters intervened in most aspects of their lives. Masters gratified their sexual urges and asserted their domination of slave women through rape and abuse, circumscribing their opportunities to form families in other ways as well. Occasionally, slave women proved able to persuade master-fathers to manumit their children, but they rarely gained their own freedom as a result of such relationships. On the other hand, enslaved women sometimes formed strong bonds with their mistresses, and when they won their own freedom, it was often due to these relationships.

But physical and sometimes social mobility usually remained sharply circumscribed for women. Most Costa Rican masters relied on several economic activities for their

incomes. Slaves worked in all of them but, except in the Atlantic zone, rarely as the main labor force. As a result, both enslaved men and women worked alongside and developed strong relationships with people of other racial origins. The variegated nature of their work meant that many enslaved men travelled about the province, shuttling between Matina and Cartago and sometimes going further afield to the North Pacific or even Panama and Nicaragua. Such physical mobility extended them opportunities not only to forge extensive social networks, but to accumulate their own property. Their prospects for material and social advancement made them more attractive potential husbands to free women than were slave men in many other parts of the Americas. Both poor, often illegitimate free women and enslaved men gained some security for themselves and their families through such mixed marriages, which favored the integration of their children into the broader creole culture. Developing relationships of patronage and kinship offered tangible opportunities. A slave's master, however, could withdraw an enslaved man's privileges to travel, accumulate property, and even keep a family together in a moment; doing everything possible to cultivate his good will made good sense. The ultimate prize, manumission, could be secured only by convincing the master to forfeit his rights to one's person, a process that usually took years of careful negotiations. While enslaved men improved their social and material position in various ways, slave women usually stayed in the homes of their masters, with little prospect of freedom for themselves or their children.

All of these factors meant that enslaved men and women in Costa Rica identified strongly with free members of other racial groups and failed to develop the same

solidarities among themselves that slaves did in other parts of the Americas. In the long term, neither ethnicity nor the condition of slavery itself led to the formation of a distinct identity for enslaved people in Costa Rica. Rather, before as well as after freedom, they became and remained part of a larger servant class. For both slaves and servants, reliance on individual personal relationships diffused the potential for opposition and resistance. Patterns of residence and labor, decisively influenced by the nature of Costa Rica's economy, rigid gender roles, and demographic realities, encouraged many slaves to acculturate and assimilate to the dominant culture. For women, this meant little more than taking their place among other domestic servants, sustaining the system of servitude through their forced labor and reproduction of the slave population. For men, close relationships with free people could lead to advancement all but unheard-of for Africans in slave societies, sometimes even to freedom itself. Their cultivation of patronage ties with powerful Spaniards, however, although they offered real material and social advantages to individual slaves and free servants, discouraged the realization of their own class interests, thus serving the interests of the ruling class of Spaniards and ultimately reinforcing a colonial system founded on and perpetuated by the exploitation of racially subordinated Indians, mestizos, and people of African descent. Costa Rica's economic stagnation and the individualized, petty nature of exploitation during the colonial period retarded the development of racial and class consciousness and real systemic change. Ultimately, only the arrival of other people of African descent from outside Costa Rica began the long process of overturning racial oppression.

¹ Claudia Quirós Vargas and Margarita Bolaños Arquín, “El mestizaje en el siglo XVII: Consideraciones para comprender la génesis del campesinado criollo del Valle Central,” in *Costa Rica colonial*, ed. Luis F. Sibaja (San José: Ediciones Guayacán, 1989), 61-78.

EPILOGUE

In March 1736, a sentinel scanned the horizon from his post in the Spanish watchtower at Suerre on the Atlantic coast of Matina, Costa Rica. Spying a Miskito pirogue on the beach below, the watchman immediately sent a soldier to notify Capitan don Juan Díaz de Herrera y Garbanzo, the lieutenant governor in charge of the Matina Valley.¹ After sending word to the governor in Cartago, Díaz de Herrera went with an escort to the mouth of the Reventazón River, then sent Sergeant Baltazar de Vargas and two soldiers -- José Alvarado, a white man, and José Nicolás Román, a zambo -- upriver to investigate. The soldiers found a group of four black men, six Indian men, and several women and children on a small island at the confluence of the Reventazón and Jiménez rivers. The black men were “well-dressed with . . . linen shirts, and their silk sashes at the waist.” Armed with pistols and shotguns, the men were busy constructing shelters.² When the soldiers asked them what they were doing there, the black men replied that

They were coming to live there because they had fought with the Mosquitos and had killed five and had stolen a big pirogue from Ricardo and that there they were [now] safe and ready to do harm to the said Mosquitos which they would do neither to the Valley nor to the Spaniards but only to [the Mosquitos] and that they would devastate and destroy them.³

After a moment, Román realized that he recognized two African men among the group: Nicolás, once a slave of José de Quirós, and Juan Bautista, who had belonged to Marcos Zamora. Román’s father had been a Matina slave himself, and José Nicolás had known the men when he was “a boy, before they fled.” Fifteen years before, Nicolás, a *mina* born on the Gold Coast or Upper Slave Coast, had arrived in Matina with a

countryman after travelling hundreds of miles as fugitives from their master, the Governor of Portobello. Although his companion was soon apprehended, Nicolás hid in the plantain fields of the Reventazón Valley from both Spaniards and Miskitos for more than a year and a half before being captured and taken to Cartago. After being sent to work on the cacao haciendas of Matina, at some point, he had apparently fled with the Miskitos, years later repenting of the decision and fleeing again. Very likely, Nicolás remembered the Reventazón as a hospitable site for a settlement of *cimarrones* and exercised a strong influence in the choice of the runaways' destination.⁴ Nicolás and Juan Bautista revealed their concern for their continued freedom when they immediately asked after their masters. Román informed Juan Bautista that Zamora had died.⁵

When the soldiers returned and informed Díaz de Herrera of the camp, the lieutenant governor quickly inferred that the *cimarrones* posed a grave threat to Matina's slave régime. The settlement was "dangerous to this vicinity," he wrote to Governor don Baltasar Francisco de Valderrama, "even more so because most of the slaves of this Valley live [here] without masters." He emphasized that the settlement would prove "greatly damaging to the *vecinos* who have slaves here, because [the slaves] will go fleeing, seeking their freedom and ostentation."⁶ Governor Valderrama agreed, warning that "the said blacks could reproduce themselves and expand in people and forces, and [prove] to be of continual hostility to that Valley, and a refuge where the slaves of this Province would flee."⁷ Valderrama had good reason to fear such a result. Almost a decade before, he had learned of an African slave who had fled to the Miskitos and allegedly provided them with military intelligence about Costa Rica's defenses.⁸ It is not

clear whether the governor realized in 1736 that this very man was among the group who now sought refuge in Matina. Valderrama perceived an even greater danger, pointing out that the Miskitos Zambos of Honduras and Nicaragua “began in the same way,” and had brought nothing but “evil consequences” since, which they would continue to do “until they are exterminated.” But considering that Costa Rica had “no boats capable of invading the island in a military formation,” he advised his lieutenant “not to exasperate them nor treat them badly” before he had time to implement adequate precautions against an attack.⁹ Despite the appearance that “the said blacks and Indians come affably,” Díaz de Herrera should not ignore the possibility that they might harbor some “hidden wickedness . . . beneath their good words.” Governor Valderrama ordered reinforcements sent to the watchtower at the Reventazón, headed by *Alférez* Juan Carmona.¹⁰

In June, an extraordinary meeting took place in Cartago, including representatives of all sectors of Costa Rica’s ruling class. The governor, members of Cartago’s cabildo, the province’s regular and noncommissioned army officers, and owners of Matina cacao haciendas met to discuss the fate of the refugees. Weighing their political and economic interests against their restricted military options, the Council adopted a remarkable resolution. In a statement reflecting both *Realpolitik* and lofty ideals, its members agreed

unanimously by common accord and consent that it being so much to the service of God and the King our Lord (may God keep him) to attend to the saving of those souls and that those who are Catholics among them return to the union of our Holy Catholic Faith, and that the rest benefit from Holy Baptism, and to prevent them from returning to the Mosquitos and from others joining them, [and from] making and creating the core of a new population as began that of the Zambos Mosquitos; and as far as the slaves among them, in attention to [the fact] that their masters have almost lost all right to them, and the impossibility of

capturing them, and the risk of defense [against them] as they are a bandit people, for which reasons and because the slaves are the leaders [*cabezas*], it seems to [the Council] very astute and that it will be much to the royal pleasure that in his royal name the said slaves be given the freedom for which they are asking, and that the others who are with them be pardoned so that they leave for this city under Royal Protection, and having left [the Reventazón] that they be given an appropriate settlement for them to live . . .¹¹

Nicolás and Juan Bautista, self-liberated slaves of Costa Rican masters and the spokesmen of the group, accepted – in fact, a later statement by Juan Carmona suggests that it may have been they who stipulated the terms of their surrender -- and made their own statement remarkable in its time for its assertion of a doctrine of “original freedom.”¹² Lieutenant General Díaz de Herrera reported their answer, which justified Nicolás and Juan Bautista’s flight from Matina years before and explained why they now wanted to return:

If they had fled it was because they were free when they entered into our power, and we had enslaved them (*eran libres cuando vinieron a nuestro poder y que nosotros los habíamos esclavonizado*), for which reason they fled, but that they considered that they are Christians, and that they are living separated from the Church, and that if Your Lordship and the *vecinos* assure them of their freedom, they will leave [the Reventazón] and marry and live and die in the service of God and Our King and they will be his loyal vassals . . .¹³

The *mina* Nicolás, an orchestrator of the collective flight and no doubt a principal author of the statement, had never accepted enslavement – not by the Governor of Portobello, by José de Quirós, nor by the Miskitos; not for himself, and not for his fellow slaves. Insisting on the “original freedom” of Africans including himself who had been slaves of the Spaniards, he showed through his actions that his “self-liberation ethos” extended to all the enslaved. As far as is known, Nicolás never fled alone, but always united with others in his various escapes.¹⁴ Over the years he had proved himself a master

manipulator of those who sought to enslave him. Having once allegedly served as a guide to the Miskitos against the Spaniards, he now promised to help the Spaniards exterminate the Miskitos. When sold to Quirós in 1725, Nicolás's bill of sale specified that he had never been baptized, but he now represented himself as a Catholic yearning for reunion with the Church; he surely knew of Spain's policy of offering freedom to slaves who fled from its enemies contingent on their acceptance of Catholicism, and emphasized the desire of his fellow runaways to receive the sacraments.¹⁵

Like the Spaniards, the refugees also had pragmatic reasons for finalizing negotiations. The black leaders of the group pressed for a guarantee of freedom so they could leave for Cartago as soon as possible; they felt "insecure" in their island camp in the Reventazón and feared that the Miskitos would soon return to attack them.¹⁶ The blacks and Indians had evidently exaggerated their ability, if not their determination, to fight the Miskitos – revealing that they were just as capable as the Spaniards of exploiting volatile political circumstances to their advantage. The following year, Governor don Francisco Antonio Carrandi y Menán complained that the fugitives "were not conversant with the Mosquito lands, as I had been informed," placing him in the embarrassing position of retracting an enthusiastic report he had submitted to the Audiencia of Guatemala, in which he had raved about the group's inside knowledge of Miskito military capabilities.¹⁷

On 23 June 1736, the new Governor don Antonio Vásquez de la Cuadra issued a letter in the name of the king, addressed to "the blacks and other persons who are living with them," promising freedom and royal protection to all "men as well as women."¹⁸ In

September, the party of twenty-two blacks and Indians arrived at the cabildo of Cartago, escorted by *Alférez* Juan Carmona. The cabildo immediately resolved that the non-Christians among them be instructed and baptized in the Catholic Church forthwith. (A year later, slightly over half had been baptized.) Making good on its promise, the cabildo served Captain José de Quirós with a letter informing him that his former slave Nicolás, as well as Juan Bautista, had been freed in the name of the king. Should Quirós or any of his descendants attempt to place any “obstacle or hindrance” to Nicolás’s freedom, they would themselves forfeit their rights to the king’s protection.¹⁹

The crafty cabildo members kept to the letter of their promises, but strictly circumscribed their meaning. Cartago’s ruling citizens had no intention of letting the free blacks and Indians determine the meaning of their own freedom, nor granting them autonomy in their promised settlement. Concerned that “they not be idle,” the cabildo of Cartago placed the group in the continued custody of Juan Carmona, who should put them to work in “corresponding occupations” on his property in the Valley of Curridabat. Their promised freedom and settlement came in the form of forced service to a new master, performing whatever work he assigned to them – the cabildo also charged Carmona with informing the authorities immediately should any of the free men and women take flight.²⁰

All in all, the royal freedom granted to Nicolás, Juan Bautista, and their companions bore a stunning resemblance to the enslavement of many of the survivors of the *Christianus Quintus* and *Fredericus Quartus* a quarter-century before. All had first been captured by the Miskitos, then recaptured by Cartago Spaniards and taken to the Central

Valley. In his role as army officer, *Alférez* Juan Carmona personally assumed control of twenty-two black and Indian women and men in the Reventazón, just as Captain don Juan de Francisco de Ibarra y Calvo had captured twenty-six African women and men in Matina in 1710. Like Ibarra, Carmona petitioned for and received compensation for feeding the captives and marching them to Cartago. Again like Ibarra, Carmona immediately put the captives in his power to work in a corn field. Like many of the Africans brought by the Danes, the refugees were soon instructed and baptized in the Catholic faith, Juan Carmona charged with “educating and teaching them the Christian doctrine.” In fact, it is not unlikely that Ibarra offered his advice to Carmona, sharing the benefit of his experience in capturing and “breaking” Africans. Still a powerful hacendado in 1736, Ibarra sat on the cabildo that determined the fate of the fugitives and turned them over to Carmona.²¹

Juan Carmona removed the blacks and Indians to the Valley of Curridabat, where he extracted even greater profits from their “free labor” than masters derived from slave labor. The conditions of Carmona’s state-sponsored custody of the blacks and Indians allowed him to control them as masters controlled their slaves and appropriate the surplus product of their labor just as directly, yet he assumed few of the expenses for their upkeep. Like many slaveholders, Carmona provided the refugees with only rudimentary shelter and insufficient food, but unlike masters, he received reimbursement in cash from the state in addition to the refugees’ labor. A year after arriving at Carmona’s home, most of the twenty-two men, women, and children continued to live in “a crowded hut (*rancho*) that serves as a kitchen.”²² Carmona successfully passed on to the state the

costs of feeding and clothing fourteen “almost useless” Indian females -- four of whom were too young to work in addition to “ten grown women with no skills whatsoever, and that is the truth,” as he complained. He effectively collected twice on the value of the meager maintenance he provided for the blacks and Indians, as he dispensed the equivalent (according to him) of sixty pesos in beef and clothing to four black men and an Indian man in compensation for their work as axemen clearing the land around his home in the Valley of Curridabat.²³ Carmona charged the state in cash and the refugees in labor for rations that were inadequate for their subsistence. The refugees incurred debts to other local Spaniards simply to feed themselves. Inocencio, one of the black refugees working for Carmona, was forced to borrow a *fanega* (54.5 liters/14.4 gallons) of corn from don Juan Francisco de Ibarra’s illegitimate daughter in 1737.²⁴ Carmona superexploited the black and Indian refugees for decades. By the 1760s, he had planted on his land more than forty-five square meters (forty-nine square yards) of sugar surrounded by a wood fence, a plantain grove of 112 trees, and raised mules, horses, cattle, and oxen. His black and Indian charges had almost certainly cleared the land for his farm thirty years before. In 1738, the Audiencia of Guatemala ordered that the refugees be granted lands in the Valley of Aserri. They built their own homes but continued to work for Carmona as late as 1755, known locally as “Carmona’s blacks.”²⁵

Eight years later, on 12 October 1744, Captain don Esteban Ruiz de Mendoza, Commander of the San Fernando Fort and Lieutenant General in the Valley of Matina, made out two figures on the banks of the Suerre River, gesturing for help. On the basis

of past experience, Ruiz de Mendoza did not, this time, mistake them for Miskito Zambos, but assumed that they were prisoners escaped from the hated enemy. He dispatched six armed soldiers who apprehended one of the two “shapes.” She turned out to be a black female, “ambassador for sixteen people who had been aboard a pirogue, . . . [and] who had been slaves of the English.” The woman, who “expressed herself fairly well in the Spanish language,” asked Ruiz de Mendoza “if I would protect them, . . . do them no harm, . . . and give them their freedom.” In return, she and her party promised to become loyal “vassals of Our King and Lord.” She explained that they had fled to the Spaniards because they knew them to be “Christians, and people of good heart, and that she was a Christian, and secondly, because the English punished them with much severity.”²⁶

Considering that it “would be a shame that seventeen souls were lost to the union of the Catholic Church, Ruiz de Mendoza assured the woman that he would “protect them, take them in, and defend them from the enemies who wished to do them harm.” Several armed soldiers accompanied the woman back to the boat. There turned out to be four canoes carrying seven young boys, each between three and seven years old; six adult men, five black and one an Indian; six adult women, two black and four Indian; and two female children, one five and one just three weeks old – a total of twenty-two people. They brought chests of clothes and several firearms. When Ruiz de Mendoza designated them a place to live, all shouted “Viva España!”²⁷

When Governor don Juan Gemmir y Lleonart learned of the arrival of the refugees, he convened a special meeting of prominent Spanish *vecinos* at his home in Cartago. The

council ratified the lieutenant general's decision to extend Spain's protection to the blacks, and ordered that Captain Nicolás Barrantes, a pardo militia officer and former slave, bring the group to the Cartago in his mule train with their weapons and other property, "assuring them that it was not to take it from them but [so] that they [could] come in greater security." The pirogue in which the group came, better than any kept at the fort at San Fernando, would be expropriated for the defense of the coast. The military men of the council, worried that the English or Miskitos might come to Matina to recapture their escaped slaves, ordered that the soldiers stationed there remain on high alert, and that the refugees be questioned for any knowledge of the enemy's designs.²⁸

The party arrived in Cartago in late November. On the way, the mother of the newborn girl fell sick and died. Governor Gemmir y Lleonart entrusted the orphaned Indian baby to hacendado Sergeant Major don Julián García de Argueta to be raised. He then promptly forced the black and Indian men to surrender their arms – eight shotguns and two sabers; carpentry tools, including two large saws and several axes; and clothing. He lodged the blacks and Indians at his own home on the plaza while the Vicar of Cartago instructed them in Catholic doctrine, after which they would be settled in Ujarrás.²⁹ Manuel García, an African-born slave of don Julián de García Argueta and a former prisoner of the Miskitos who spoke the indigenous language and English as well as Spanish, interpreted for most of the group. The fugitives had escaped from the English colony on the Island of San Andrés (Henrietta Island) in the western Caribbean far off the coast of Nicaragua. The governor explained that their property would be returned to them, except for the weapons, which he explained through Manuel would not be returned

“for now, because they were battered from the blows they took on the road” to Cartago. Instead, he remitted them to the Royal Armory.³⁰

When the governor interrogated the fugitives, all agreed that María Francisca had mastered the escape conspiracy. María Francisca explained in middling Spanish that she had been born a slave of a Dutch Catholic master in Curaçao and raised in the Church. While still a child, her master had taken her to Jamaica, where he married an Englishwoman shortly before he died. His widow sold her to an Englishman who took her to San Andrés, then also died, leaving her to his widow who later married Esteban. She worked for the couple mainly in “washing and cooking.” Despite her central role in the escape, the governor asked her little about how she had orchestrated it, listening instead to the men she had recruited to her plan.³¹

A black man named “Lanani,” who was “not a Christian,” told the governor how he and his companions had escaped from the English. Lanani had been sold to an English master named “Yantema” (John . . . ?), who employed him as a carpenter building canoes and pirogues. Yantema was crueller than Lanani’s former master, and Lanani and his companions conspired to escape from the island in September 1744. While Yantema was giving him an especially severe beating, Lanani overpowered his master and tied him to a tree, determined to “mistreat him [even] more.” Lanani tied up Yantema’s wife as well, who begged the slave not to kill them. Lanani relented, left his masters bound to the tree, and made for the wharf where he met the rest of his companions and boarded a pirogue belonging to María Francisca, the “ambassador” who had first made contact with the Spaniards. They sailed directly for Matina.³²

Another African named “Juamina” (Quamina) of the “*angola* nation” had been a slave of the Englishman “Esteban,” a planter, shipbuilder and sailor.³³ Juamina, a practiced sailor himself, had once accompanied his master to Bocas del Toro, Panama, on a trip to sell cacao. Because of his sailing ability and knowledge of the mainland Caribbean coast, María Francisca “urged him” to flee with her and pilot a craft to Matina.³⁴ “Guinza,” also a slave of Esteban, had been recruited by his “brother” Juamina to join in the plot. The conspirator had seized eight firearms from their master, but in the heat of the moment had forgotten to grab any gunpowder. María Francisca insisted that the fugitives sail directly for Matina, “because it was a land of Spaniards.”³⁵ María Francisca’s husband “Tame” (Tommy?), an Indian originally from Talamanca who had been kidnapped by the Miskitos and sold as a slave to the English about ten years before, confirmed that his wife had authored the plan.³⁶

“Heredima,” an *ibo* slave of Esteban, had been a slave of the Miskitos before being sold to the English of San Andrés. From them he had learned that an English captain named “Joaquín” had sailed from Jamaica to London, seeking permission from the king for a joint British-Miskito attack on Matina and Coclé further south.³⁷

The governor ordered that the group be settled in the Valley of Escazú west of Cartago, which would be “comfortable for them to make their fields” and close to a church where the non-Christians among them could receive instruction in Catholic doctrine. Like those who came in 1737, the refugees would live not like other peasants in the Central Valley, but under close supervision. Gemmir y Lleonart turned over the black and Indian refugees to Juan Carmona, now a captain, “like others whom he has, who

came in the same way as those in the year ‘37.’”³⁸ As he had been seven years before, Carmona received compensation for his expenses. The governor charged Carmona to “take care of, watch over, and pay attention that the said black women and men are not bothered by anybody.”³⁹

On 29 March 1745, the blacks and Indians arrived with Captain Juan Carmona at Villa Nueva de la Boca del Monte in the Valley of Aserrí, “where the other blacks are settled” on the exact site of Costa Rica’s present capital, San José, thirty-three kilometers (21 miles) west of Cartago. Outside the new settlement, Lieutenant General don Juan José de Cuende, a judge and son-in-law of the late don Juan Francisco de Ibarra y Calvo, assigned them the plots of royal land on which they built their homes.⁴⁰

In early February 1755, Captain don Tomás López del Corral, *Alcalde Ordinario de Primer Voto* of Cartago (and incidentally another son-in-law of the late don Juan Francisco de Ibarra), issued an order to the residents of the valleys west of Cartago. The *alcalde* mandated that owners of farms in the valleys build homes in the new settlement of Cubujuquí (now Heredia). “Those who do not have . . . haciendas to care for in the country,” López del Corral ordered, “will tear up their houses, huts or shanties, . . . excepting no person,” and leave the area near Villa Nueva. He further required those single mothers and widows with children who were “lowly person[s]” to put their children “to serve” at public works.⁴¹

Word of the order spread even before it was publicly announced, and many prepared to move. On the night of 12 February, Félix Durán, a free mulato, appeared at the home

of Captain Nicolás de Zamora in the Valley of Aserrí to inform on a treacherous conspiracy. Confronted with the *alcalde*'s order, "Carmona's blacks," Durán claimed, planned an uprising. Accustomed to living in the country "in the manner of a *palenque*," Durán alleged, the blacks had no intention of abandoning their savage lifestyle for the civilization of town. Free blacks Pedro Valerín and Francisco Guerrero planned to lead the blacks to Cartago, break into the royal armory and steal all the weapons, "kill three or four Spaniards . . . and their children," then go to Matina, where they would incite all the black slaves to rise up and abscond with them to the mountains, where they would live as allies of the Miskito Zambos.⁴²

Juan Carmona confirmed that "many times" Pedro Valerín had tried to agitate the blacks to rise up, and had always tried "to make himself the leader (*caudillo*) of the said blacks." His principal co-conspirators were his wife, the mulata Juana Francisca, Francisco Guerrero, and "the black woman named María Francisca, whom all the blacks called the Captain." Valerín constantly caused trouble, was "always disobedient," and "had never had any peace with the rest of his companions." Valerín, Carmona continued, "had never come to obey him, nor come to his house [to work]," while he "always found all the others obedient." Most of the blacks, "hard-working, . . . good-natured, and peaceful," refused to listen to the admonitions of Valerín and his fellow agitators.⁴³ José Miguel Chavarría, one of the free blacks living outside Villa Nueva, told López del Corral that upon hearing of the order, he and most of the blacks and Indians who lived at Boca del Monte prepared to move to the Puebla de los Angeles, Cartago's free colored neighborhood. But Pedro Valerín refused to leave the land where he had made his home

and fields. He insisted that “he was a man” and that “all the rest [who were leaving] were cowards.”⁴⁴

When arrested and interrogated, Valerín denied all the charges as grotesque distortions of the truth, motivated by personal grudges. Carmona, Valerín explained, hated him because in all his years living in the mountains, Valerín would never work for Carmona or “subject his freedom to the said Carmona’s slavery.” Because of Carmona’s desire to exploit him and the other blacks, Valerín regarded Carmona with “great objection, loathing, and enmity.”⁴⁵ Félix Durán bore him a grudge because Valerín and some other blacks had once caught the mulato stealing a cow and threatened to denounce him; Durán had said that “they were all dogs” and swore “that they would pay for it.”⁴⁶ He and the rest of the free blacks would leave the area, Valerín said; they planned to take their families and property “to live wherever God would help them.” First, he planned to go with his companions to Cartago, where they would ask for their weapons from Governor don Cristóbal Ignacio de Soria – the long guns and swords that they had surrendered to his predecessor eleven years before.⁴⁷ Don Tomás López del Corral acquitted Valerín and Guerrero of the charges and evicted them from their homes in Boca del Monte.⁴⁸

For the rest of the colonial period, black and Indian slaves continued to flee to Matina from British and Miskito masters. At about 3 a.m. one morning in October 1742, a guard surveilling the coast at Moín apprehended a black man he spied skulking along the beach. José Manuel Sánchez, an African fluent in Spanish, had been a slave of cacao planter don Julián García de Argueta, working on one of his master’s haciendas when the Miskitos

invaded and took him prisoner in 1739. They took José Manuel north to a town on a small island facing the Caribbean coast of Honduras, where he became the slave of “Bretan,” the Miskito “governor” of a town he called “Algoutara.” After some years, José Manuel and three of his fellow slaves -- an Indian woman from Bocas del Toro, Panama, and an Indian man from Punta Gorda – stole a canoe and escaped, determined to reach Matina. When they ran short of provisions, the group stopped at the mouth of a river to cut plantains. There, two pirogues of Miskitos recaptured them, put them in shackles, and took them to Punta Gorda. About to leave on a sea turtle hunt, the Miskitos indulged in the ritual drinking binge they always undertook before the occasion. When the Miskitos passed out from intoxication, José Manuel got hold of a file and managed to “break [from] his prison” by sawing through his chains. Stealing the same pirogue in which the Miskitos had brought him to Punta Gorda, he sailed off, leaving his companions behind. At the San Juan River he abandoned the boat and fled to Matina on foot “seeking his country,” and as fugitives from the Miskitos invariably claimed, to return to the Catholic faith.⁴⁹ The document recording José Manuel’s story did not mention whether he was freed or returned to his master, don Julián Garcia de Argueta.

By the 1770s, such arrivals became almost routine. In February 1774, a mulato and an Indian woman escaped the Miskitos to Matina.⁵⁰ In June, a Jamaican captain stopped near the Moín River for provisions and sent two of his African slaves to collect firewood. When they took a long time in returning, he whipped them severely. When he sent the Africans the next day for fresh water, they fled inland, walking for nine days along the Reventazón River until they came to the main road from Matina to Cartago. The men

assured Costa Rican officials that they came “only to obtain their freedom that they might be catechized.” Governor don Juan Fernández de Bobadilla promptly turned them over to the Guardian of Cartago’s Franciscan Convent for religious instruction, but made no provision, at least in this document, for their freedom.⁵¹ The following year, free black Antonio Arizaga happened upon a black man, an Indian man, an Indian woman, and a mulata at the Pacuare River, all fugitives from the Miskitos.⁵² In 1777, a black woman unnamed in the documents arrived in a canoe with her six-year-old daughter, having fled the English settlement at Bluefields, Nicaragua. Again, Fernández de Bobilla provided for her indoctrination, but not her freedom.⁵³ Later, around 1828, William Smith, an English-speaking black fisherman from Bocas del Toro, built his home at Cahuita Point, on the exact spot where the *Christianus Quintus* and *Fredericus Quartus* had arrived more than a century before. He was soon joined by other English-speaking “bachelors” from such places as Bocas, Nicaragua, and San Andrés, who started large families with local indigenous women and lived quiet, independent lives devoted to turtle fishing and coconut cultivation.⁵⁴

In one of the first book-length monographs on Costa Rica’s black population of West Indian descent, Michael D. Olien wrote in his 1967 dissertation that “there seems to be little or no continuity between the African Negro of the [colonial] period . . . and the West Indian Negro.”⁵⁵ For the most part, he was right. By the late nineteenth century, virtually all of the descendants of the African slaves of the colonial period had been thoroughly assimilated to Costa Rica’s popular classes. They preserved no distinctive

culture, identity, or position in society from the mestizo majority. That process had begun centuries before, when the first Africans brought to the Spanish colony found themselves isolated from their countrymen and placed in close contact with members of other ethnic and racial groups. Most soon learned Spanish, adopted Catholicism, and became adept at carving out opportunities within a slave system that, by comparison with most in the New World, proved remarkably manipulable to their interests.

There were, however, exceptions to Olien's generalization who represent a tenuous continuity between the enslaved population of the colonial period and the later mass migrations of West Indian blacks to Costa Rica. English-speaking African and creole blacks such as Nicolás and Juan Bautista, María Francisca, and Pedro Valerín and Francisco Guerrero came to Costa Rica not as slaves but as self-liberated men and women. Unlike most African slaves, they were able to live together as a community for at least twenty years, maintaining the strong, culturally distinct, and oppositional identity which they had forged in the crucible of other slave systems. Having struck and fought for their freedom against the Miskitos and English, some of these Anglophone black men and women jealously guarded their independence from the quasi-slavery of sugar planter Juan Carmona and the invasive directives of colonial officials. From the beginning, the independence of the outsiders worried royal governors and the ruling class of hacendados, who feared they might organize rebellions, ally with foreign invaders, or form the nucleus of a threatening enclave in the Atlantic region. After arriving on the Caribbean coast, these proud men and women established a tradition of resistance on the

site which became the capital of an independent Costa Rica, where generations of West Indians and their descendants would continue to struggle.

¹ Carta del Cap. don Juan Díaz de Herrera al Gobernador don Baltasar Francisco de Valderrama, N.p., 19 March 1736, Archivo Nacional de Costa Rica (hereafter ANCR), Sección Colonial Cartago (hereafter C.) 325, fols. 265-265v.

² Carta del Cap. don Juan Díaz de Herrera al Gobernador, Matina, 14 April 1736, ANCR, C. 325, fol. 268v; Declaración de José Nicolás Román, Cartago, 16 April 1736, ANCR, C. 325, fol. 271 (quoted).

³ Carta del Cap. don Juan Díaz de Herrera al Gobernador, Matina, 14 April 1736, ANCR, C. 325, fols. 268, 268v (quoted), Declaración de José Nicolás Román, Cartago, 16 April 1736, ANCR, C. 325, fol. 271.

⁴ Razón dada por el negro Francisco de casta mina, Cartago, 15 April 1721, ANCR, C. 283, fols. 3-4; Declaración de Nicolás, negro de casta mina, Cartago, 25 April 1723, ANCR, C. 283, fols. 10-11.

⁵ Venta de esclavo, 17 Nov. 1725, ANCR, Protocolos Coloniales de Cartago (hereafter P.C.) 898, fols. 168-170; Obligación, 22 Jan. 1727, ANCR, P.C. 900, fols. 12-13; Declaración de José Nicolás Román, Cartago, 16 April 1736, ANCR, C. 325, fol. 271v (quoted); Declaración del Cap. Sebastián de Guillén, Cartago, 26 Aug. 1733, ANCR, Sección Complementario Colonial (hereafter C.C.) 4292, fol. 15.

⁶ Carta del Cap. don Juan Díaz de Herrera al Gobernador, Matina, 14 April 1736, ANCR, C. 325, fol. 268v.

⁷ Junta sobre el nuevo aviso del Teniente General de Matina, Cartago, 16 April 1736, ANCR, C. 325, fol. 269.

⁸ Declaración de José Alejos Fernández, prisionero que vino de los Mosquitos, Cartago, 19 July 1727, ANCR, C. 325, fol. 14.

⁹ Junta sobre el nuevo aviso del Teniente General de Matina, Cartago, 16 April 1736, ANCR, C. 325, fols. 269, 269v, 270.

¹⁰ Carta del Gobernador al Teniente General de Matina, Cartago, 17 April 1736, ANCR, C. 325, fol. 272v (quoted), 273.

¹¹ Junta de vecinos, Cartago, 7 June 1736, ANCR, C. 325, fols. 274-274v (quoted); Auto del cabildo de Cartago, ANCR, Municipal 772, fols. 106v-107v.

¹² See José C. Curto, "The Story of Nbena, 1817-1820: Unlawful Enslavement and the Concept of 'Original Freedom' in Angola," in *Trans-Atlantic Dimensions of Ethnicity in the African Diaspora*, ed. Paul E. Lovejoy and D. V. Trotman (London: Continuum, 2003), 43-64.

¹³ Carta de Juan Díaz de Herrera al Gobernador don Antonio Vásquez de la Cuadra, Matina, 3 June 1736, ANCR, C. 325, fols. 275-275v; Petición del Alf. Juan de Carmona, presentada en Cartago, 12 Sept 1736, ANCR, Municipal 772, fol. 110v.

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- ¹⁴ Razón dada por el negro Francisco de casta mina, Cartago, 15 April 1721, ANCR, C. 283, fols. 3-4; Declaración de Nicolás, negro de casta mina, Cartago, 25 April 1723, ANCR, C. 283, fols. 10-11; Hilary McD. Beckles, "Caribbean Anti-Slavery: The Self-Liberation Ethos of Enslaved Blacks," *Journal of Caribbean History* 22, nos. 1-2 (1990): 1-19.
- ¹⁵ Declaración de José Alejos Fernández, prisionero que vino de los Mosquitos, Cartago, 17 July 1727, ANCR, C. 325, fol. 12v; Venta de esclavo, Cartago, 17 Nov. 1725, ANCR, P.C. 898, fols. 168-170; Real cédula, Campo Real de Castel David, 1 July 1704, Archivo General de Centroamérica, Guatemala City, A1.23, leg. 1524, fols. 158-159. See also the survey of intercolonial slave flight in Julius S. Scott, "The Common Wind: Currents of Afro-American Communication in the Era of the Haitian Revolution" (Ph.D. diss., Duke University, 1986), 92-103.
- ¹⁶ Carta del Cap. Juan Díaz de Herrera al Gobernador, Matina, 11 June 1736, ANCR, C. 325, fol. 276.
- ¹⁷ [Francisco Antonio de Carrandi y Menán,] *Viaje del Gobernador Carrandi Menán al Valle de Matina. Año 1738* (San José: Imprenta Nacional, 1850), 15.
- ¹⁸ Carta del Gobernador a los negros y demás personas quienes habitan con ellos, Cartago, 23 June 1736, ANCR, C. 325, fols. 278 (quoted), 278v.
- ¹⁹ Auto del cabildo de Cartago, 3 Sept. 1736, ANCR, C. 325, fols. 282, 283 (quoted); Vista ocular de los negros y demás personas su calidades y edades, Valle de Aserri, 16 May 1737, ANCR, Sección Colonial Guatemala (hereafter G.) 250, fols. 9-9v.
- ²⁰ Auto del cabildo de Cartago, 12 Sept. 1736, ANCR, Municipal 772, fol. 111v (quoted); Notificación al Alf. Juan de Carmona, Cartago, 5 Sept. 1736, ANCR, Municipal 772, fols. 113-113v.
- ²¹ Petición del Alf. Juan de Carmona, presentada en Cartago, 25 April 1737, ANCR, G. 250, fols. 4 (quoted), 4v; Declaración de don Dionisio Salmón Pacheco, Cartago, 25 April 1737, ANCR, G. 250, fol. 6v; Petición del Alf. Juan de Carmona, presentada en Cartago, 12 Sept 1736, ANCR, Municipal 772, fols. 110-111; Parecer del Fiscal de la Real Audiencia, Santiago de Guatemala, 17 Dec. 1736, ANCR, G. 250, fols. 2-2v.
- ²² Respuesta de Juan de Carmona, Cartago, 4 May 1737, ANCR, Municipal 772, fols. 7v-8v; Vista ocular de los negros y demás personas su calidades y edades, Valle de Aserri, 16 May 1737, ANCR, G. 250, fol. 10.
- ²³ Respuesta de Juan de Carmona, Cartago, 4 May 1737, ANCR, Municipal 772, fol. 8.
- ²⁴ Memoria testamental de Josefa Nicolasa de Ibarra, hija natural del Sarg. Mr. don Juan Francisco de Ibarra y de Josefa de Estrella, 16 March 1737, ANCR, P.C. 916, fol. 57.
- ²⁵ Testamento de Juan Carmona, 27 Dec. 1765, ANCR, Protocolos Coloniales de San José 422, fols. 54-57v; Petición del Cap. don Manuel Cayetano de Guevara, presentada en Cartago, 5 April 1755, ANCR, C.C. 6231, fol. 23; Decreto del Presidente de la Real Audiencia, Guatemala, 10 May 1738, ANCR, C. 413, fols. 4-4v; Auto del Alcalde Provincial de la Santa Hermandad, Valle de Barva, 14 Feb. 1755, C.C. 6231, fol. 4 (quoted).
- ²⁶ Carta de Esteban Ruiz de Mendoza al Gobernador don Juan Gemmir y Lleonart, Fuerte de San Fernando, 15 Oct. 1744, ANCR, C. 450, fols. 1, 1v.

²⁷ Carta de Esteban Ruiz de Mendoza al Gobernador don Juan Gemmir y Lleonart, Fuerte de San Fernando, 15 Oct. 1744, ANCR, C. 450, fols. 1v, 2.

²⁸ Junta de vecinos, Cartago, 21 Oct. 1744, ANCR, C. 455, fols. 4-7, quoting fol. 5; Diligencia de reconocimiento, Cartago, 25 Nov. 1744, ANCR, C. 455, fol. 10v.

²⁹ Auto del gobernador, Cartago, 25 Nov. 1744, ANCR, C. 455, fols. 9-10v; Razón de cría de india, Cartago, 25 Nov. 1744, ANCR, C. 455, fol. 12.

³⁰ Diligencia de reconocimiento, Cartago, 25 Nov. 1744, ANCR, C. 455, fols. 10v-12, quoting fol. 11v; Auto del gobernador, Cartago, 6 Dec. 1744, ANCR, C. 455, fol. 36v.

³¹ Declaración de María Francisca, Cartago, 5 Dec. 1744, ANCR, C. 455, fols. 33v-36v, quoting fol. 34v.

³² Declaración de Lanani, Cartago, 2 Dec. 1744, ANCR, C. 455, fols. 20v-22, quoting fol. 21.

³³ The Akan day name ("Quamina" indicates a person born on Saturday) of a West Central African seems to support Trevor Burnard's assertion that slaves in the British Caribbean were named by their masters, not themselves. Burnard argues that British masters applied Akan day names to their slaves regardless of their ethnic origin (or day of birth) and that many slaves (though perhaps not "Juamina") regarded the names as derogatory, abandoning them as soon as they obtained their freedom. Trevor G. Burnard, "Slave Naming Patterns: Onomastics and the Taxonomy of Race in Eighteenth-Century Jamaica," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 31, no. 3 (winter 2001), 336.

³⁴ Declaración de Juamina, Cartago, 2 Dec. 1744, ANCR, C. 455, fols. 22v-24, quoting fol. 23; Declaración de Guinza, Cartago, 2 Dec. 1744, ANCR, C. 455, fol. 25.

³⁵ Declaración de Guinza, Cartago, 2 Dec. 1744, ANCR, C. 455, fols. 25-26v, quoting fol. 26.

³⁶ Declaración de Tame, Cartago, 2 Dec. 1744, ANCR, C. 455, fols. 30v-32.

³⁷ Declaración de Heredima, Cartago, 2 Dec. 1744, ANCR, C. 455, fols. 27-28.

³⁸ Auto del gobernador, Cartago, 6 Dec. 1744, ANCR, C. 455, fols. 36v-38, quoting fols. 37, 37v; Auto del gobernador, Cartago, 26 March 1745, ANCR, C. 455, fol. 39.

In her fictionalized retelling of the arrival of the 1744 refugees, novelist Tatiana Lobo wrote that "the document that speaks of those who arrived in 1737 does not exist or it is not possible to find it." On the contrary, there are three major sources on these arrivals, the basis of my discussion above. Tatiana Lobo Wiehoff, "Primeros fundadores de San José," in Lobo Wiehoff and Meléndez Obando, *Negros y blancos: Todo mezclado* (San José: Editorial de la Universidad de Costa Rica, 1997), 28.

³⁹ Auto del gobernador, Cartago, 26 March 1745, ANCR, C. 455, fols. 38-40, quoting fol. 40.

⁴⁰ Auto del Capitán Don Juan José de Cuende Teniente General Juez Político de Cartago, Villa Nueva de la Boca del Monte y Valle de Aserrí, 29 March 1745, ANCR, C. 455, fols. 40-41, quoting fol. 40v.

⁴¹ León Fernández, ed., *Asentamientos, hacienda y gobierno* (San José: Editorial Costa Rica, 1975), 191; Declaración de Juana María, Cartago, 6 May 1755, ANCR, C.C. 6231, fol. 40v.

⁴² Auto del Alcalde Ordinario de Primer Voto Cap. don Tomás López del Corral, Valle de Aserrí, 13 Feb. 1755, ANCR, C.C. 6231, fol. 1 (quoted); Declaración del Cap. Nicolás de Zamora, Valle de Aserrí, 13 Feb. 1755, ANCR, C.C. 6231, fol. 1v; Declaración de Félix Durán, pardo libre, Valle de Aserrí, 13 Feb. 1755,

ANCR, C.C. 6231, fols. 2-2v; Auto del Alcalde Provincial de la Santa Hermandad Sarg. Mr. don José Manuel de Saborío, Valle de Barva, 14 Feb. 1755, ANCR, C.C. 6231, fol. 4 (quoted); Petición del Cap. Diego de Cárdenas, presentada en Cartago, 10 March 1755, ANCR, C.C. 6231, fol. 17v (quoted).

⁴³ Declaración de Juan Carmona, Valle de Aserri, 17 Feb. 1755, ANCR, C.C. 6231, fols. 10v-11v.

⁴⁴ Declaración de José Miguel Chavarría, Boca del Monte, 16 Feb. 1755, ANCR, C.C. 6231, fol. 7v; Declaración de José Miguel Chavarría, Cartago, 21 April 1755, ANCR, C.C. 6231, fol. 36; Declaración de Pablo García, indio ladino, Cartago, 22 April 1755, C.C. 6231, fol. 38; Declaración de Juana María, Cartago, 6 May 1755, ANCR, C.C. 6231, fol. 40v.

⁴⁵ Petición del Cap. Manuel Cayetano de Guevara, presentada en Cartago, 5 April 1755, ANCR, C.C. 6231, fol. 23v (quoted); Petición del Cap. Manuel Cayetano de Guevara, presentada en Cartago, 15 April 1755, ANCR, C.C. 6231, fol. 28 (quoted).

⁴⁶ Declaración de Juana María, Cartago, 6 May 1755, ANCR, C.C. 6231, fol. 41.

⁴⁷ Declaración de Pedro Valerín, Boca del Monte, 16 Feb. 1755, ANCR, C.C. 6231, fols. 6-6v, quoting fol. 6; Auto del Alcalde de la Santa Hermandad, Valle de Aserri, 27 Feb. 1755, ANCR, C.C. 6231, fol. 19v.

⁴⁸ Sentencia pronunciada, Cartago, 9 June 1755, ANCR, C.C. 6231, fol. 47v.

⁴⁹ Declaración de José Manuel Sánchez, Matina, Oct. 1742, ANCR, C. 451, fols. 1-2v, quoting fol. 1; . Declaración de José Manuel Sánchez, Cartago, 18 Oct. 1742, ANCR, C. 451, fols. 3v-5v, quoting fol. 4v.

⁵⁰ ANCR, C. 609 (1774).

⁵¹ Auto del gobernador, Cartago, 28 June 1774, ANCR, C.C. 354, fols. 1v-2, quoting fol. 2.

⁵² ANCR, C. 640 (1775).

⁵³ Tatiana Lobo Wichoff, "La negra marinera," in Lobo Wichoff and Meléndez Obando, *Negros y blancos*, 22-24.

⁵⁴ Paula Palmer, *"What Happen": A Folk-History of Costa Rica's Talamanca Coast*, 2nd ed. (San José: Publications in English, 1993), 15-16, 28 (quoted).

⁵⁵ Michael D. Olien, "The Negro in Costa Rica: The Ethnohistory of an Ethnic Minority in a Complex Society" (Ph.D. diss., University of Oregon, Eugene, 1967), 86.

GLOSSARY (Terms are Spanish unless otherwise noted)

Alcabala	Royal tax on all sales and resales
Alcalde	Judge of First Instance
Alcalde Mayor	Highest official of territory under direct administration of the Spanish Crown, e.g. the <i>Alcaldía Mayor</i> of Nicoya
Alcalde de la Santa Hermandad	Chief of the Rural Constabulary
Alférez	Second Lieutenant; Royal Standard Bearer
Alguacil	Constable, police officer; jailer
Alguacil Mayor	Chief Constable
Almarada	Pole with hook or knife attached to one end, used for picking cacao
Alquilón	Indian distributed in repartimiento
Amo	Master; in Costa Rica, applied to masters of servants as well as slaves
Arrendamiento	Lease; sharecropping arrangement
Arrendatario	Lessee; sharecropper
Arroba (Portuguese)	Unit of weight equivalent to 14.7 kg/32 lbs.
Arroba (Spanish)	Unit of weight equivalent to 11.34 kg/25 lbs.
Asentista	Holder of the Asiento
Asiento	Royal contract granting exclusive rights to transport African slaves to Spanish America, awarded to an individual or company for a specified period
Audiencia de Guatemala	Administrative district including modern

	Guatemala, El Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua, and Costa Rica, also known as the Kingdom of Guatemala; the High Court with jurisdiction over this area
Balandra	Sloop
Batea	Tub used for fermenting cacao
Bozal	African-born slave
Caballería	Unit of area equivalent to 45 ha/111.1 acres
Cabildo	Municipal council
Cabo	Corporal
Cacaotal	Cacao hacienda
Cacaotero	Cacao planter
Canoa	Boat about 13 meters (14.2 yards) long; also a trough using for fermenting cacao, making cheese, etc.
Capellanía	Chantry or chaplaincy; a bequeathal of private property, in Costa Rica usually a cacao hacienda, to the Church in return for the performance of religious services such as the saying of memorial masses; applied to fund the training of seminarians, property donated in <i>capellanías</i> was rented but not sold to administrators
Carabela	Shipmate
Casta	Racial category; as applied to Africans, “national” or ethnic origin
Cédula	Royal decree
Chácara	Small farm dedicated to subsistence agriculture

Cimarrón	Runaway slave, maroon; also refers to “wild” cattle
Cofradía	Religious confraternity
Concierto	Work contract between servant and master for a specific period; contract specifying terms of a young man’s apprenticeship to an artisan
Corregidor	Crown agent in charge of Indians of a certain administrative district
Creole	Person of foreign ancestry born in the Americas, whether African or European
Criada, Criado	Legally free, live-in household servant
Cuadrillero	Officer or deputy employed in apprehending runaway slaves
Cuchillón	See <i>almarada</i>
Diputado	Elected officer in a religious confraternity
Encomendero	Holder of an encomienda
Encomienda	Royal grant of access to land and tribute of Indians in a specified area; later modified to include tribute payments only
Encomienda de servicio	Tribute paid by Indians in “personal service” to encomenderos; technically prohibited by the New Laws of 1542
Fanega	Unit of volume equivalent to 54.5 liters/14.4 gallons
Fianza	Bond
Fiscal	Crown Attorney
Garmi	Member of a ruling lineage (Wolof)

Géneros de la tierra	Local produce
Grand marronage	Long-term or permanent escape (French)
Grumete	Cabin boy; common seaman
Hacendado	Owner of an hacienda
Hacienda	Landed estate dedicated to agriculture or livestock breeding
Hato	Small ranch dedicated to livestock breeding
Hechicería	Magic or sorcery
Hechicero, hechicera	One who works in magic
Hilo morado	Thread dyed royal purple
Honestidad	Virtue; connotes chastity
Jaam	Slaves (Wolof)
Jaambur	Free men and women (Wolof)
Jiha>d	Holy war (Arabic)
Jornal	Daily wage
Jornalero	Paid day laborer
Labranza	Small farm, planting
Ladino	Spanish-speaking African
League (legua)	Unit of distance equivalent to 5.5 km/3.4 miles
Maestro	Master artisan
Mandador	Overseer, driver, supervisor, administrator
Marabout	Muslim holy man in Senegambia (local Arabic)

Maravedí	1/34 of a <i>real</i>
Merced	Royal land grant
Mestizo	A person ostensibly of mixed Indian and European ancestry; in reality often a person of partial African ancestry
Milpa	Small field usually planted with corn
Mozo	Legally free, live-in male servant; a ranch hand
Mulato	A person ostensibly of mixed African and European descent; in reality sometimes a person of African and indigenous ancestry
Mulato blanco	A light-skinned person of African and European descent
Nación	“Nation”; during the colonial period, an ethnic group defined by common language and culture, without reference to statehood; applied to Africans as well as Europeans, in the former case used interchangeably with <i>casta</i>
Ñeeño	Member of an occupational caste (Wolof)
Nzimbu	Shell money used in Kingdom of Kongo
Oficial	Journeyman artisan
Oidor	Judge (Auditor) of the Audiencia
Orisha	Divinity (Yoruba)
Pardo	A more polite term for a mulato
Périto	Expert hired to evaluate slaves
Petit marronage	Temporary abscondment of slave (French)

Pieza de Indias	Unit equivalent to one ideal healthy adult male slave
Pirogue	Large dugout canoe
Pombeiro	Black or mulato agent who procured slaves for the Portuguese in Angola
Pregonero	Crier
Prieto	Black; rarely used in Costa Rica
Procurador Síndico	Public Attorney
Pueblo	Legally recognized, tribute-paying Indian village or town
Rancho	Hut
Rapadura	Raw sugar
Real	1/8 of a Spanish peso
Real Hacienda	Royal Treasury
Recogimiento	Modesty; connotes chastity
Regidor	Councilman
Repartimiento	Distribution of Indians for public works or service of Spaniards
Rixdollar	Unit of Danish money; worth approximately 2 shillings English money (Danish)
Santa Hermandad	Rural constabulary
Seasoning	Process by which newly arrived Africans were adapted to new disease, cultural, and work environments
Shari'a	Islamic law (Arabic)

Shirk	Holding another being as the equal of God, associating a thing or other being with God; polytheism (Arabic)
Suerte	Unit of area applied to plantings of sugar cane, equivalent to 100 rows or $\frac{1}{4}$ caballería; about 11.3 ha/27.8 acres
Spaniard	A person ostensibly of exclusively European descent, whether born in Spain or the Americas
Trapiche	Small animal- or water-powered sugar mill
Ulama'	Religious scholars (Arabic)
Vaquiada	Annual cattle round-up
Vara	Unit of length equivalent to 83.5 cm/39.2 inches
Vecina, Vecino	Urban resident and property owner with full legal rights
Visitador	Official inspector, whether civil or ecclesiastical
Vodun	Divinity (Gbe)
Zambo	In Costa Rica, a person ostensibly of African and indigenous ancestry; in Panama, a mulato
Zurrón	Leather bag containing 214 lb./97 kg of cacao, officially equivalent to 25 pesos in silver

APPENDIX 1
FUGITIVE SLAVES OF COSTA RICAN MASTERS, 1612-1746

Name	<i>Casta</i>	Approx Age	Owner	Alone?	Notes	Date of Doc	Date of Flight(s)	Sources
1. Francisco	Angola		Ambrosio de Brenes	Yes	Fled from at least three masters in Peru, Panama, and Costa Rica	1612	1608, 1610, 1611	ANCR, G. 34
2. Juan	Angola	35	The Crown	Yes	Described as habitual runaway	1624	1624	ANCR, G. 55
3. Francisco Valeriano	Creole	27	Jerónimo de Retes	Yes	reported to be in Gracias a Dios, Honduras	1640	1640	Cáceres, "Negros, mulatos," 149
4. Diego Leal	Mulato		Doña Isidora Zambrano	Yes		1669	1669	ANCR, P.C. 817 bis, fols. 496-497
5. Andrés	Mulato Creole	17	Lic. Pbo. don Alonso de Sandoval	Yes		1666	1666	ANCR, P.C. 817, fol. 140
6. Silvestre	Black Creole		Doña María de Sandoval	Yes	native of Granada, Nic.; donated while at large	1675	1675	ANCR, P.C. 824, fols. 13-14
7. Catalina	Black	20	Felipe Gómez Macotella	Yes	believed to be in Esparza	1675	1675	ANCR, P.C. 817, fol. 127
8. Clemente	Mulato	18	Lic. José de Lumbides	Yes	exchanged for another slave while at large	1677	1677	ANCR, P.C. 825, fols. 13-14

Name	<i>Casta</i>	Approx Age	Owner	Alone?	Notes	Date of Doc	Date of Flight(s)	Sources
9. Antonio	Mina	21	Juan de Ugalde	Unknown	Described as habitual runaway	1680	Unknown	ANCR, P.C. 828, fols. 61-62
10. Andrés	Mina	23	Juan de Ugalde	Unknown	Described as habitual runaway	1680	Unknown	ANCR, P.C. 828, fols. 61-62
11. Melchora	Mulata Zamba		don Diego de Ibarra	Yes	escaped from jail when accused of witchcraft; sold to don Lorenzo González Calderón in León, Nic.	1684	ca. 1677	AGN, Inquisición, vol. 650, exp. 3, fol. 576
12. Miguel	Congo		Isabel Vázquez Coronado	Yes		1688	1688	ANCR, P.C. 837, fols. 15-15v.
13. María Manuela	Mulata	25	Doña Juana Núñez de Trupira	Yes	Described as habitual fugitive	1692	1692	ANCR, P.C. 842, fols. 63-64v.
14. José de Ibarra	Black Creole	28	Alf. José Gómez Elgueros	Yes	master sugar maker	1691	1692	ANCR, P.C. 842, fols. 96v-98v
15. Antonio	Mulato	18	Cap. Agustín Morales and Jerónimo de Morales	Yes	in custody of Alf. José Calderón	1694	1693	ANCR, P.C. 844, fols. 40-42v

Name	<i>Casta</i>	Approx Age	Owner	Alone?	Notes	Date of Doc	Date of Flight(s)	Sources
16. Salvador	Black Creole	12	Don Miguel de Alvarado	Yes	Described as habitual runaway	1696	Unknown	ANCR, P.C. 848, fols. 28v-30
17. Juan Toribio	Mulato	28	Doña Micaela Durán de Chaves	Yes	Fled in Mineral del Córpus, Honduras, after contracting to buy his freedom	1703	1695	ANCR, P.C. 857, fols. 5-5v
18. Francisco	Bozal		don José de Alvarado	Yes	fled to Nicaragua from Valley of Bagaces	1719	ca. 1701	ANCR, C. 231, fol. 11
19. Unknown Male	Carabali	16	The Crown	One of two	apprehended and auctioned to Alberto Pérez Parga	1701	1701	ANCR, C. 109, fol. 33
20. Unknown Female	Carabalí	16	The Crown	One of two	apprehended and auctioned to Alberto Pérez Parga	1701	1701	ANCR, C. 109, fol. 33
21. Luis	Congo	14	The Crown	One of four	apprehended and auctioned to José de Prado	1701	1701	ANCR, C. 109, fol. 27; AGI, G. 359, pieza 1, fols. 88v, 90
22. Juan	Congo	14	The Crown	One of four	apprehended and auctioned to José de Prado	1701	1701	ANCR, C. 109, fol. 27; AGI, G. 359, pieza 1, fols. 88v, 90

Name	<i>Casta</i>	Approx Age	Owner	Alone?	Notes	Date of Doc	Date of Flight(s)	Sources
23. Cristóbal	Congo	14	The Crown	One of four	apprehended and auctioned to Juan de Escobar	1701	1701	ANCR, C. 109, fol. 29; ANCR, P.C. 860, fols. 10-12
24. Damián	Congo	14	The Crown	One of four	apprehended and auctioned to Juan de Escobar	1701	1701, 1717	ANCR, C. 109, fols. 27, 29; ANCR, P.C. 860, fols. 10-12, ANCR, C.C. 4111
25. Unknown Female	Bozal		Fray Francisco de San José	Yes	fled immediately after arrival in Matina	1702	1702	AGI, G. 359, pieza 1, fols. 2v-3v
26. Francisco Barrios	Congo		Diego de Barros y Carvajal	One of ten	fled from don Gregorio Caamaño; repeat fugitive	1719	1701, <i>ca.</i> 1703	ANCR, C. 265, fols. 2v, 3v
27. Gregorio	Popo	14	The Crown	One of ten	fled from don Gregorio Caamaño; repeat fugitive	1719	<i>ca.</i> 1703, 1717	ANCR, C. 265, fol. 3v; ANCR, C.C. 4111
28. Benito	Popo		The Crown	One of ten	fled from don Gregorio Caamaño	1719	<i>ca.</i> 1703	ANCR, C. 265, fol. 3v
29. Lorenzo José	Black Creole		The Crown	One of ten	fled from don Gregorio Caamaño	1719	<i>ca.</i> 1703	ANCR, C. 265, fol. 3v

Name	<i>Casta</i>	Approx Age	Owner	Alone?	Notes	Date of Doc	Date of Flight(s)	Sources
30. Mateo Saca la Agua	Casta Mora		The Crown	One of ten	fled from don Gregorio Caamaño	1719	ca. 1703	ANCR, C. 265, fol. 3v; ANCR, c. 251, fol. 3v
31. Carlos	Popo		The Crown	One of ten	fled from don Gregorio Caamaño	1719	ca. 1703	ANCR, C. 265, fol. 3v
32. Manuel	Congo		The Crown	One of ten	fled from don Gregorio Caamaño	1719	ca. 1703	ANCR, C. 265, fol. 3v
33. Antonio	Arará		The Crown	One of ten	fled from don Gregorio Caamaño	1719	ca. 1703	ANCR, C. 265, fol. 3v
34. Pedro	Carabali		The Crown	One of ten	fled from don Gregorio Caamaño	1719	ca. 1703	ANCR, C. 265, fol. 3v
35. Juan	Arará		Maestre de Campo don José de Casasola y Córdoba	One of two	fled to don Gregorio Caamaño	1705	1705	ANCR, P.C. 861, fols. 6-8; ANCR, C.C. 3798
36. Miguel	Arará	30	Maestre de Campo don José de Casasola y Córdoba	One of two	fled to don Gregorio Caamaño	1705	1705	ANCR, P.C. 861, fols. 6-8; ANCR, C.C. 3798
37. José de Arlegui	Mulato Creole	22	Alf. Manuel Antonio de Arlegui	Yes	apprehended in Santiago de Guatemala after at least six years at large	1714	1708	ANCR, P.C. 865, fols. 48-50; ANCR, P.C. 873, fols. 178-178v

Name	Casta	Approx Age	Owner	Alone?	Notes	Date of Doc	Date of Flight(s)	Sources
38. Gil de Salazar	Mulato		Cap. Diego Santiago de Cárdenas	Yes	trained as a tailor	1713	ca. 1704	<i>Indice de los protocolos de Cartago</i> , 1:456, 2:235
39. Felipe de Oviedo	Mulato		Doña Francisca Jiménez	Yes	escaped from jail	1715	1715	ANCR, C.C. 145
40. Antonio Civitola	Congo	50	María Calderón	Yes	at large at least six months	1719	1719	ANCR, C. 259, fols. 2v, 5
41. Francisco Caracata	Arará	50	Doña Josefa de Oses Navarro	Yes	at large at least 40 days	1719	1719	ANCR, C. 232, fols. 4, 12
42. Eugenia Vanegas	Mulata	40	Sarg. Mr. don Juan Francisco de Ibarra	Yes	slave of Francisco Martínez at time of flight; at large 1 year in "Platanares del Rey"	1720	ca. 1712	ANCR, C. 241, fol. 28
43. Ramón Durán	Black Creole	50	María Calvo	Yes	at liberty in Chiriquí; described elsewhere as from Cape Verde	1720	ca. 1718	ANCR, P.C. 891, fols. 26-27; ANCR, P.C. 898, fols. 26-27
44. Nicolás	Mina		Governor of Portobello	One of two	various escapes	1721	1721	ANCR, C. 283
45. Francisco	Mina		Governor of Portobello	One of two	various escapes	1721	1721	ANCR, C. 283

Name	<i>Casta</i>	Approx Age	Owner	Alone?	Notes	Date of Doc	Date of Flight(s)	Sources
46. Antonio	Congo		Cap. don Francisco Javier de Oreamuno	One of two	various escapes	1722	1722, 1724	ANCR, C. 292; AGCA, A2 (6), exp. 193, leg. 12
47. Antonia	Mulata	50	Juan Cortés	Yes	habitual runaway; accused of arson	1723	1723	ANCR, C.C. 5815
48. Juan Román	Black Creole	57	Lieutenant Francisco Gutiérrez	Yes	fled during manumission lawsuit	1733	1733	ANCR, C.C. 4292, fols. 13-13v, 32v
49. María Egipciaca	"White Mulata" Creole	43	María Calderón	Yes		1724	1724	ANCR, P.C. 859, fol. 5v; P.C. 897, fols. 94v-95v
50. Ramón González	Mulato	15	Manuel González	Yes	Described as mentally handicapped; pyromaniac	1726	1726	ANCR, C.C. 178, fol. 1
51. Antonio Camelo	Mulato	45	José Felipe Calvo	Yes	master lived in Panama	1730	1730	ANCR, P.C. 903, fols. 18-19
52. Francisco Cubero	Mulato	24	the late Doña Catalina González del Camino	Yes	fled on death of owner	1746	1746	ANCR, P.C. 934, fols. 66-68

APPENDIX 2
SLAVE MARRIAGES, 1670-1750

Table 1
**MARRIAGES OF ENSLAVED BLACK MEN,
CARTAGO, 1670-1750***

<u>Race/ Condition of Wife</u>	<u>1670- 1679</u>	<u>1680- 1689</u>	<u>1690- 1699</u>	<u>1700- 1709</u>	<u>1710- 1719</u>	<u>1720- 1729</u>	<u>1730- 1739</u>	<u>1740- 1750</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Indian	1	5		1	3				10	18.9
Mestiza	2			1	1		3		7	13.2
Black Slave							1	1	2	3.8
Free Black		2							2	3.8
Mulata Slave									0	0
Free Mulata**	1	3	1	3	3		4	3	18	34
No Info Available					4	4	3	5	14	26.3
TOTAL	4	10	1	5	9	4	11	9	53	100

*In a few cases, other documents identified the racial origins of men and women for whom this information was omitted in the marriage registers.

** Includes free mulatas, mulatas, one parda, and one zamba.

Sources: ACMSJ, LMC, nos. 1-6/FHL, VAULT INTL film 1219727, items 6-10.

APPENDIX 2
SLAVE MARRIAGES, 1670-1750

Table 2
**MARRIAGES OF ENSLAVED MULATO MEN,
CARTAGO, 1670-1750***

<u>Race/ Condition of Wife</u>	<u>1670- 1679</u>	<u>1680- 1689</u>	<u>1690- 1699</u>	<u>1700- 1709</u>	<u>1710- 1719</u>	<u>1720- 1729</u>	<u>1730- 1739</u>	<u>1740- 1750</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Indian							1		1	5.3
Mestiza		1		1					2	10.5
Slave								1	1	5.3
Black Slave									0	0
Free Black									0	0
Mulata Slave									0	0
Free Mulata**		2						2	4	21
No Info Available		2		2	3	2		2	11	57.9
TOTAL	0	5	0	3	3	2	1	5	19	100

*In a few cases, other documents identified the racial origins of men and women for whom this information was omitted in the marriage registers.

** Includes free mulatas, mulatas, one parda, and one zamba.

Sources: ACMSJ, LMC, nos. 1-6/FHL, VAULT INTL film 1219727, items 6-10.

APPENDIX 2
SLAVE MARRIAGES, 1670-1750

Table 3
**MARRIAGES OF ENSLAVED MEN UNIDENTIFIED BY RACE,
CARTAGO, 1670-1750***

<u>Race/ Condition of Wife</u>	<u>1670- 1679</u>	<u>1680- 1689</u>	<u>1690- 1699</u>	<u>1700- 1709</u>	<u>1710- 1719</u>	<u>1720- 1729</u>	<u>1730- 1739</u>	<u>1740- 1750</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Slave									1	33.3
No Info Available									2	66.7
TOTAL									3	100

Sources: ACMSJ, LMC, nos. 1-6/FHL, VAULT INTL film 1219727, items 6-10.

APPENDIX 2
SLAVE MARRIAGES, 1670-1750

Table 4
**ALL MARRIAGES OF ENSLAVED MEN,
CARTAGO, 1670-1750***

<u>Race/ Condition of Wife</u>	<u>1670- 1679</u>	<u>1680- 1689</u>	<u>1690- 1699</u>	<u>1700- 1709</u>	<u>1710- 1719</u>	<u>1720- 1729</u>	<u>1730- 1739</u>	<u>1740- 1750</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Indian	1	5		1	3		1		11	14.7
Mestiza	2	1		2	1		3		9	12
Slave								1	2	2.7
Black Slave							1	1	2	2.7
Free Black		2							2	2.7
Mulata Slave									0	0
Free Mulata**	1	5	1	3	3		4	5	22	29.3
No Info Available		2		2	5	6	3	17	27	36
TOTAL	4	16	1	8	12	6	13	15	75	100

*In a few cases, other documents identified the racial origins of men and women for whom this information was omitted in the marriage registers.

** Includes free mulatas, mulatas, one parda, and one zamba.

Sources: ACMSJ, LMC, nos. 1-6/FHL, VAULT INTL film 1219727, items 6-10.

APPENDIX 2
SLAVE MARRIAGES, 1670-1750

Table 5
**ALL MARRIAGES OF ENSLAVED WOMEN,
CARTAGO, 1670-1750**

<u>Race/ Condition of Husband</u>	<u>1670- 1679</u>	<u>1680- 1689</u>	<u>1690- 1699</u>	<u>1700- 1709</u>	<u>1710- 1719</u>	<u>1720- 1729</u>	<u>1730- 1739</u>	<u>1740- 1750</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Indian										0
Mestizo										0
Slave							1			14.3
Black Slave							1	1		28.6
Free Black										0
Mulato Slave							1			14.3
Free Mulato							1			14.3
No Info Available								2	2	28.5
TOTAL							4	3	7	100

Sources: ACMSJ, LMC, nos. 1-6/FHL, VAULT INTL film 1219727, items 6-10.

APPENDIX 2
SLAVE MARRIAGES, 1670-1750

Table 6
**MARRIAGES OF ENSLAVED BLACK WOMEN,
CARTAGO, 1670-1750**

<u>Race/ Condition of Husband</u>	<u>1670- 1679</u>	<u>1680- 1689</u>	<u>1690- 1699</u>	<u>1700- 1709</u>	<u>1710- 1719</u>	<u>1720- 1729</u>	<u>1730- 1739</u>	<u>1740- 1750</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Black Slave							1	1	2	100
TOTAL							1	1	2	100

Table 7
**MARRIAGES OF ENSLAVED MULATA WOMEN,
CARTAGO, 1670-1750**

<u>Race/ Condition of Husband</u>	<u>1670- 1679</u>	<u>1680- 1689</u>	<u>1690- 1699</u>	<u>1700- 1709</u>	<u>1710- 1719</u>	<u>1720- 1729</u>	<u>1730- 1739</u>	<u>1740- 1750</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Mulato Slave							1		1	100
TOTAL							4	3	7	100

Sources: ACMSJ, LMC, nos. 1-6/FHL, VAULT INTL film 1219727, items 6-10.

APPENDIX 2
SLAVE MARRIAGES, 1670-1750

Table 8
**MARRIAGES OF ENSLAVED WOMEN UNIDENTIFIED BY RACE,
CARTAGO, 1670-1750**

<u>Race/ Condition of Husband</u>	<u>1670- 1679</u>	<u>1680- 1689</u>	<u>1690- 1699</u>	<u>1700- 1709</u>	<u>1710- 1719</u>	<u>1720- 1729</u>	<u>1730- 1739</u>	<u>1740- 1750</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Slave Not Identified by Race							1		1	20
Mulato Slave								1	1	20
Free Mulato							1		1	20
No Info Available								2	2	40
TOTAL							2	3	5	100

Sources: ACMSJ, LMC, nos. 1-6/FHL, VAULT INTL film 1219727, items 6-10.

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VITA

Kent Russell Lohse was born in St. Paul, Minnesota on 23 July 1968, the son of Kent Louis Lohse and Linda Whitney Lohse. After completing his work at Columbine High School, Littleton, Colorado, in 1986, he entered Metropolitan State College of Denver. He received the Bachelor of Arts in 1995. In fall 1995, he entered the Graduate School of the University of Texas at Austin. He received the Master of Arts in Latin American Studies in 1997. In fall 1997, he began doctoral studies in History at the University of Texas at Austin. Lohse has published articles in journals and edited collections on African ethnicity and the slave trade, the Yoruba in colonial Costa Rica, and the abolition of slavery in Colombia.

Permanent Address: 15806 Manes Grove, San Antonio, Texas, 78247

This dissertation was typed by the author.